



Life Along the Portage Path

A History of Akron's Portage

Eric Olson
The Captain's Log
Fall 2022
Special Issue

Stewards of Historical Preservation
140 E. Market St.
Akron, OH 44308

Cover Image: Silver Lake archaeological excavation unit, Eric Olson, 2018

Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Introduction	5
Prehistoric.....	8
Historic.....	15
Different Destinations.....	19
Portage Paths.....	25
Mystery Cave	28
Silver Lake Site	31
Borderlands.....	37
Collective Memory.....	46
Bibliography	55

Acknowledgements

This booklet would not be possible without the editorial support of the board of directors of Stewards of Historical Preservation: Tim Matney, Maeve Marino, Robert Tucker, Robert Trattner, Kevin Kern, David Lombardi, Evi Gorogianni, and Jerrad Lancaster.

I also want to thank Dave Lieberth for support and encouragement of this booklet, as well as those members of the Portage Path Collaborative who supported the creation of this booklet.

Introduction

The Portage Path is one of Akron's most iconic landmarks and has been part of the city's design since Moses Cleaveland and Seth Peas surveyed the path in 1797. The path is well known to those who live in the city. There are placards, signs, and monuments to commemorate the trail along its eight-mile meander from Lake Nesmith to Merriman Valley. Within the state of Ohio, it is generally remembered as an important landmark in early American and Ohio history. Portages are places where canoes must be brought ashore and "portaged" or carried, from one river to another. Portages occur at the edges of watersheds, where two divergent rivers flow in separate drainage basins. *The Portage Path* is one of thousands known across the Midwest. However, the weight historians and Akronites have placed on the portage in Akron suggests that the path bridging the divide between the Lake Erie and Ohio (and subsequent Mississippi) watersheds is of greater importance than others.

The path is a roughly eight-mile route, starting near the corner of Portage Path and Merriman Road, and running south, and ending near the corner of Manchester Road and Carnegie Avenue. The path has been interpreted primarily as the only stretch of land between Cleveland and New Orleans that one would need to walk. The caveat is that this can only be done during certain times of the year when water levels of the Tuscarawas and Cuyahoga are high enough for canoes to navigate at either terminus.

At the corner of Copley Road and Portage Path there stands a brown Ohio History Connection (formerly the Ohio Historical Society) marker, which succinctly summarizes the path as an:

“early route between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. First the Indians, then French and English traders and trappers, and finally American settlers and travelers carried their canoes and packs across this narrow strip of land in passing, by way of the rivers, between northern and southern Ohio. The portage was a part of the defined boundaries in the treaties with the Indians made at Fort McIntosh (1785), Fort Harmar (1789), and Green Ville (1795). Use of the portage was discontinued in 1827 when the Ohio and Erie Canal was built along the old trail.”

However, many aspects of the path still require further interpretation. Early historians, such as Lucius V. Bierce or Peter P. Cherry were quick to memorialize and inflate the centrality and importance of the Portage Path in Akron, without critically examining the post-glacial landscape of Northeast Ohio, the routes of rivers, the size of lakes, or even the history of watercraft in North America.¹

This brief manuscript will put the Portage Path in a larger geographic and cultural context. Starting with “different destinations,” the first question that must be answered is “how old might the Portage Path be?” This section discusses the geological changes in the topography and landscape of northeastern Ohio after the last glaciers receded from Ohio.

¹ Bierce, Lucius, *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County*, 1854. Cherry, Peter, *The Portage Path*, 1911. Juliet Morrow’s 2014 article “Early Paleoindian Mobility and Watercraft: An Assessment from the Mississippi River Valley” indicates that people in the Paleoindian period did not have watercraft such as canoes for travel.

Also discussed are the other natural resources which would be of use to past peoples, such as kettle lakes, the great lakes, and chert and flint.

The next section, “portage paths,” examines the various trails in and around Akron and Ohio. There are many portages across North America, but where did these portages lead? Furthermore, were these routes chosen for their efficiency or for their connection to other important locations? Further examination of local archaeological sites is discussed in connection to the Portage Path.

“Borderlands” focuses on the history of the region from roughly the 1500s through the end of the 1700s. This period of history is where most of the significance of the path is derived, but primarily as a boundary for territories rather than a “prehistoric highway.” This section discusses military campaigns in the Ohio Country, and their relation to the Portage Path.

The last section, “collective memory,” picks up where the path’s life as a foot trail ends, and the process of memorialization begins. Historians have discussed the Portage Path in many local historical narratives, but how do these narratives stack up compared to what has already been discussed in the context of this manuscript? This section examines the process of placemaking and the nuance that can be lost in collective memory.

For the purposes of this book, cultural resources have been divided into *precontact* and *historic* resources. *Precontact* is defined here as cultural resources created or used prior to European arrival in a specific place, while *historic* is defined as cultural resources created or used after European arrival. The historic period begins circa 1650 with the first

accounts of southern Lake Erie in *The Jesuit Relations*. The following sections provide a brief overview of general trends and patterns in prehistory and history in northeast Ohio.²

Prehistoric

The precontact period spans over 14,000 years of human activity in the Cuyahoga River Valley; the precontact period is further divided into broad cultural time periods listed in Table 1. The dates listed are sometimes subdivided further, such as the various Whittlesey phases of the Late Precontact. Indigenous people lived in the Cuyahoga Valley throughout the precontact period. There are hundreds of prehistoric sites including camps, small habitations, hamlets, villages, cemeteries, burial mounds, earthworks, storage caches, and plenty of artifacts dropped in transit from one camp to the next throughout the valley.³

² For more information about why 1650 is the dividing year between historic and prehistoric, see Brose, David, "History as Handmaiden to Archaeology?", 1984. Also see Bush, David and Charles Callender, "Anybody but the Erie," 1984, or Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, "An Ethnohistorical Report," 1974.

³ The time period divisions in Table 1 are derived primarily from Brad Lepper's *Ohio Archaeology*, 2005. For a discussion of Whittlesey phases, see Brose et al., "Archaeological Investigations in the Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area," 1981. For additional overviews of the Cuyahoga Valley, see Winstel, Jeffrey, *Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area Cultural Landscape*, 2000.

Table 1: Summary of Archaeological Time Periods.

Period Name	Date	Overarching trends
Proto-historic	1650—1720 CE	European trade goods, Beaver Wars
Late Precontact	1000—1650 CE	Fortified villages, local resources
Late Woodland	400—1000 CE	Hopewellian collapse, nucleation, maize agriculture, bow and arrow
Middle Woodland	1—400 CE	Hopewell culture, trade networks, earthwork construction, ceremonialism
Early Woodland	1000 BCE—1 CE	Adena culture, Ceremonialism, mound construction, plant domestication, trade
Late Archaic	3500—1000 BCE	Plant domestication, tool diversification
Middle Archaic	6500—3500 BCE	Deciduous forest resource exploitation, climate change
Early Archaic	8000—6500 BCE	Big game hunting, climate change
Paleoindian	12000—8000 BCE	Big game hunting

The first people to migrate into the Lake Erie watershed are known as the Paleoindians. Most of the Paleoindian period in Ohio is represented by a small handful of excavated sites, with most being isolated projectile point finds. Substantial Paleoindian sites include Nobles Pond in Stark County, Paleo-crossing (also known as Remington Farm) in Medina County, and Sheridan Cave in Wyandot County. Unfortunately, no substantial Paleoindian site has been discovered or recorded within Cuyahoga Valley National Park.⁴

The Archaic Period is sub-divided into Early, Middle, and Late and encompasses the largest length of time in the Cuyahoga Valley's American Indian prehistory. Throughout the Archaic, the climate was changing, Lake Erie's water levels were fluctuating, and new floral and faunal resources were establishing populations in Northeast Ohio. Even the level of the floodplain was fluctuating significantly during the Archaic. Within the Cuyahoga Valley, there are many Archaic sites, but they are small, with low densities of artifacts. Sites such as Plateau Picnic in Chippewa Creek and the Kepner House in Furnace Run, both with intact subsurface features, are representative of the region. These sites have only a small number of fire pits and hearths, indicating limited long-term habitation within the river valley. Tinkers Creek has also produced a higher number of Archaic sites with good chronology and subsurface deposits, especially in the areas around the Terra Vista site near the confluence of Tinkers Creek and the Cuyahoga River (near modern Independence).⁵

⁴ Lepper, Brad, *Ohio Archaeology*, 2005. For discussion of the earliest humans in North America, see Paulette F.C. Steeves *The Indigenous Paleolithics of the Western Hemisphere*,

⁵ A thorough description of Ohio's Archaic period can be found in Purtill, Mathew, "The Ohio Archaic: A Review," 2009. The chapter "different destinations" will go into more details about the geological history of the river valley. For descriptions of the sites in this paragraph, see Finney, Fred, *Calumet, Canal and Cuyahoga*, 2002.



Figure 1: Projectile points through time. From left to right: Clovis point (Paleoindian); Kirk Corner Notched (Early Archaic); Bifurcated point (Middle Archaic); Merom/Trimble (Late Archaic); Adena Stemmed (Early Woodland); Lowe (Middle Woodland); Jack's Reef (Late Woodland); Triangle (Late Prehistoric). Only the last projectile point is an arrowhead; the rest are spear or dart tips since the bow and arrow were not introduced into the Midwest until roughly 1,200 years ago. This arrowhead was recently found near Glenmount Avenue in Akron.

The Woodland Period, also sub-divided into Early, Middle, and Late, encompasses one of the most popular time periods in the public eye. The Hopewell culture flourished during the Middle Woodland Period. There are hundreds of Woodland sites within the valley, ranging from large mounds and earthworks to hamlets and villages and down to small artifact caches. The Furnace Run earthwork (south of Everett and west of the Szalay farm) and the Greenwood Village site (roughly one mile north of the Red Lock trailhead) are two earthwork sites with significant Late Woodland activities. Greenwood village is a large enclosure complex, that may have lunar and solar alignments. The pathway leading into the earthwork was paved with limestone gravel, a common architectural motif of Late Hopewell earthworks that may symbolize an extension of the milky way, a common symbol of the path to the afterlife.⁶

⁶ For more information on Greenwood village, read Belovich, Stephanie and David Brose, "Late Woodland Fortifications in Northern Ohio: The Greenwood Village Site," 1992. For context on Hopewell cosmology and earthworks, see Pacheco, Paul, *A View from the Core*, 1993.



Figure 2: Ground stone axes changed in design slowly over the course of thousands of years during the Middle Archaic through Early Woodland periods. Axes were fully grooved, like the one on the left, but over time this groove was completely dropped from designs in favor of the celt design, on the right.

The Late Precontact and Proto-historic Periods represent a significant shift towards settled village life, intensive maize cultivation, and nucleated family life. American Indians continued building earthen embankments, historically called “hilltop forts”; however, these

hilltop forts were not forts at all. Some served as habitation locations, and others as a sacred space. The most well-known prehistoric sites are the large, multi-family villages scattered throughout the valley. These include the South Park Site, the Staas Site, Terra Vista, Vaughn Village, the Doubler burial ground, Lee Village, and Barker Village. These sites have produced thousands of artifacts, and many burials, over many decades of private collecting episodes and professional investigations. The large villages of this time period are along rises in the floodplain or terraces of the Cuyahoga River. The Late Prehistoric in the Cuyahoga River Valley provides a unique opportunity to study settlement and subsistence patterns within a small foraging range (from Cleveland to Akron), which has been modeled as a north and south seasonal migration.⁷

Summary

The Precontact archaeological sites in the Cuyahoga Valley number in the hundreds. Despite urban development in Cleveland and Akron, there remain many precontact sites undiscovered and undocumented, particularly in the various tributaries of the Cuyahoga River. This can be seen in the few tributary areas that have been more thoroughly investigated: the Everett area of Furnace Run, Boston, and Tinkers Creek, each

⁷ For detailed site reports of the sites mentioned here, see: Redmond, Brian, "Reviewing the Late Prehistory in Ohio," 2000; Brose, David, *The South Park Site*, 1994; Belovich, Stephanie, "The Staas Site," 1986; Ochsner, Eugene, "A Cuyahoga County Ohio Site,"; Finney, Fred, *Calumet, Canal, and Cuyahoga*, 2002. For discussions of seasonal north-south settlement, see Fitting, James and Charles Cleland, "Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Upper Great Lakes," 1969; Brose et al., "Archaeological Investigations in the Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area," 1981.

are well known archaeologically rich areas. The prehistoric resources of the Cuyahoga Valley provide the deep time necessary to understand human adaptation to change that is directly relevant to visitors today and placing the Portage Path within a broader cultural and historical context.

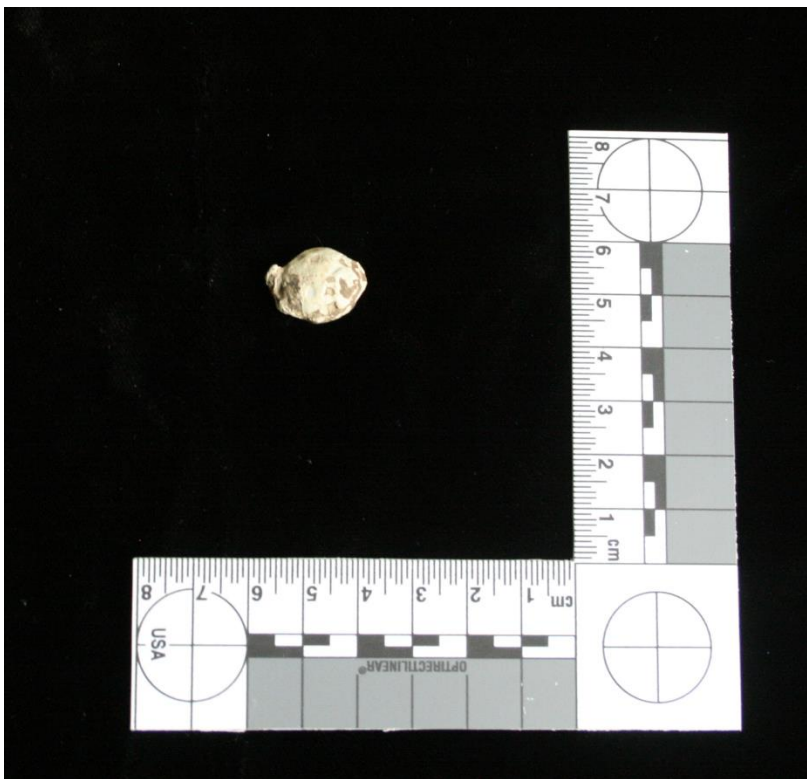
Historic

The historic period can generally be subdivided into the following sub-categories: Historic American Indians (ca. 1650-1812 CE, European Settlement (ca. 1795-1825 CE, Transportation (ca. 1825-1870 CE, Agriculture (1825-1974 CE), Industry (ca. 1850-1974 CE), and Recreation (ca. 1974-present). These subdivisions represent broad patterns in historical changes in land use in the Cuyahoga River Valley.⁸

The Historic American Indian period has been extensively studied in the Cuyahoga River Valley due to the investigations by National Park Service staff at Cuyahoga Valley National Park. Excavations and radiocarbon dating have demonstrated the integrity of historic American Indian sites, in addition to their potential to yield new information about trade, settlement, and subsistence during this time. Sites unique to the area include the Moravian Missionary village of “Pilgerruh,” and the French Trading Post of Saguin.⁹

⁸ These subdivisions come from Winstel, Jeffery, *Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area Cultural Landscape*, 2000.

⁹ For detailed site descriptions, see Finney, Fred, *Calumet, Canal, and Cuyahoga*, 2002. Saguin’s trading post was constructed for a very brief time in the early 1740s, while Pilgerruh was a small



village constructed in the 1780s. Neither site has been definitively identified, though historians know that both are located somewhere within the river valley.

Figure 3: A .40 or .45 caliber bullet from an 18th or early 19th century musket. The bullet is deformed from impact with the ground. Found at the Silver Lake Site in Silver Lake, Ohio.

Many tribes fleeing Iroquoian expansion during the Beaver Wars (1640-1701), or fleeing English, French, or other tribal conflicts, settled in the Cuyahoga Valley in the 17th century. Here tribes including the Wyandot, Seneca, Wendat (Huron), Ottawa, and Lenni Lenape (Delaware) were living alongside one another. Under a different time and place, many of these tribes were in a state of conflict with one another¹⁰

By the end of the War of 1812, American Indian settlement in northeast Ohio had largely been supplanted by European settlers from the eastern United States. While many of the oldest European settlements were established on historic American Indian transportation routes, new transportation routes, such as the Ohio and Erie Canal, were quickly devised by early European settlers. With the advent of the canal, people began settling and establishing businesses along the new transportation route. Some of the best

¹⁰ For a detailed history of the Historic Indian period, see McConnell, Michael, *A Country Between*, 1994. See also, Weidensaul, Scott, *The First Frontier*, 2012; Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, *An Ethnohistorical Report*, 1974. For debates over Algonquian versus Iroquoian speaking peoples in the Cuyahoga Valley, see Bush, David, and Charles Callender, "Anybody but the Erie," 1984; Shriver, Philip, "The Whittlesey People: Algonquian or Iroquoian," 1986; Redmond, Brian, and Katherine Ruhl, "Rethinking the Whittlesey Collapse," 2008.

preserved and interpreted sites in the Cuyahoga Valley are from the canal era (1825-1913), including the Canal Exploration Center, the Edmund Gleeson home, and the Frazee house.¹¹

Summary

Many historic structures are preserved, repurposed, and/or interpreted at Boston and Everett. Most of the historic resources on the National Register of Historic Places in this area are canal era houses or related canal infrastructure. Jeffrey Winstel has subdivided the historic resources into a few concise historical themes: historic American Indians, European Settlement, Transportation, Agriculture, Industry, and Recreation. There is a plethora of sites and information about most of these historical themes, including the historic American Indian period. With this historical context in mind, it is now time to examine the geological and topographic history of northeast Ohio.

¹¹ Jeffrey Winstel's *Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area Cultural Landscape*, 2000, provides an excellent summary of the early 18th century in Northeast Ohio. For more details on Canal era history and sites within the Cuyahoga Valley, see Metzger, Lynn and Peg Bobel, *Canal Fever*, 2009.

Different Destinations

The last of the glaciers receded from Ohio roughly 14,000 to 12,000 years ago. These huge sheets of ice had an immense effect on the formation of much of Ohio's lakes, streams, hills, and soils. Before people could start portaging canoes between streams, there needed to be streams between which they could portage. Thus, to understand the Portage Path, we must first understand the formation of the Cuyahoga River.¹²

The name "Cuyahoga," is Seneca for "crooked river." But how exactly does a river bend in the shape of a "u" as the Cuyahoga? The process is slow, what geologists call *stream downcutting*. Downcutting is the same process that is currently causing Niagara Falls to recede every year. The force of the water erodes the soil and bedrock beneath the river, causing the location of the waterfall to literally move southward over time. This process, on a much smaller and slower scale, happened to the lower Cuyahoga.

Generally, the Cuyahoga is divided into the "upper" and "lower" portions, with the falls of the Cuyahoga as the dividing point. The upper Cuyahoga, for thousands of years, flowed south into the modern Tuscarawas and eventually into the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The lower Cuyahoga "cut" the soil, moving the headwaters of the lower Cuyahoga further south over millennia. Figure 1 illustrates the approximate location of this final location of downcutting, likely somewhere near the historic village of Everett. The streams south of this location flow in a generally southern direction, which indicates that some point in the past they would have flowed south into the Tuscarawas and not into the Lake

¹² Lepper, Brad, *Ohio Archaeology*, 2005. For details of Ohio glaciations, see Szabo, John, Michael Angle, and Alex Eddy, "Pleistocene Glaciation of Ohio, USA," 2011.

Erie drainage basin. The downcutting eventually stole a portion of this historic river, creating the upper section of the Cuyahoga, and creating the “u” shape of the river. This downcutting by the lower Cuyahoga happened between 6,500 and 4500 years ago.¹³

So, what does this mean for the Portage Path? It is unlikely that the path would have followed the same route prior to the formation of the Cuyahoga, since the drainage divide, and thus portage location, would have been further north of the current drainage divide.

Even if there were a portage across north of Akron prehistorically, what would people be travelling towards? Would they be fishing along Lake Erie? What did Lake Erie look like? Lake Erie, like all the great lakes, was initially carved out by the glaciers. However, the process of filling in the giant divots that the glaciers carved out is a slow, and complicated, process.

After the glaciers receded, their immense weight caused the earth to bounce back over time. Think of this effect like a memory foam mattress that returns to its original form after you get off it. This effect is known as *isostatic rebound*. The melting glaciers also lead to an immense flow of water, which carried with it soils and sediments that the glaciers had carved up from the earth’s surface. The combination of large flows of sediments and

¹³ Szabo, J.P., Bradley, K.N., Tevesz, M.J.S., “Foundations from the past: clues to understanding late Quaternary stratigraphy beneath Cleveland, Ohio,” 2003. Also see Bauer, Andrew, Lisa Park and Timothy Matney. "Archaeological site distribution by geomorphic setting in the southern lower Cuyahoga River Valley, northeastern Ohio: Initial observations from a GIS database, 2004.

isostatic rebound resulted in natural dams of sediment, called *sill dams*, that blocked the flow of water into Lake Erie.¹⁴

Up until roughly 13,600 years ago, Lake Erie was a small lake east of present-day Erie, Pennsylvania. Then, the sill dams broke. The water level of the lake extended as far east as Lorain, Ohio, but still was far below its modern levels. Victoria Brehm has argued that this sudden flood event may explain the prevalence of flood creation stories among Great Lakes Native American cultures.¹⁵

With rapid flooding came rapid stagnation. For the next 6,000 years, from roughly 10,300 to 5,400 years ago, Lake Erie was a closed watershed. No fresh water flowed into the lake to replace the existing water. The result was a lake that became *eutrophic*, which supports plant life but not fish. The lack of water was the result of drier and warmer climate conditions than at present, resulting in more water evaporating into the atmosphere. The reduction in water availability meant the Lake could not replace the water it was losing through evaporation. The lake was “in a hydrologically-closed state for about 6 millennia.” The lakeshore for most of this period would have been roughly 5 to 6 miles north of the current Cleveland shoreline. Thus, up until approximately 5,400 years ago, Lake Erie was further north than it is today, and did not support fish species. Additionally, as we have

¹⁴ Holcombe, Troy, Lisa Taylor, David Reid, John Warren, Peter Vincent, and Charles Herdendorf, “Revised Lake Erie Postglacial Lake Level History based on New Detailed Bathymetry,” 2003.

¹⁵ Holcombe, Troy, Lisa Taylor, David Reid, John Warren, Peter Vincent, and Charles Herdendorf, “Revised Lake Erie Postglacial Lake Level History based on New Detailed Bathymetry,” 2003. Victoria Brehm, *Star Songs and Water Spirits*, 2011.

already learned, the Cuyahoga River was in the early stages of downcutting the lower river with the upper.¹⁶

This period of immense change around 5,400 years ago was part of what archaeologists call the *Late Archaic* period. This period is when “the modern climate of Ohio became established.” The quantity of archaeological sites increases significantly compared to prior archaeological periods. Archaeologists attribute this primarily to the increased abundance and diversity of resources available to people beginning in this period. People coming into the lower Cuyahoga were likely pursuing riverine resources, the newly established fish of Lake Erie, and the plant life along the floodplain.¹⁷

What people were not getting in the Cuyahoga River valley was flint and chert. At least, not any high-quality materials in a reliable and sizeable proportion to warrant the extraction of these stone raw materials. Flint and chert were vital raw materials for the manufacture of stone tools. Archaeologists know from sites in the area, such as the Remington Site (also known as Paleo crossing) in Sharon Township, Medina County, Ohio, that people during the Paleoindian period were willing to walk thousands of miles to haul chert from southern Indiana.¹⁸

¹⁶ Herdendorf, Charles, “Research Overview: Holocene development of Lake Erie,” 2013. Holcombe et al., 2003. Lewis, C. F., Clifford Heil, G.D.M. Cameron, “Lake levels in Erie Basin of the Laurentian Great Lakes,” 2012, 509.

¹⁷ Lepper, Brad, *Ohio Archaeology*, 2005, 65. For an in depth analysis of the Late Archaic explosion of archaeological materials, and possibly population, see Matthew Purtill’s chapter, “The Ohio Archaic: A Review,” 2009.

¹⁸ For the most current research on Paleo Crossing (Remington) site, see Meltzer et al., “On the Presumed Clovis-Age Structure at the Paleo Crossing Site, Ohio,” 2022. For information on cherts

In Ohio, the best stone tool quarries were in Coshocton, Licking, and Muskingum Counties. The Ohio State mineral, Flint Ridge Flint, is one of the finest and best quality raw materials from which stone tools can be flint knapped in North America. Flint Ridge quarries can be found predominantly in and around Newark, Ohio.

Beginning around 1,200 years ago, people began exploiting the locally available chert and flint found in riverbanks and in the soils of Northeast Ohio. The local chert, known as Onondaga chert, was carved out by the glaciers thousands of years prior, and transported to the Cuyahoga River Valley in sediment deposits. These small cobbles of chert limited the kinds of tools people could manufacture, since they were small. Most cobbles of Onondaga are the size of a golf ball, though they can get as large as an orange. Because of this, tools made from Onondaga in Northeast Ohio tended to be smaller and more crudely formed than tools made from other materials.¹⁹

In short, the changing topography throughout the Paleoindian and Archaic periods likely reflected variable needs and uses of the landscape by peoples over these long stretches of time. Beginning in the Late Archaic period, the environment of Northeast Ohio began to look like the present conditions and points to the earliest period in time that the Portage Path could have begun to be used.

and flints in Ohio, see Stout and Schoenlaub, *The Occurrence of Flint in Ohio*, 1945; Vickery, Kent, "Flint Raw Material Use in Ohio Hopewell," 1996.

¹⁹ Redmond, Brian, "An Archaeological Assessment of the OEC 1 Site (33Cu462)," 2008, provides detailed descriptions of Onondaga and local chert use by Late Prehistoric peoples.

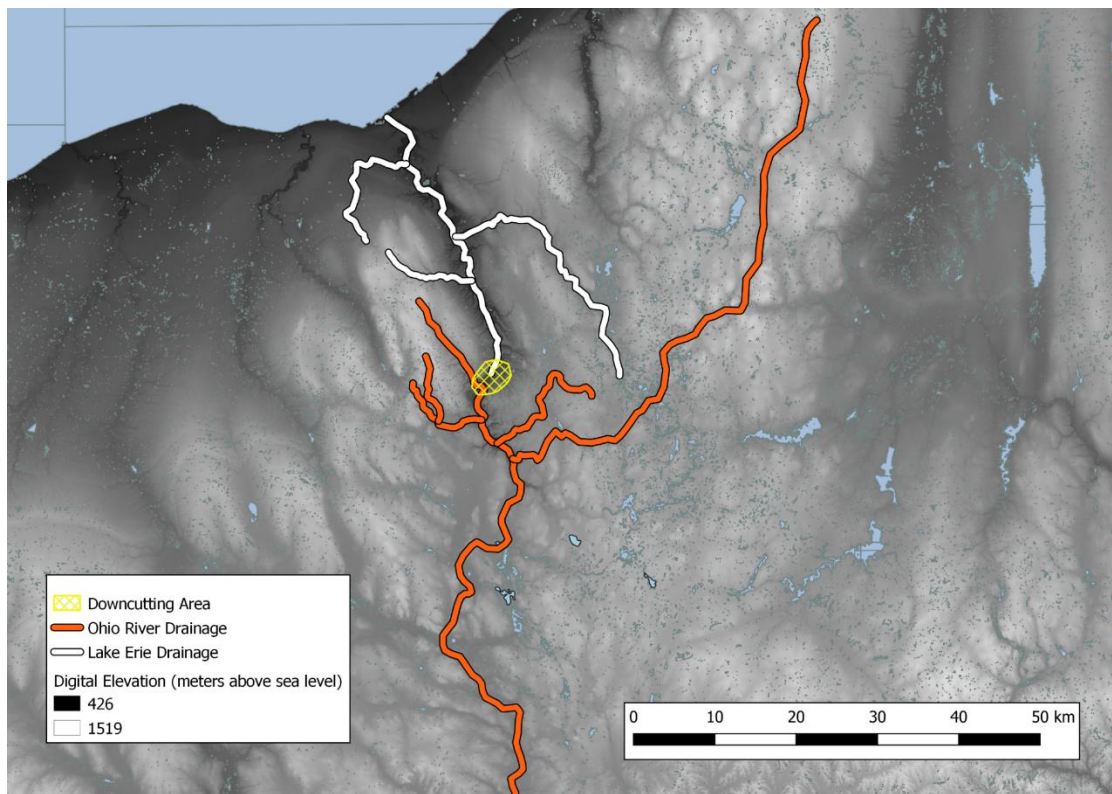


Figure 4: Map of prehistoric drainages of the Tuscarawas and Cuyahoga Rivers.

Portage Paths

The Portage Path is one of many paths and trails in Ohio. These paths served different purposes, in addition to routes to different destinations. As mentioned in the previous section, flint quarries played an important role in the movement and settlement of past peoples in North America. The major portages in the Ohio country are generally north-south in direction, bridging the divide between the Lake Erie watershed and the Ohio River watershed. The major portages depended on major rivers, which included the Wabash, Upper Scioto, Tuscarawas, Alleghany, and Susquehanna. Even in cases where watercraft were not used, river valleys often provided a simple means of navigation by foot, especially in the Appalachian Mountains.²⁰

Portages were areas in which people needed mutually assured access to land to portage between waterways. As Cherry notes, these places were a “neutral highway.” But territory, and especially access to it, are not without dispute and conflict resolution. Jay Custer has argued that trails, portages, and other areas of high traffic are natural locations for the negotiation of land use.²¹

²⁰ Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, *Indians of Northwest Ohio and Indiana*, 1974, 333. Wheeler-Voegelin emphasized the Upper Sandusky portage as the most important trail in Ohio from the 17th through the 18th centuries.

²¹ Cherry, Peter, *The Portage Path*, 1911, 5. Custer, Jay, “A New Look at the Petroglyphs of the Lower Susquehanna Valley,” 1989.

William Whittaker, in the case of Iowa, has attempted to use the patterning of archaeological sites and historic trail maps to estimate the approximate age of trails. Using data from the *Ohio Archaeological Inventory* (OAI), we can use Whittaker's methods to examine the patterns in land use in the lower Cuyahoga River Valley. These patterns may indicate an approximate age in which the Portage Path , or some historical variation, was being used by people to travel to and from the lower Cuyahoga River valley.²²

The Lower Cuyahoga River Valley has been extensively surveyed by archaeologists, due primarily to the location of Cuyahoga Valley National Park. The National Park Service has conducted hundreds of surveys within the boundaries of the park, which has led to an abundance of archaeological data.

Based on Whittaker's methodology, the artifact distribution and density near the Portage Path indicates the oldest earliest uses would coincide with the re-routing of the Cuyahoga River during the Late Archaic period (see previous chapter, "different destinations"). Obviously, this very crude proxy for land use does not account for increases in population; however, this correlation reinforces the interpretation that the Portage Path, and likely many of the other paths in the region, were forming no earlier than the Late Archaic period.²³

But the Portage Path is only one path within the lower Cuyahoga valley. According to Frank Wilcox, there are numerous small trails and paths linking the various tributary streams of the Cuyahoga and adjacent watersheds. During the early 20th century, when

²² Whittaker, William, "Determining the Age of GLO-mapped Trail Networks: A GIS Analysis of Northern Iowa", 2015.

²³ Whittaker concludes that most historic trails in Iowa were relatively young (Late Prehistoric). He also raises the concern of population increase as an uncontrolled factor in his analysis.

Frank Wilcox was painting and creating his book, *Ohio Indian Trails*, there was a movement within the state of Ohio by local enthusiasts to identify, record, and map out the historic trails of Ohio. At the forefront of this effort was the work done by the Indian Pathfinders Association.²⁴

In 1914, Elmer B. Wight and other locals of Walton Hills (south of Bedford, Ohio) formed the Indian Pathfinders Association No. 1. That same year, William C. Mills, then curator of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society (today the Ohio History Connection) published *The Ohio Archaeological Atlas*, which included a map of known historic trails.²⁵

These early 20th century historians and archaeologists were combining historical records with the locations of known archaeological sites and making inferences about the routes of historic paths. In most cases, trails were assumed to follow the same routes as certain modern roads, such as state routes (e.g. State Route 21 and 261).

Despite relying on older methods and assumptions about the distribution of sites and age of trails, these early archaeologists and trail recorders were conducting analogous analysis to those used by archaeologists today. Today, archaeologists can use *Geographic Information Systems* (GIS) to generate *least cost paths* to predict where trails may have been.

²⁴ Wilcox, Frank, *Ohio Indian Trails*, 2015 [1933]. Kainsinger, Jean and Robert Kainsinger, *Historic Sites in Our Parks*, 2006.

²⁵ Kainsinger and Kainsinger, 2006. The Mills atlas is a vital resource to archaeologists, even today, and has been digitized and made freely available on numerous internet archives, such as archive.org.

Mystery Cave

As for landmarks that might have attracted past people along the Portage Path, there is only one previously reported archaeological site within half a kilometer of the path. The Mystery Cave site was discovered during quarry operations by the Akron White Sand and Stone Company in late summer 1899. The workers credited with discovery are Gus Miller, William Miller, Charles Wagoner, Myron Pettitt and Gerald Brown. The Akron Daily Democrat reported the findings of the workers at the cave on September 7, 1899.²⁶

The workers discovered the skeletal remains of an individual, allegedly fully articulated. Found in the same part of the cave were the claws of a bear, part of a bear hide, a pair of deer antlers, an ivory tusk, an “Indian skinning knife,” an “arrow head,” and a piece of pottery. Eventually, the workmen invited Dr. J. Vale Cleaver and an Akron Daily Democrat reporter, unnamed in the article, to the site. Dr. Cleaver examined the skeletal remains, and interpreted them as a “large” male aged 14-16. The Daily Democrat reporter took the ivory tusk, a piece of pottery, and the right femur of the individual. The pottery was described as “unusually fine quality.”²⁷

According to the Akron Beacon Journal, who only reported the discovery on September 7, the crevice was roughly eight to ten feet below the surface of the hill slope. The discovery had been made by Gerald Brown and other workers roughly two weeks prior. On the floor of the cave was found “two feet of black loam and decayed vegetable mater, which yielded easily to the shovel.” Other materials described in the Akron Beacon Journal

²⁶ Akron Daily Democrat, “Human Skeleton Found,” September 7, 1899, 1.

²⁷ Ibid.

article included “deer antlers, bears claws, many kinds of teeth, remains of foxes and several jaw bones...of wolf.” The pottery was described as “very rude,” contrary to the Daily Democrat’s description. The only other artifact described was a “rude” mortar and pestle found near the rest of the materials.²⁸

The Mystery Cave site is one of a handful of caves and rock shelters in the Akron area. There are only four rock shelters that have been professionally excavated in Summit County: Boston Ledges, Gillie rock shelter, Krill Cave, and Stow rock shelter. These rock shelters, according to Spurlock, Prufer, and Pigott’s *Caves and Cultures* were predominantly late prehistoric “Whittlesey” occupations, with minor Late Archaic diagnostics throughout these rock shelters. Based on the artifacts described in the newspapers, the Mystery cave would fit into this pattern of Late Prehistoric peak cave and rock shelter use. The age of the skeletons, as described in the newspaper, were a child and a male aged 14-16, are like Mammoth and Salts caves in Kentucky. George Crothers describes an unusual dominance of young male skeletons recovered from Salts and Mammoth caves. He hypothesizes that caves served as a puberty ritual location for males, and rock shelters and cave entrances served a potentially similar, though tentative, role for females. The proximity to the Portage Path suggests the cave was used with relative frequency, perhaps even being one of the contributing factors to the location of the trail. Other caves and rock shelters reported in the Akron area, but not professionally surveyed, include Wolf Ledge, Gorge Cave and Palmer Cave. According to Steven Kish, a local avocational archaeologist, there was also a

²⁸ Akron Beacon Journal, “Skeleton of Prehistoric Man Found on Property of White Sand & Stone Co.”, September 7, 1899, 1.

rock shelter below the Bauer Mound in the Wolf Creek stream valley west of Mystery Cave. These cave and rock shelter sites may have served ceremonial, ritualistic, or sacred purposes rather than habitation.²⁹

Based on the proximity of Mystery Cave to the Portage Path, there may be a connection between the two. As famous geographer Waldo Tobler established, the closer in space two objects are, the more correlated they are. However, given the lack of professional archaeological survey of the path, and the archival information about the discovery at Mystery Cave, little else can be established between the path and the cave site. The artifacts and human remains discovered in 1902 have since been lost.

²⁹ Spurlock et al., *Caves and Culture*, 2006. Crothers, George, "Early Woodland Ritual Use of Caves in Eastern North America," 2012.

Silver Lake Site

Perhaps more compelling a pull for past peoples to the area were lakes. Within 30 kilometers of the southern terminus of the Portage Path there are at least seven kettle lakes that were accessible: Chippewa, Congress, Nesmith, Silver, Springfield, Summit, and Turkeyfoot. These locations would have been prime real estate for waterfowl, a known staple food for American Indians in the region historically and prehistorically.³⁰

Unlike Lake Erie, these smaller kettle lakes were easily navigable by canoes. In fact, the only two extant dugout canoes preserved in Ohio were recovered at Savannah Lake, Ashland County, and Congress Lake in Stark County, known as the Ringler and Congress Lake canoes, respectively. The Ringler canoe is currently on display at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, and the Congress Lake canoe is on display at the McKinley Museum. The current interpretations of both radiocarbon dates and construction techniques place these dugouts in either the late prehistoric or proto-historic period. In both cases, the canoes were found buried along the lake shore, suggesting intentional burial or periodic abandonment for return trips to the lake. Given the extreme weight of dugout canoes, the amount of energy expended to move such a heavy watercraft over a portage would be impractical compared to birch bark canoes.³¹

³⁰ For details of common fauna consumed prehistorically, see Spurlock, et al., *Caves and Cultures*, 2009, or Prufer et al., *Krill Cave*, 1989.

³¹ For more information on the Ringler dugout, see Greber et al., "The Ringler Dugout Revisited," 2012. The Congress Lake canoe has no formal publications, though there are photographs, notes, and correspondence on file at the McKinley Museum Library.

Clearly, lakes played an important role in past foodways and culture. It is thus no surprise that a site like the Silver Lake site, excavated by SHiP crew and volunteers in 2018, was discovered in the area between the lake and the Cuyahoga River. Figures 1 and 3 contain images of artifacts recovered from the site. The site contained numerous amounts of flint debris, fire-cracked rocks that indicate the practice of stone boiling, a nutting stone, Late Woodland pottery, Middle and Late Archaic projectile points, and at least one 18th or early 19th century musket ball.³²

No sites of similar proportion to the Silver Lake site have been excavated along the Portage Path, save for perhaps the occasional collecting activities of Joseph Witzman on the southern side of Lake Nesmith (today an apartment complex). The urbanization of Akron versus the village of Silver Lake likely explains how such a site could be preserved in Silver Lake and not in Akron. It is possible sites of similar composition to the Silver Lake site were located (or are awaiting discovery through archaeological survey) near the Portage Path. However, as the Witzman Village demonstrates, it is also possible past artifact collecting activities have spread any potential information about these sites across people's private collections that are likely unrecoverable.³³

³² For a detailed description and analysis of the excavations at the Silver Lake sites, see Olson, Eric, "Public Archaeology at the Silver Lake Sites," 2018. The "village" was supposedly governed by a Seneca Chief named Wagmong, who cannot be identified in oral or historical records prior to the late 19th century.

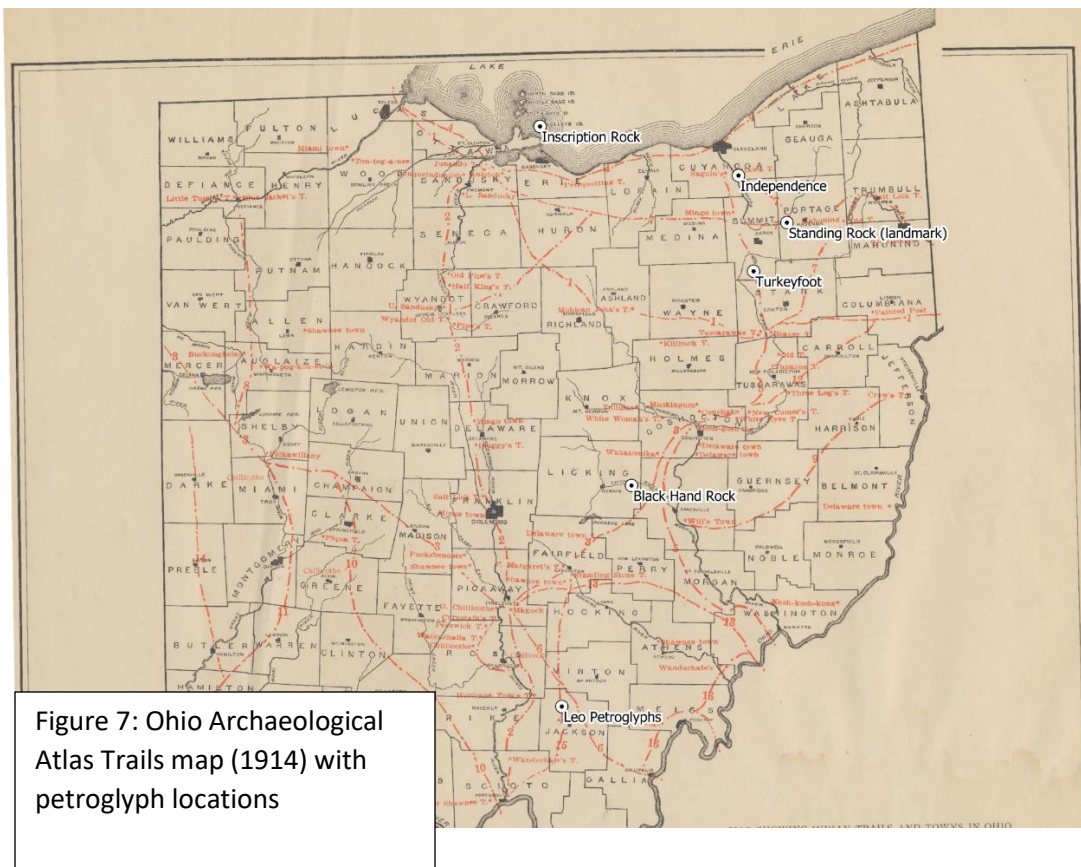
³³ The "Witzman Village" site was first documented by Joseph Witzman in the early 1960s. Unfortunately, no maps, notes, nor the artifacts recovered exist in any repository that can be

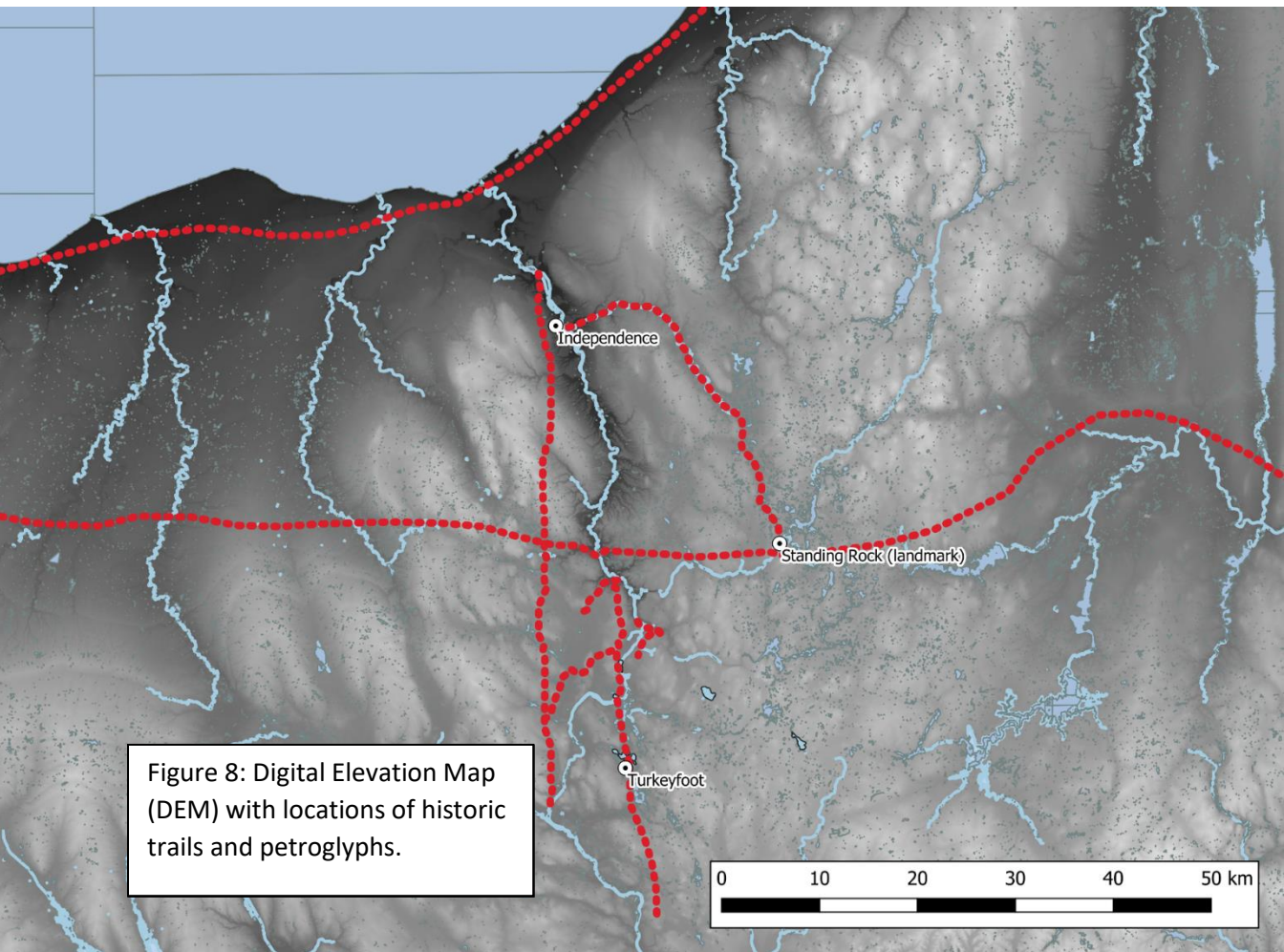
If the Portage Path is one of several paths in the Akron area that past peoples could use for transportation, and there are few known sites along the path associated with its active use as a path, what else might explain the route of the Portage Path? The Portage Path is one of, if not the only, trail in Ohio that was professionally surveyed and recorded during its active use as a trail. Perhaps this alone is what makes the Portage Path unique. Other maps of trails by contemporaries in the 18th century were often crudely sketched, not to scale, and did not follow enough unique landmarks to provide a clear route that could be transposed to modern maps with significant accuracy.³⁴

The Portage Path represents only one route that past peoples would have taken to get to and from various locations. In the previous chapter (different destinations) those routes likely changed with the changes in topography, rerouting of rivers, and utilization of raw materials changed through time. From the historical record, overland routes that facilitated east-west travel by foot or pack horse would play a more significant role during the 18th century.

accessed to date. The only information available about this site is an article by Witzman in *Ohio Archaeologist*, "A Summit County Village," 1962.

³⁴ See, for example, the map drawn by John Heckewelder in his 1818 publication.





Borderlands

1650 is a commonly used year in Northeast Ohio archaeology as the cutoff for the prehistoric and historic period. The 1650s coincided with the earliest accounts in the *Jesuit Relations* of the Erie tribe's war with their neighbors to the east and north, the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy. The Erie were never in Ohio, but they provided a buffer those living in the Lower Cuyahoga Valley, commonly known as the Whittlesey culture.³⁵

By 1655, most of those people who claimed lineage in the Erie tribe had been killed in war, died from new European diseases such as smallpox, or adopted into Haudenosaunee villages (primarily Seneca). With the collapse of the Erie in the 1650s, there was little military might to stop Iroquois expansion into the Ohio Country during the late 17th century.³⁶

By the 1680s, Seneca war parties were traveling as far west as modern Chicago to attack rival tribes and lay claim to precious beaver hunting grounds. The Seneca had led an aggressive campaign against tribes to the west and south, resulting in a drastic depopulation of northeast Ohio. People still lived in Northeast Ohio during this time, but not in the same ways they had previously. People no longer lived in large, palisaded villages

³⁵ Bush and Callender, "Anybody but the Erie," 1984.

³⁶ Redmond, Brian and Katherine Ruhl, "Rethinking the Whittlesey Collapse," 2008. See also Cadwallader, Colden, Cadwallader, Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations, Depending on the Province of New-York in America*, 1793 [1747].

as those would be ripe for Seneca attack. However, to call the Cuyahoga Valley, or Ohio, a "no man's land" is disingenuous.³⁷

The Seneca raids in the Ohio country would precipitously decrease after the French, led by Jacques-Rene de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, attacked several Seneca villages in 1687. The ensuing decade was filled with raids, skirmishes, and battles between Britain and France, with the St. Lawrence River as the primary divide between the two warring factions, and the Iroquois Confederacy in between.³⁸

The Iroquois, sandwiched between two colonial superpowers, were caught between alliances to both. Out of this intense warfare of the late 17th century came two formal declarations of peace and neutrality with both France and Britain. These are collectively known as the Great Peace of 1701. The results of the conferences held by the Iroquois Confederacy in Montreal and Albany had huge implications for the Cuyahoga Valley.³⁹

³⁷ Ibid. Also see also Shetrone, Henry, *The Culture Problem in Ohio Archaeology*, 1920. Greenman, Emerson, "Two Prehistoric Villages near Cleveland, Ohio." *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 43, no. 3 (1937):325-363. Brose, David, "History as Handmaiden to Archaeology?", 1984. Bush, David and Charles Callander, "Anybody but the Erie," 1984. Shriver, Philip, "A Large Seventeenth Century Historic Contact Interment in the Cuyahoga Valley: An Iroquoian Piece in the Puzzle of What happened to the Whittlesey Focus?", 1985. Shriver, Philip, "The Whittlesey People: Algonquian or Iroquoian?", 1986.

³⁸ Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, "An Ethnohistorical Report," 1974. Cadwallader, Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations, Depending on the Province of New-York in America*, 1773 [1747].

³⁹ Shannon, Timothy, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*, 2008. See also, Abrams, George, *The Seneca People*, 1976, 20-23.

The treaty of Nanfan, named after the colonial New York governor at the time, crudely delineated territory that the Iroquois Confederacy claimed through conquest in the previous century. The wording of the treaty does not clearly establish a geographic extent to the territory claimed by the confederacy. The resulting claim was very generous, including lands as far west as the southern tip of Lake Michigan, to the Ohio River. Practically, this territory was not managed by the Seneca or any other member of the Iroquois Confederacy. As the treaty notes, Iroquois claims ran up to the lands on which the “Twichtwich,” or Miami, claimed. The Miami tribe has historical land claims to most of the state of Indiana, and parts of western Ohio. Thus, even in 1701, the land claims west of the Cuyahoga River were dubious at best.⁴⁰

The obvious issues of uncertainty in land claims lead to an amendment to the treaty at an Albany conference in 1726. The amendment put the Cuyahoga River as the western most border of Iroquois (Seneca) territory. The river was called “Canahogue” in the transcription of the treaty, which most scholars agree is the earliest name of the Cuyahoga River.⁴¹

It was not until the 1740s that the Cuyahoga is mentioned with any significance in historical records. The historical records of the Cuyahoga Valley coincide with the start of George Croghan’s trading business in what was then the western frontier of the colony of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁰ There is still debate whether to call the document signed in 1701 and amended in 1726 a treaty or a deed. See Windle, Jim and Paul Williams, “What about that 1701 Nanfan Treaty?,” 2016.

⁴¹ Whittlesey, Charles, *The Early History of Cleveland, Ohio*, 1867.

In 1743, a group of Ohio Seneca, living along the Cuyahoga River, petitioned the French to build a trading post on the Cuyahoga. That same year, a group of Ottawa had asked the Ohio Seneca if they could have a small piece of land along the Cuyahoga for a council fire. A chief known in European records as “Conagaresa,” or “Broken Kettle,” an Ohio Seneca along the Cuyahoga, had sent messages to George Croghan in 1747 to get the colony of Pennsylvania to act against the French. As a region between British controlled Pennsylvania and French controlled Fort Detroit, the Cuyahoga was a half-way point between these two colonial powers. The French had failed to live up to their promises to deliver trade goods to those in the Ohio country. The 1740s were a time of rapid population growth in the Ohio Valley. The British and French both tried to capitalize on these new consumer markets with failed trading posts along the Cuyahoga River. The Cuyahoga, it appeared, was at the limits of French influence in Fort Detroit, and English in Aughwick, Pennsylvania (George Croghan’s headquarters).⁴²

By 1749, tensions between the French and British were reaching new heights. Celeron de Blainville led an expedition from Lake Chautauqua, through the Alleghany River and down the Ohio River to lay claim to the river and all lands west of it. This included the area of the Portage Path. The message to the people living in the Ohio Country was clear: the French thought Ohio was theirs, and the English were doing nothing to stop it. The English (including George Croghan) could find time to sell rum and other goods to Ohio tribes.⁴³

⁴² McConnel, Michael, *A Country Between*, 1994, 69. See also Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, “An Ethnohistoric Report,” 1974. Calloway, Colin, *The Indian World of George Washington*, 2018, 51.

⁴³ Ibid.

Though Celeron's expedition was a failed attempt as a show of military strength, the burning of the English trading town of Pickawillany (near modern Piqua, Ohio) in 1752 sent a strong message to those in the Ohio Country. Their Chief, Old Briton, was executed. The French were willing to put force behind their threats, while the English at this time were not willing to commit much beyond a young messenger boy named George Washington.⁴⁴

The ensuing Seven Years War (1756-1763) had little recorded events in northeast Ohio. Given the location of the portage path as a half-way point between Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh, PA), one would expect military strategies and campaigns intent on capturing the Cuyahoga Valley and utilizing the portage path. However, the one campaign into the Ohio country by the British, led by Colonel Henry Bouquet, went *around* the Portage Path. Even a global war between two colonial superpowers did not warrant the strategic need to control the Portage Path, since the path functioned as a north-south route between a small river valley and the rest of the Ohio country. The limited military engagements into the Ohio country were inherently a show of force rather than tactically significant, since "the means simply did not exist to police such a vast territory," in the 1760s.⁴⁵

The Portage Path, however, did serve one very convenient function; it was a short, known landmark between two rivers that meant disputes about eastern and western territory could be limited to disputes over the route of the Portage Path . Since roughly

⁴⁴ Ibid. See also, Wiedensaul, Scott, *The First Frontier*, 2012. For a detailed history of Washington in the Seven Years War, see Calloway, Colin, *The Indian World of George Washington*, 2018.

⁴⁵ McConnell, Michael, *A Country Between*, 1994, 168.

1726, the Cuyahoga River, and by extension the Portage Path , had served as the western border of Seneca territory. By the 1770s, any claims to the land by the Seneca or other members of the Iroquois confederacy were met with disdain. The Lenape, Wyandot, and Shawnee had lived in the Ohio country for decades and argued the Seneca and other Iroquois had no right to claim the land. White Eyes, a Lenape chief in the Ohio Country, gave an impassioned speech in 1775 at a tribal conference at Fort Pitt. In his speech, he put the Iroquois chiefs in their place proclaiming “all the country on the other side of that river [Alleghany] is mine.”⁴⁶

The year prior, 1774, was a tumultuous year for those living in Eastern Ohio. Lord Dunmore and other land speculators had fought with the Ohio Seneca, Shawnee, and Lenape of Ohio. Lord Dunmore’s war was instigated after a large portion of the family of Logan, a now famous leader of the Seneca-Cayuga, were murdered near Yellow Creek, Ohio. During the summer of 1774, Seneca-Cayuga groups had plans to flee to the Cuyahoga River valley to escape the bloodshed of American raiding parties. Though these groups never made it to the Cuyahoga River, clearly their intention was to resettle in the area because it was not an active warzone.⁴⁷

The fighting in the Ohio Country would continue in the same regions as the American Revolution expanded to western frontiers. The same area Bouquet had seen as

⁴⁶ Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, 1881 [1818], 140-141. See also Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, “An Ethnohistoric Report,” 1974, 149.

⁴⁷ Lord Dunmore’s war has been written about at length. Both Michael McConnell and Colin Calloway devote an entire chapter to the 1774 “war” in their books *A Country Between*, 1994, and *The Indian World of George Washington*, 2018. This long history of studying the war goes back to Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1782.

strategically important as an overland route between Detroit and Pittsburgh in 1763 became important again during the American Revolution. General Edward Hand, in February 1778, led a failed campaign to attack British storehouses along the Cuyahoga River. The expeditionary force turned around before ever reaching the Portage Path. This was the only campaign that specifically targeted the Cuyahoga Valley and intended to utilize the Portage Path during the American Revolution.⁴⁸

By the end of the American Revolution, the fighting in the Ohio Country had shifted to the west and along the Ohio river in places. Fighting between the newly formed United States and tribes in the Ohio country would continue for many years after the Treaty of Paris of 1783. However, the Portage Path would take center stage in treaty negotiations during these conflicts, not as a strategic territory, but as a border.⁴⁹

The treaty of Fort McIntosh was the first treaty that explicitly used the Portage Path as a boundary for United States territory in 1785. The border drawn up as part of the treaty was repurposed a decade later in the Treaty of Fort Greenville of 1795.

Not long after the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, Moses Cleaveland was commissioned by the Connecticut Land Company to survey the new territory along the Cuyahoga River. By the end of 1797, the Portage Path had been surveyed and mapped as part of the United States border. From the perspective of land surveying, the path was an ideal border landmark. Surveying technology in the late 18th century was not very accurate, and prone to errors in mathematical calculations and accuracy of magnetic compasses.

⁴⁸ Wiedensaul, Scott, *The First Frontier*, 2012. Calloway, Colin, *Indian World of George Washington*, 2018, 266.

⁴⁹ Whittlesey, Charles, *The Early History of Cleveland, Ohio*, 1867.

Surveyors used what was known as chains and rods to measure distances. These methods had existed since the 1620s but were still rather simple means of mapping land.⁵⁰

Rivers were an immense time-saver for the surveyor, since they were large and obvious landmarks that anyone could distinguish as a border. Nobody could dispute where a river flowed, though the river itself might change course over the span of decades. Limiting the amount of overland surveying meant limiting the number of disputable borders due to surveyor error.

The conflicts between France and Britain, and later the United States, in the 18th century should have put strategic value on such an important route as the Portage Path, if the path was truly an important transportation route. However, historical records do not demonstrate value placements of this path within contemporary America, British or French military strategy. The construction of a trading post by British and French traders in the 1740s at the mouth of the Cuyahoga failed to last beyond the decade. The Cuyahoga Campaign by General Hand of 1778 failed to even reach the Portage Path, and no subsequent campaigns were planned for the Cuyahoga Valley.

The tribal movements and history of the region is complex in the 17th and 18th centuries and lends itself to an overly reductive historiography as “Indigenous” without specific Tribal affiliations. Many different cultures, languages, clans, and Tribes lived along the Portage Path in the 17th and 18th centuries. This complex settlement of cultures, and the racialization of American Indian groups as one monolithic group led to the region as a whole representing “Indian territory.” Thus, the Portage Path became an important symbol

⁵⁰ Ibid. See also, Bierce, Lucius, *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County*, 1854, 15-20.

by 1795. The path represented the boundary between “white” and “Indigenous” lands. It was, for a time, the western edge of the United States.

Collective Memory

The path, when examined in the context of broader events of the 18th century, was important because it was a useful landmark for separating American Indian and Euro-American space. The Portage Path gained significance not for its utility as an efficient route for the transportation of goods, but as a convenient landmark in the segregation of “Indigenous” and “white” land. Frontiers, in old schools of historical thought, were what made Americans American. The idea was that American identity was forged in the individualistic struggle along a frontier.

Western expansion as the cornerstone of American identity was most famously espoused by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in his 1893 lecture *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. By closely examining the archaeological and historical records, a narrative of boundaries and borders becomes clear. The Portage Path was not some early American “highway” for traders and settlers. It was the edge of the frontier. The Cuyahoga was the dividing line between “us” and “them.” It was not until the creation of the Ohio and Erie Canal, itself not a certain guarantee to run parallel to the Portage Path, that settlers began to reflect on the importance of the Portage Path and its role in the history of the region.⁵¹

As is clear from the previous chapters, the Portage Path held relatively little significance as a transportation route. The earliest the Portage Path could have been used, in some similar route, dates to the Late Archaic period. However, it is not until the 18th

⁵¹ For an in-depth discussion of the Frontier Thesis’ impact on historical thought, see Klein, Kerwin, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination*, 1997.

century that the Portage Path becomes important as a means of delineating the boundaries of territories, first the Seneca and Iroquois Confederacy, and later the British and Americans.

Despite the concerted effort to preserve the path through placards, statues, and street names, little archaeological investigation has been conducted along the path. Two gunflints are the only artifacts directly associated with the active use of the Portage Path as a trail. These artifacts were identified by a SHiP archaeological field crew in spring, 2019 while excavating at the John Brown house. The crew found the artifacts within 10 meters of the existing paved Portage Path south of the John Brown house.⁵²

⁵² Olson et al., “A Report of the Phase II Archaeological Survey at the John Brown House, City of Akron, Summit County, Ohio,” 2019.



Figure 10: French gunflint found south of the John Brown House near Portage Path by SHiP field crew, spring, 2019.



Figure 11: French gunflint found south of the John Brown House near the Portage Path by SHIP field crew, spring, 2019.

Both gunflints are from the Indre-et Loire region of central France. Since these flints are French in origin, they likely date to the 1740s or earlier, when French colonial outposts held an important economic pull in the region. No other gun parts or associated artifacts were found during the 2019 survey, so there is little more interpretation we can make of these artifacts. The flints are not exhausted, so it is unlikely that the past users would have discarded them intentionally due to lack of future usability. Perhaps they fell out of a pocket or bag, lost in transit between the two termini of the path.

The only other archaeological investigation along the path comes from newspaper journalists in the early 20th century. The mystery cave site, now the lagoon at Stan Hywet, provides surprisingly detailed information about the contents of the cave's archaeological content. However, without any information about where these artifacts ended up after their discovery, or even photos of the site, there are again limits to interpretation. From these data, there are few conservative interpretations. The cave may have served as a burial location and stopping point for rituals along the Portage Path, in a similar way that other routes in other cultures might have shrines at the side of the road for travelers.

These few archaeological records do not support a "great highway" interpretation, as Peter Cherry thought in 1911. However, most scholars interpreting the historical significance of the Portage Path also understood the path as an important historical border. Lucius Bierce, in his *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County* of 1854, had this to say about the Portage Path:

"When we cast our eyes north, and see Old Portage, a celebrated boundary in the Treaty of Fort McIntosh of 1785...when we look west, and see...the celebrated 'Indian Trail,' once the boundary between the

six nations, and the western Indians—and by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 made the boundary between the United States and Indians—we find ourselves on classic ground...”⁵³

Bierce then proceeded to describe history that involved borders, treaties, and battles in the Ohio country that established the boundaries between the United States and “Indian territory.”

Shortly after Bierce’s publication, the first atlas of Summit County was published, and included a dotted line detailing the Portage Path. Thus began a long tradition in mapping the Portage Path in subsequent atlases. By the late 1890s, portions of the path continued to bear the name “portage path.” Residents of Akron were so adamant about preserving the name, that when the street name was changed in the 1890s, there was public outrage. Specifically, there was outrage from one of the most prominent Akronites of the late 19th century, Samuel A. Lane.⁵⁴

The fight revolved around changing the name to Cobb Avenue, in memory of prominent Akronite Charles Cobb, who had died in 1892. The protestations against the name change culminated in a city resolution in 1900 to formally declare the name of the street as “Portage Path.” Opinions by some Akron residents were couched in the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner. An anonymous letter to the Akron Beacon Journal wrote:

⁵³ Bierce, Lucius, *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County*, 1854, 21.

⁵⁴ Matthews and Taintor, 1856, *An Atlas of Akron and Summit County, Ohio*. Akron Beacon Journal, “Local History: Portage Path name change leaves trail of hard feelings,” July 7, 2013.

“We consider it of some importance that the men who cleared the farms, built substantial homes on them, and were important factors in the early history of the county should be remember than that lazy Indian who merely wandered across the country with his canoe on his back should claim a place in our memory.”⁵⁵

Neither side of the debate to preserve or change the name of the street was particularly interested in the living descendants for whom the Portage Path was their historical homeland. There were no discussions of the Delaware, Ojibwe, Ottawa, Seneca-Cayuga, Seneca, or Wyandot people who lived in northeast Ohio. The question of “who’s past should be preserved” was boiled down to racial categories of “white” and “Indian.”

Not long after the city resolution to keep the name Portage Path, a local real estate speculator Gus Kasch paid \$75 (approximately \$2,262 in 2021) for mass-produced statues of a generic “Indian” to be erected along the Portage Path . This statue became known as “Unk,” and still stands today at the corner of West Market Street and Portage Path.⁵⁶

The early twentieth century, for Akron, was a flurry of fascination with everything “Indian.” By 1911, Peter Cherry, an avocational historian in Akron, published *The Portage Path*. In his book, he repeated much of the same old stories that other historians had perpetuated about Indigenous people without much regard for historical accuracy. The

⁵⁵ Quoted in Akron Beacon Journal, “Local History: Portage Path name change leaves trail of hard feelings,” July 7, 2013.

⁵⁶ Price, Mark, “Path to the Past.” This Place, This Time. Sunday Beacon Magazine, Akron Beacon Journal, September 6, 1998, 21. Akron Beacon Journal, Bicentennial Edition, “Indian Highway...Portage Path Was Key Link.” July 4, 1976.

only concern for accuracy, as was common with anyone discussing the Portage Path, was the *exact* route of the path. Not who walked it, for what purposes, and when, but *where* the path went. This is the same time, as mentioned in the previous chapter “Portage Path s” that Elmer Wight founded the Pathfinders Association.⁵⁷

Amid this frenzy of Indian obsession was one dissenting voice. William Doyle, in his *Centennial History of Summit County, Ohio and Representative Citizens* he argues that

“the Portage, or carry, between the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas rivers was not of sufficient importance to cause any extensive settlement along its length or to influence any that might be made in its vicinity. We today, are inclined to overestimate its importance.”⁵⁸

Doyle’s criticisms of the emphasis many local historians placed on the Portage Path was quickly forgotten. In the century since Doyle’s critique, memorializing the path for its authentic “Indianness” has continued relatively unchecked.

Recent efforts by a group of interested organizations, known as the Portage Path collaborative, has tried to change the perception, and understanding of American Indian history in Akron, using its most famously misunderstood landmark as a backdrop. Through the combined efforts of the Collaborative, community members, and City Councilors, the

⁵⁷ For a similar debate of historical accuracy versus folklore histories, see Cobb, William, *The Mingo Indians*, 1921. This brief exchange of words between academic historians and local historians illustrates the challenge between what is verified history and what is local lore.

⁵⁸ Doyle, William, *Centennial History of Summit County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, 1908, 63.

first Monday of October was changed to North American First Peoples Day in the city of Akron.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Cotton, Theresa, “Northern Cheyenne Nation Joins Akron’s First Peoples Day,” October 2, 2018. See also Staff Writer, Akron Beacon Journal, “Akron adds North American First People’s Day to calendar,” January 29, 2018.

Bibliography

- Axtell, James, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," *Ethnohistory* 26, No. 1 (1979):1-13.
- Baby, Raymond, "Prehistoric Architecture: A Study of House Types in the Ohio Valley." *Ohio Journal of Science* 71, no. 4 (1971):193-198.
- Baker, Stanley, "Tom Pike's 17th Century Gun Parts Collection: The True History," *Ohio Archaeologist* 70, no. 4 (2020):4-15.
- , "Adopting New Technologies: Incipit Firearm Use on the Ohio Frontier," *Ohio Archaeologist* 71, no. 1 (2021):16-29.
- , "Managing Old and New Technologies: The Reason Brass Arrow Points Occur Archaeologically in the Upper Piqua Area," *Ohio Archaeologist* 71, no. 3 (2021):7-16.
- Barney, Ralph, "The Indian Claims Commission," in *Indians of Northern Ohio and Southeastern Michigan*, (1974): 13-16.
- Barry, Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*. Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984.
- Baskin & Battey, Historical Publishers, *History of Medina County and Ohio*. Chicago: Baskin & Battey, Historical Publishers, 1881.
- Bauer, Andrew, Lisa Park and Timothy Matney. "Archaeological site distribution by geomorphic setting in the southern lower Cuyahoga River Valley, northeastern Ohio: Initial observations from a GIS database," *Geoarchaeology* 26, no. 8 (2004):711-729.
- Belovich, Stephanie, "The Staas Site (33Cu224): 1985 excavations. *Archaeological Research Reports No. 66*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 1986.

- Belovich, Stephanie and David Brose, "Late Woodland Fortifications in Northern Ohio: The Greenwood Village Site. *Kirtlandia* 47(1992):3-23.
- Bierce, Lucius, *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County*. Akron: T.&H.G. Canfield, Publishers, 1854.
- Brehm, Victoria, ed., *Star Songs and Water Spirits: A Great Lakes Native Reader*. Tustin: Ladyslipper Press, 2011.
- Brose, David, "Technical Report for the Cuyahoga Valley Park Study, Volume Two. Prepared for the Department of Natural Resources Division of Planning, Recreation Planning. On file at Cuyahoga Valley National Park, Peninsula, Ohio, 1975.
- , "History as a Handmaiden to Archaeology?" *Ohio Archaeologist* 34, no. 1 (1984):28-30.
- , "The Prehistoric Occupation of the Hale Farm, Bath Township, Summit County, Ohio. *Kirtlandia* 41(1985):35-61. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Natural History.
- , "The South Park Village Site and the Late Prehistoric Whittlesey Tradition of Northeast Ohio." *Monographs in World Archaeology*, No. 20. Madison: Prehistoric Press, 1994.
- , "Late Prehistoric Societies of Northeastern Ohio and Adjacent Portions of the South Shore of Lake Erie: A Review," in *Cultures Before Contact: The Late Prehistory of Ohio and Surrounding Regions*, (ed.) Robert Genheimer, pp. 96-120. Columbus: Ohio Archaeological Council, 2000.
- Brose, David S., Stephanie Belovich, Michael Brooslin, Robert Burns Jr., John Hall, Harold Haller, Christopher Pierce, and Carl Ubbelohde, "Archaeological Investigations in the Cuyahoga Valley National

- Recreation Area," *Archaeology Research Reports* #30.: Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 1981.
- Brettel, Anna, *History of Mingo Junction*. Mingo Junction: Collection of Edward L. Justice, Jr., 1937.
- Bush, David, and Charles Callander, "Anybody but the Erie," *Ohio Archaeologist* 34, no. 1 (1984):31-35.
- Cadwallader, Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations, Depending on the Province of New-York in America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973 [1747].
- Caldwell, J.A., *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio, and Incidentally Historical Collections Pertaining to Border Warfare and the Early Settlement of the Adjacent Portion of the Ohio Valley*. Wheeling: The Historical Publishing Company, 1880.
- Calloway, Colin, *The Shawnees and the War for America*. New York: Penguin Group, 2007
- , *The Indian World of George Washington*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Carpenter, E.S., K.R. Pfirman, and H.L. Schoff, "The 28th Street Site." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 19, no. 1-2 (1949):3-16.
- Cherry, Peter, *The Portage Path*. Akron: The Western Reserve Company, 1911.
- , *The Western Reserve and Early Ohio*. Akron: R. L. Fouse, 1921.
- Cobb, William, Andrew Price, and Hu Maxwell, *History of the Mingo Indians*. Cumberland: F.B. Jenvy, Printer, 1921.
- Cooper, James Fenimore, *The Last of the Mohicans*. New York: John W. Lovell Company, 1826.
- Custer, Jay, "Faith, Science, and Native American Origins: A Pennsylvania Discussion." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, 79, no. 2 (2009): 59-65.

- , “A New Look at the Petroglyphs of the Lower Susquehanna Valley,” *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, 17 (1989):79-88.
- Dancey, William and Paul Pacheco, “A Community Model of Ohio Hopewell Settlement,” in *Ohio Hopewell Community Organization*, William Dancey and Paul Pacheco (eds.): 3-40. Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1997.
- Diamond, Jared, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997.
- Doyle, William, *Centennial History of Summit County, Ohio and representative citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1908.
- Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2014.
- Dunnell, Robert, *Systematics in Prehistory*. New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Fenton, William, “The Training of Historical Ethnologists in America,” *American Anthropologist* 54, No. 3 (1952).
- Field, Thomas Warren, *An Essay Towards an Indian Bibliography*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co., 1873.
- Finney, Fred, “Archaeological Investigations at Selected Sites in the Cuyahoga River Valley, Cuyahoga and Summit Counties, Ohio,” *Reports of Investigation* No. 467. Lincoln: National Park Service, Midwest Archaeological Center, 1997.
- , *Calumet, Canal, and Cuyahoga: An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Cuyahoga Valley National Park, Ohio*. Contract Completion Report No. 22. Lincoln: National Park Service, Midwest Archaeological Center, 2002.
- Fitting, James and Charles Cleland, “Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Upper Great Lakes,” *Ethnohistory*, 16(4):289-302, 1969.

- Gelber, Debra, *Historical Landscape Analysis and Design Recommendations for Boston, Ohio*, Cuyahoga Valley National Park Service: Independence, 1993.
- Gallagher, Gary, Nolan, Alan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Bloomington: Indian University Press, 2000
- Greber, N'omi, Katherine Ruhl, and Isaac Greber, "The Ringler Dugout Revisited," *Journal of Ohio Archaeology*, 2 (2012):1-14.
- Greenman, Emerson, "Two Prehistoric Villages near Cleveland, Ohio." *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 43, no. 3 (1937):325-363
- Hauptman, Lawrence, *Coming Full Circle: The Seneca Nation of Indians, 1848-1934*. Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019.
- Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881.
- Herdendorf, Charles, "Research Overview: Holocene development of Lake Erie," *The Ohio Journal of Science*, 112, no. 2 (2013):24-36.
- Hoffman, Bernard, "Observations on Certain Ancient Tribes of the Northern Appalachian Province," *Anthropological Papers of Bureau of Ethnology*, 70, bulletin 191 (1964): 191-247.
- Holcombe, Troy, Lisa Taylor, David Reid, John Warren, Peter Vincent, and Charles Herdendorf, "Revised Lake Erie Postglacial Lake Level History Based on New Detailed Bathymetry," *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 29, no. 4(2003):681-704.
- Jaouen, Andrew, *An Assessment of the Spatial Extent of a Prehistoric Earthwork at the Dewey's Knoll Site (NYSM 2490) in Ripley, New York, Using GIS, Soil Morphology, and Organic Loss on Ignition* (MA Thesis). Erie: Mercyhurst University, 2016.

Jefferson, Thomas, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Boston: Lilly and Wait, 1832 [1782].

Johnson, Crisfield, *History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio*. Cleveland: D.W. Ensign & Co., 1879.

Kelsey, P., *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hoinosho:ni' Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014.

Klein, Kerwin, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890-1990*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Lane, Samuel, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron and Summit County*. Akron: Beacon Job Department, 1892.

Lepper, Brad, *Ohio Archaeology: An Illustrated Chronicle of Ohio's Ancient American Indian Cultures*.
Wilmington: Orange Frazer Press, 2005.

Lewis, C. F., Clifford Heil, G.D.M. Cameron, "Lake levels in Erie Basin of the Laurentian Great Lakes," *Journal of Paleolimnology*, 47 (2012):493-511.

Loew, P., *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2013.

McConnell, Michael, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Metzger, Lynn and Peg Bobel, *Canal Fever: The Ohio & Erie Canal from Waterway to Canalway*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2009.

Miller, G., E. Spilman, K. Boyer, and R. Boyer, *The Story of Independence*. Independence Historical Society: Independence, 1979.

Minderhout, David, and Andrea Frantz, "Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania." *Human Organization* 67, no. 1 (2008):61-67.

- Morrow, Juliet, "Early Paleoindian Mobility and Watercraft: An Assessment from the Mississippi River Valley," *MidContinental Journal of Archaeology* 39, no. 2 (2014):103-129.
- Murphy, James, "Colonel Charles Whittlesey and Cleveland's Forgotten Hilltop Forts," *The Explorer: bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History* 10, no. 4(1968):26-29.
- , "Ancient History: The Age of the Indian Point (Lyman) Earthworks, 33-LA-2, Lake county, Ohio," *Ohio Archaeologist* 57, no. 3(2007):16-17.
- O'Brien, Michael, "Models of Adaptation and Change," *The cannon Reservoir Human Ecology Project: An Archaeological Study of Cultural Adaptations in the Southern Prairie Peninsula*, 85-100. New York: Academic Press, 1982.
- Ochsner, Eugene, "A Cuyahoga County Ohio Site," *Ohio Archaeologist* 36, no. 1(1986):10-13.
- O'Donnell III, J., *Ohio's First Peoples*. Athens, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Ohio Historical Society, *Historic American Indian Tribes of Ohio, 1654-1843*. Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1983.
- Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, "Logan – The Mingo Chief," in *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 20. Columbus: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, 1911.
- Perrin, William, *History of Summit County, with an Outline Sketch of Ohio*. Chicago: Baskin & Battey, Historical Publishers, 1881.
- Pratt, Michael, "Salvage Excavations at the Walnut Tree Site (33-Cu-40): Evidence for Agricultural Intensification in Northeastern Ohio," *Ohio Archaeologist* 29, no. 1(1979):26-30.

- Prufer, Olaf, Dana Long, and Donald Metzger, *Krill Cave: A Stratified Rockshelter in Summit County, Ohio*. Kent State University Press: Kent, 1989.
- Purtill, Matthew, "The Ohio Archaic: A Review," in *Archaic Societies: Diversity and Complexity across the Midcontinent*, (eds.) Thomas Emerson, Dale McElrath, and Andrew Fortier, pp. 565-600. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009.
- , "The Road Not Taken: How Early Landscape Learning and Adoption of a Risk-Averse Strategy Influenced Paleoindian Travel Route Decision Making in the Upper Ohio Valley," *American Antiquity*, 86, no. 1(2020):133-152.
- Quinn, A. G., *Phase I Archaeological Reconnaissance of The Shades Beach Park Study Area*. Erie: Mercyhurst Archaeological Institute, 1994.
- Redmond, Brian, "Reviewing the Late Prehistory in Ohio," in *Cultures Before Contact: The Late Prehistory of Ohio and Surrounding Regions*, (ed.) Robert Genheimer, pp. 426-437. Columbus: Ohio Archaeological Council, 2000.
- , "An Archaeological Assessment of the OEC 1 site (33Cu462), A Whittlesey Tradition Habitation Site in Independence, Ohio," *Archaeological Research Reports* No. 146. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 2008.
- Redmond, Brian, and Katherine Ruhl, "Rethinking the "Whittlesey Collapse": Late Prehistoric Pottery Migrations in Eastern Ohio." *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, 30 (2002):59-80.
- Richner, Jeffrey and Ann Bauermeister, "An Archaeological Inventory and Assessment of 14 Archaeological Sites in the Everett Area, Boston Township, Summit County, Ohio," *Midwest Archaeological Center Technical Report* 113. Lincoln: National Park Service, Midwest Archaeological Center, 2011.

- Richter, Daniel, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Shannon, Timothy, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*. New York: Viking, 2008.
- Shepard, Henry, *Antiquities of the State of Ohio*. Cincinnati: John C. Yorston & Company, 1887.
- Shetrone, Henry, "The Culture Problem in Ohio Archaeology," *American Anthropologist* 22, no. 2 (1920):144-172.
- Shriver, Philip, "A Large Seventeenth Century Historic Contact Interment in the Cuyahoga Valley: An Iroquoian Piece in the Puzzle of What Happened to the Whittlesey Focus?" *Ohio Archaeologist* 35, no 4 (1985):20-29.
- , "The Whittlesey People: Algonquian or Iroquoian?" *Ohio Archaeologist* 36, no. 4 (1986):25.
- Sleeper-Smith, Susan, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
- Steeves, Paulette, *The Indigenous Paleolithic of the Western Hemisphere*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021.
- Strong, Pauline, "Ethnohistory," *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2015.
- Szabo, J.P., Bradley, K.N., Tevesz, M.J.S., "Foundations from the past: clues to understanding late Quaternary stratigraphy beneath Cleveland, Ohio," *J. Great Lakes Res.*, 29(2003) 566–580.
- Szabo, John, Michael Angle, and Alex Eddy, "Pleistocene Glaciation of Ohio, USA," in *Quaternary*

- Glaciations – Extent and Chronology: A Closer Look*, (eds.) J. Ehlers, P. Gibbard and P. Hughes. *Developments in Quaternary Science*, 15(2011):513-519.
- Tackabury, Mead, & Moffet, *The 1874 Combination Atlas of Summit County, Ohio*. Philadelphia: Tackabury, Mead, & Moffet, 1874.
- Tanner, Helen, "The Location of Indian Tribes in Southeastern Michigan and Northern Ohio," in *Indians of Northern Ohio and Southeastern Michigan*, ed. David Horr, vol. 1. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.
- Trigger, Bruce, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976.
- Trowbridge, Charles, "Meearmear Traditions," *occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan*, No. 7. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1938.
- Tully, John, *Crooked Deals and Broken Treaties: How American Indians were Displaced by White Settlers in the Cuyahoga Valley*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2016.
- Vickers, Daniel, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Wallace, Anthony, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, *The Modern World-System, Vol. 1*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011 [1974].
- Wanyerka, Phil, "Brief Summary and Overview of the Archaeological Fieldwork Conducted in CUYA by Cleveland State University (CSU) this past July," *Report Prepared for Cuyahoga Valley National Park*. Independence: Cuyahoga Valley National Park, 2016.

- Weidensaul, Scott, *The First Frontier: The Forgotten History of Struggle, Savagery, & Endurance in Early America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012.
- Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie, "An Ethnohistorical Report," in *Indians of Northern Ohio and Southeastern Michigan*, ed. David Horr, vol. 1. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.
- Whittaker, William, "Determining the Age of GLO-mapped Trail Networks: A GIS Analysis of Northern Iowa," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*, 40(2):134-148, 2015.
- White, Devin, "The Basics of Least Cost Analysis for Archaeological Applications," *Advances in Archaeological Practice*, 3, no. 4(2017):407-414.
- White, Richard, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Whittlesey, Charles, *Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio*. Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1871.
- Wilcox, Frank, *Ohio Indian Trails*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2015 [1933].
- Winstel, Jeffrey, *Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area Cultural Landscape: Thematic Overview and Methodology Guide*. MS on file at Cuyahoga Valley National Park, Peninsula, 2000.
- Wirth, Conrad, *Parks, Politics, and the People*. University of Oklahoma Press: Tulsa, 1980.