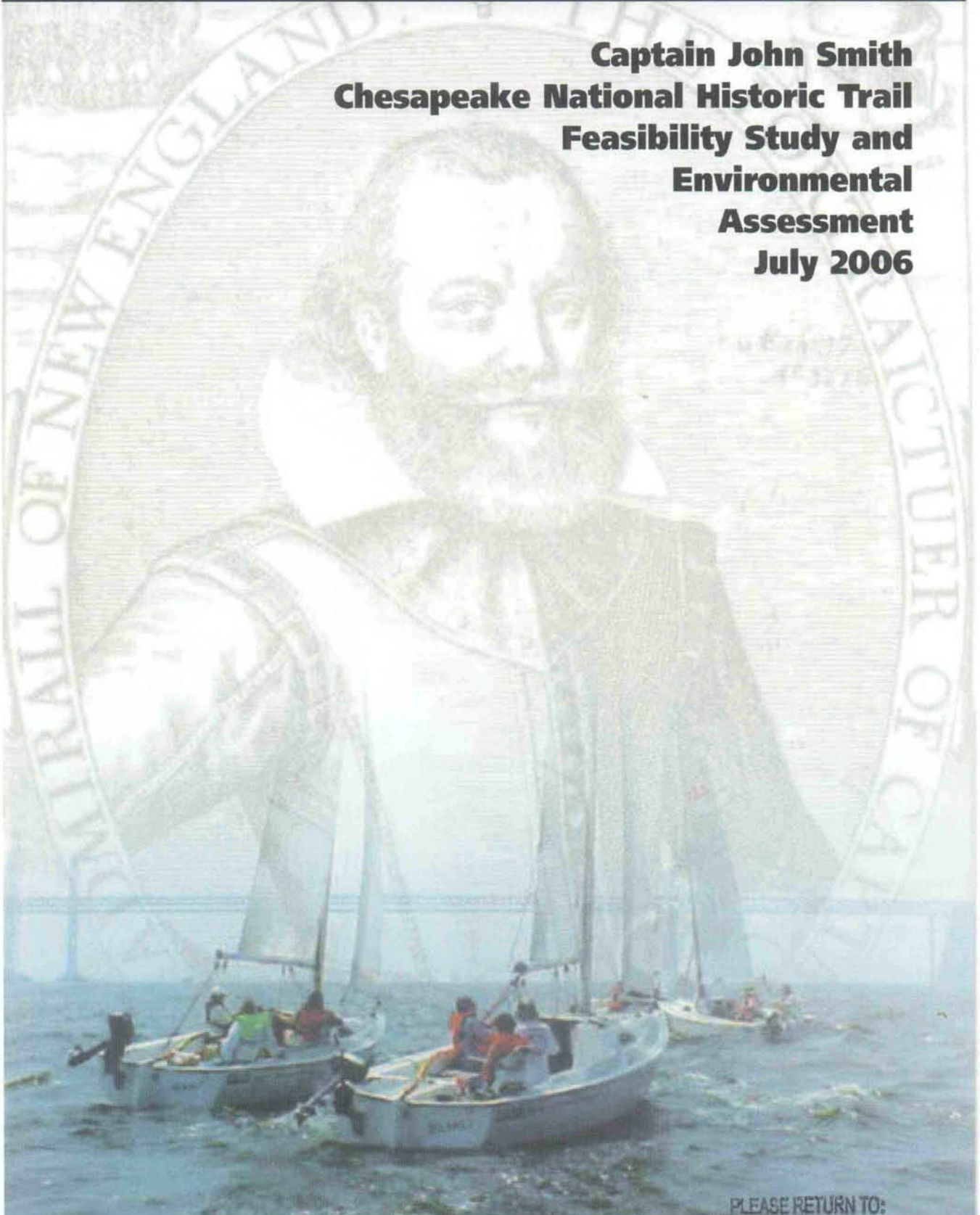


Produced by
National Park Service • Northeast Region
U.S. Department of Interior



**Captain John Smith
Chesapeake National Historic Trail
Feasibility Study and
Environmental
Assessment
July 2006**



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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the feasibility and desirability of designating Captain John Smith's 1607-1609 voyages of exploration around the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries as a National Historic Trail (NHT) under the study provisions of the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543, 16 USC 1241, et seq.). This report is intended to provide information necessary for the evaluation of national significance and the potential designation of a NHT, and to make a recommendation regarding such designation. Detailed management and interpretive recommendations would be developed through preparation of a Comprehensive Management Plan if the trail is designated.

The history, background, integrity, and national significance of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT have been researched and analyzed. The criteria for national historic trails, set forth in the National Trails System Act, have been applied, and the proposed trail meets all three criteria. Alternatives, and their respective environmental consequences, for the designation of the proposed trail have also been developed and are presented in this report.

Alternative A, the no action alternative, continues the existing management policies and authorities. There would continue to be piecemeal interpretation of Smith's voyages and no single organization or entity would be designated to oversee interpretation or development of a trail. This alternative will not result in any overall coordination of education or interpretation, nor of protection of cultural and natural resources.

Alternative B, the preferred alternative, takes advantage of the regional nature of the trail and the many organizations interested in and associated with the history of Captain John Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. This alternative calls for a partnership among federal, state, and local governments, a dedicated trail organization, and site managers to administer and maintain a federally-designated commemorative trail along the historic routes of Smith's voyages. Because of its emphasis on partnerships, this alternative provides the greatest flexibility for resource protection while creating a framework for interpretation and visitor experience.

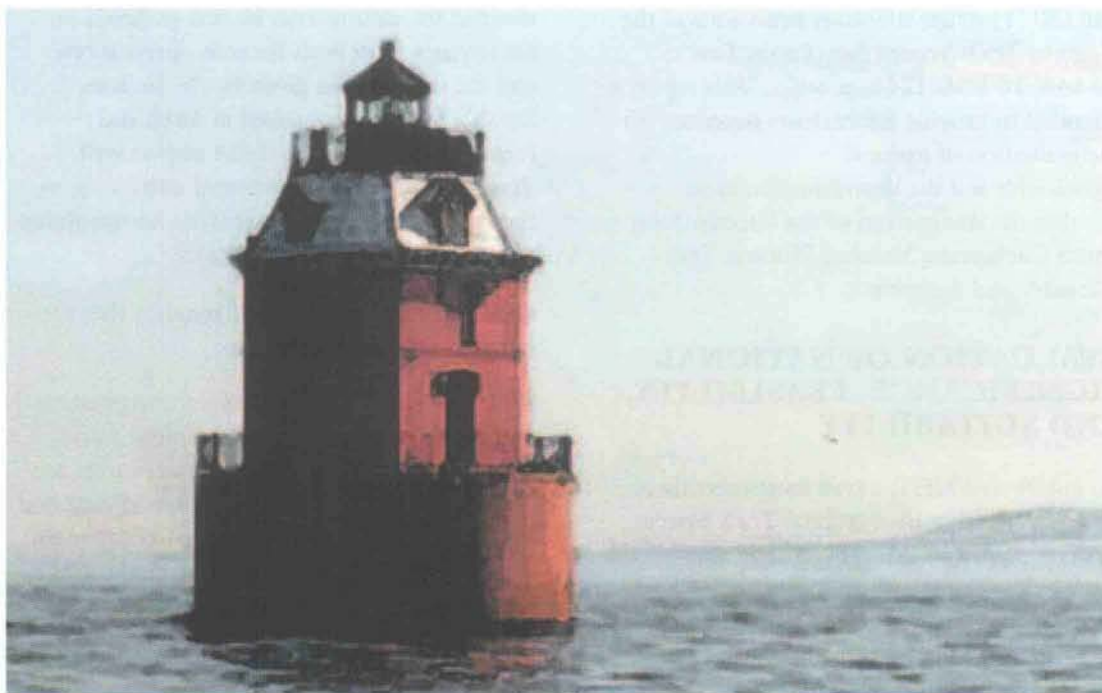
Alternative C relies on the state governments for designation and management of a commemorative trail with only limited coordination through the federal government when federal property is involved. This designation is not recognized under the National Trails System Act and would not be a federal designation or a national trail. This alternative leaves the structure of the trail (one entire trail or a series of state trails) and the planning and management entirely up to state and local governments, which may lack the authority to coordinate or pool resources.

Comments on this document should be directed in writing to the Project Manager, Bill Sharp, NPS Northeast Regional Office, 200 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

For further information regarding this document, please contact Bill Sharp at the address listed above, or by phone at 215-597-1655.

Our practice is to make comments, including names, home addresses, home phone numbers, and email addresses of respondents, available for public review. Individual respondents may request that we withhold their names and/or home addresses, etc., but if you wish us to consider withholding this information you must state this prominently at the beginning of your comments. In addition, you must present a rationale for withholding this information. This rationale must demonstrate that disclosure would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy. Unsupported assertions will not meet this burden. In the absence of exceptional, documentable circumstances, this information will be released. We will always make submissions from organizations or businesses, and from individuals identifying themselves as representatives of or officials of organizations or businesses, available for public inspection in their entirety.

SUMMARY



This is a summary of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment.

This report includes an evaluation of national significance and trail feasibility. Three alternatives for the proposed trail are presented, with one alternative recommended by the National Park Service (NPS).

The proposed national historic trail would commemorate the voyages of Captain John Smith on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries during 1607-1609. The proposed national historic trail would also recognize the Native American towns and culture of the seventeenth century; call attention to the natural history of the Bay; complement the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network Initiative; and provide new opportunities for education, recreation, and heritage tourism in the Chesapeake Bay region.

PURPOSE AND NEED

Providing protection, public access and interpretation of these historic routes and related resources has been a growing focus of both public and private initiatives in recent years, with the approach to the 400th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown and John Smith's voyages of 1607-1609.

On August 2, 2005, as part of the Fiscal Year 2006 Interior Appropriations Act, President George W. Bush signed Public Law 109-54 and authorized the NPS to study the feasibility of establishing the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail.

The purpose of the study is to evaluate the feasibility and desirability of designating the routes of Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay and tributary voyages as a national historic

trail (NHT) under the study provisions of the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543, 16 USC 1241, et seq.). This report is intended to provide information necessary for the evaluation of national significance and the determination as to whether the designation of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail is feasible and desirable.

EVALUATION OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE, FEASIBILITY, AND SUITABILITY

To qualify as a NHT, a trail must meet three criteria defined in the National Trails System Act (see Appendix A). The criteria are set forth below along with an evaluation of how the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT meets all three. In addition, the Act requires that the feasibility of designating a trail be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether it is physically possible to develop a trail and whether the trail is financially feasible.

In addition, the National Trails System Act states that NHTs should generally be “extended trails” at least one hundred miles long. The proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT traces the routes of Smith’s 1607-1609 voyages, totaling about twenty-three hundred miles.

Criterion One for a NHT requires that a proposed trail follow as closely as possible the historic route.

A notable feature of John Smith’s voyages is the detailed journals he wrote and the maps he created. He saw more with his own eyes (and wrote more about it) than any other Englishman then in Virginia. He gathered data for a map that would guide English explorers and settlers for decades to come. The map, which he labored over for months,

distilled the information he had gathered on his voyages from both his own observations and the descriptions given by the Indians. Smith’s map was published in 1612 and formed the basis for his 1624 map as well. Thanks to Smith’s journals and map, most of the routes of the two voyages are known today and are described in detail below.

Criterion Two for a NHT requires that the trail be nationally significant.

Significance statements describe the importance of a trail to the history of the United States. They describe why a trail and its resources are unique within a broader regional, national, and international context. A significance statement for the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT was authored by historian John Salmon, and examined by a team of scholars and experts in this subject matter. After revisions, the final statement was approved by the National Park System Advisory Board in March of 2006. The complete Statement of Significance is found in Appendix D. It explains in detail how the trail would meet both Criterion One and Criterion Two.

The proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT is considered to be nationally significant for the Chesapeake Bay and river voyages of Captain John Smith it would commemorate. These voyages first revealed to Europeans the complexity and richness of the Chesapeake Bay region and the key roles the Bay came to play in the development of Great Britain’s Mid-Atlantic colonies. The maps and writings that resulted shaped colonial affairs for more than a century afterwards.

In reviewing the story of Captain John Smith’s Chesapeake Bay voyages and the context in which they occurred, three themes stand out as most immediately related to Smith’s expeditions and their effects: Ethnic Heritage,

Exploration and Settlement, and Commerce and Trade.

- **Ethnic Heritage (Native Americans):** Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because they accelerated the processes that destroyed the Powhatan polity and disrupted the native peoples' lifeways throughout the Mid-Atlantic region, and established the primacy of English culture in the region and beyond.
- **Exploration and Settlement:** Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of the impact of his subsequent maps and writings on English and colonial policy regarding the exploration and settlement of North America, as well as the transformation of the Bay's environment.
- **Commerce and Trade:** Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of their impact on the commerce and trade of North America and the native peoples.

Criterion Three requires that a proposed NHT have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation.

The potential recreational use and historic interest of the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT are derived from many factors, including the scenic setting of the trail; the existence and integrity of historic sites linked to the voyages; the long-established and substantial use of the Bay and its major tributaries for many types of recreation, including both motorized and non-motorized boating; hundreds of marinas and many other points of public access to the trail; the amount of land already in public or private protection along the voyage routes; and the presence of

a number of sites, partners and institutions in proximity to the trail that can provide interpretation and visitor services.

Finding: The NPS finds that the voyage routes fully meet the criteria for NHTs and recommends federal designation.

ALTERNATIVES

Three alternatives for the management and use of the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT are presented, including a "No Action" alternative (Alternative A) that would continue current management practices and policies, and two action alternatives (Alternatives B and C). These action alternatives explore different methods of achieving the vision and managing the proposed trail.

Alternative A: No Action (Continuation of Existing Policies and Authorities)

The Captain John Smith voyage routes would not be federally designated as a national historic trail. Agencies, organizations, and individuals could continue their various approaches to the protection and interpretation of resources associated with Captain Smith's voyages. It is unlikely that any single agency or private management entity would help coordinate, interpret, and protect resources and segments of the proposed trail. Recognition, management, and interpretation of the twenty-three hundred miles of potential water trail associated with Captain Smith's explorations would occur within existing state and local programs. National recognition of the significance of Smith's travels would occur in a piecemeal fashion.

Water trails developed by Maryland and Virginia and the existing Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network would be the primary

vehicles for telling the stories related to the trail and marketing the resources to the general public. The states, Colonial National Historical Park, National Wildlife Refuges, and members of the Network would implement their trail and interpretive activities focusing on parts of the John Smith story within the context of broader Chesapeake Bay and American Colonial themes. The Gateways Network's many independently managed partner sites would likely continue to enhance interpretation and public access, depending upon available funds and priorities. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration would continue to install interpretive buoys.

It is anticipated that public access would be provided by those sites now in public ownership. Existing federal, state, and local laws for historic preservation and shoreline protection would continue and private property rights would remain unchanged. County-level planning would continue to balance preservation of historic and cultural resources with the realities of development and shoreline access.

There would be no additional federal funding for this alternative.

Alternative B: Federal Designation as a National Historic Trail (The Preferred Alternative)

Under this alternative, the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail would be established by Congress as a national historic trail and would be administered by the NPS. This federal role, based on the administrative authorities of the National Trails System Act, includes coordination of resource protection and trail route marking, general oversight and promotion, interagency consultations, cooperative agreements, support of volunteers,

inventorying of high potential sites and segments, coordination of interpretive themes and media, compliance, certification of appropriate sites and segments, provision of limited financial assistance (when such funds are available), and support of the trail's advisory council. The NPS would coordinate closely with other federal agencies, in particular the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, National Wildlife Refuge System (FWS) and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) interpretive buoy project, as well as state and local agencies, to coordinate consistent on-the-ground management to make the trail and its various routes and public sites fully available to the public. NPS, through the comprehensive management plan, would determine more precisely the various jurisdictions' roles in resource inventory, protection and monitoring, enforcement, proper use, interpretation, facility development, and maintenance.

One or more nonprofit trail organizations would coordinate with federal and state agencies, counties and municipalities, tribal organizations, landowners, and other interested parties, to assist in long-term planning, maintenance, volunteer recruitment, interpretation, trail and resource protection, and development along the trail's routes and sites.

The water in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries is under the jurisdiction of the bordering states. If the trail is designated a national trail, this would not change. The states have sufficient laws and regulations in place to address issues that may arise as a result of boat traffic along the trail. The establishment of the trail will not have any impact on the existing state and federal regulatory processes, nor place any additional requirements on property owners, regarding dredging or the use, maintenance or construction of marinas, docks, piers, slips, boat ramps or shoreline protection on private

or public lands. This study has determined there will not be a significant impact on private properties as a result of establishing the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT. Initial federal costs to develop the comprehensive management plan required by this alternative and an initial interpretive brochure are estimated to be \$400 thousand. Phased costs such as access site development, interpretive sign development and installation, and any necessary archeological surveys are unknown at this time and will be estimated during the comprehensive management planning process. It is anticipated that these costs will be the responsibility of the trail partners.

Alternative C: Multi-State Designation as a Commemorative Trail

Under this alternative, the states may designate a Captain John Smith commemorative trail or series of trails, with associated resources to be managed by the states (MD, VA, DC, PA, DE) or a commission or a private entity. This designation is not recognized under the National Trails System Act and would not be a federal

designation or a national trail. The trail can be one entire trail or a series of state designated trails, which may later qualify for designation as a national recreation trail(s). The trail and its resources would be owned and managed by state and local governments or private entities, not the federal government. A local management entity would be created and would develop a comprehensive plan, including strategies for natural and cultural resource protection and interpretation. Given current state budget constraints, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia may lack sufficient resources to undertake a major coordinated initiative without federal support.

Selection of Environmentally Preferred Alternative

Alternative B, federal designation as a NHT, is the environmentally preferred alternative because it provides the greatest degree of resource protection and enhanced visitor experience while allowing for individual property rights, diverse land uses, and balance between the existing population and the creation of a NHT.

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MAP 1

- Voyage 1
- Voyage 2
- Other Travels



CHAPTER ONE:

PURPOSE AND NEED

PURPOSE

On August 2, 2005, as part of the Fiscal Year 2006 Interior Appropriations Act, President George W. Bush signed Public Law 109-54 and authorized the National Park Service (NPS) to study the feasibility of establishing the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail. The Act also directed the Secretary to consult with federal, state, regional, and local agencies and representatives of the private sector, including the entities responsible for administering the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network (CBGN) and the Chesapeake Bay Program authorized by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 1267).

The purpose of the study is to determine whether the designation of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail is feasible and desirable.

Map 1 illustrates the overall study area as described in the study's enabling legislation. (PL 109-54). The study area includes parts of four states—Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania—and the District of Columbia. Providing protection, public access and interpretation of these historic routes and related resources has been a growing focus of both public and private initiatives in recent years, with the approach to the 400th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown and John Smith's voyages of 1607-1608.

In order to assess the feasibility and the desirability of this proposed trail, this study outlines two designation alternatives and the no action alternative. It also assesses the benefits and impacts of each of the three alternatives, and recommends one alternative. The study will apply the criteria of the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1244(b)) to determine the feasibility of designation:

- the trail must be an established and documented route;
- it must be of national significance;



Photo courtesy of U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service

- it must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest.

This study is not a definitive trail guide or management plan, nor does this study provide a detailed description of the trail itself or the associated resources. Rather, this study provides a conceptual diagram of the historic trail routes as well as an inventory of currently known associated resources and public access sites. While this study evaluates the different alternatives for feasibility and desirability, this study is not a management plan and does not provide detailed management programs. If the trail is designated as a national historic trail (Alternative B), the NPS would develop management guidelines and conduct further environmental assessments of the preferred action through subsequent planning as required by the National Trails System Act. Or if the trail is established by multi-state (non-federal) designation as a commemorative trail (Alternative C), management planning would be undertaken by the states or a commission or a private management entity.

BACKGROUND

National historic trails have as their purpose the identification and protection of a historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment. National historic trails must be nationally and historically significant, and they must offer interpretive opportunities to the public. They generally consist of remnant sites and trail segments and are not necessarily continuous.

This National historic trail, if established, would commemorate the voyages of Captain John Smith on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries during 1607-1609. The study primarily evaluated the two bay-wide voyages of summer 1608. However, it includes Captain John Smith's voyages on the James and York Rivers in 1607 and 1609. While Smith wrote in detail about the dates and various exploratory stops on his bay-wide voyages, such detail was not readily available for his expeditions up the James and York Rivers. Thus this report and accompanying maps provide much less information regarding the 1607 and 1609 trips up the James and York Rivers, and it is recommended that additional research be conducted on these trips during the comprehensive management planning process. The proposed national historic trail would also recognize the Native American towns and culture of the seventeenth century; call attention to the natural history of the Bay; complement the CBGN; and provide new opportunities for education, recreation, and heritage tourism in the Chesapeake Bay region.

In a separate initiative, Sultana Projects, Inc., a non-governmental organization that provides educational programs that emphasize historical, cultural and environmental topics pertinent to the Chesapeake Bay region, has been building a twenty-eight-foot reproduction of John Smith's shallop. In the summer of 2007 a crew of modern-day explorers, historians, naturalists and educators will endeavor to retrace Captain John Smith's 1608 expeditions.

While the results of the proposed Captain John

Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail study are pending, supporting elements of what might make such a water trail feasible are already under way under the existing authorities of the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Water Trail initiative. Authorized by the United States Congress in 1998 and created in 2000, the CBGN was established to inspire public appreciation and conservation of the Chesapeake watershed.

Since 2000, over fifteen hundred miles of water trails have been developed on the Bay's tributary rivers, and these rivers—the routes of John Smith's explorations—pass nearby over sixty Chesapeake Bay Gateways. The Gateways web site offers a water trail toolbox that can assist trail managers in planning, developing and managing water trails, and Gateways grants are assisting with projects to enhance water trail access, orientation and interpretation.

Furthermore, the CBGN has already initiated work on a number of projects that will advance learning about Bay history and Captain John Smith. Some of those projects include:

John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages 1607-1609

The CBGN assembled a team of historians, archeologists and environmental scientists to write a book pulling together the best current knowledge on:

- Smith's voyages around the Chesapeake Bay
- The seventeenth century natural environment of the Chesapeake
- Native American settlements and culture of the seventeenth century Chesapeake

This fourteen-chapter book was employed as the definitive reference on Smith's voyages in the compilation of this study and is available to assist CBGN in developing interpretive projects and programming for the upcoming anniversary. A forthcoming printed edition of the book, with 150 maps and illustrations, is expected to be published by early 2007.

**Exploring the Landscape of the Early
Seventeenth Century Chesapeake
through John Smith's Voyages**

Employing the latest photorealistic landscape visualization technology, Pennsylvania State University, the Smithsonian Institution and two major Chesapeake cultural institutions—the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum and Historic St. Mary's City—are teaming up to develop a powerful new web-based attraction focused on the 400th anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" through the Chesapeake region. The project will give computer users in schools, homes, and libraries around the country—and the world—a chance to see vibrant and realistic images of the Chesapeake environment that so impressed Smith on his 1607-09 journeys and then compare them with images of the Bay environment today. This exciting interactive experience will allow visitors to track the progress of Smith's journeys, learn about the Native American inhabitants he encountered along the way and explore the dramatic changes in the Bay.

The Colonial Chesapeake

The fourth in a series of CBGN guides for exploring Chesapeake themes is now in development. While not exclusively focused on John Smith, this guide will introduce visitors to the colonial period on the Chesapeake from 1607 to the 1770s—and the Gateways where those stories may be experienced. Thus it will provide the context for the many developments that followed Smith's initial forays into the Bay landscape. Expected to be published by fall 2006, the guide will be accompanied by an interactive web module on the Gateways web site, and will complement a poster being developed by Schooner Sultana exploring aspects of colonial shipping commerce in more detail.

In addition to these Network-wide initiatives a sampling of projects being pursued at individual Gateways includes:

**Virginia Living Museum—
Survivor: Jamestown**

Timed to coincide with the upcoming anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" through the Chesapeake, this highly interactive exhibit will explore why life was so difficult for early European settlers in Virginia and how different the Chesapeake environment was four hundred years ago from the Bay we know today. Traveling along a maze of interpretive stations, museum visitors will be challenged to make the choices that might have enabled them to qualify as "survivors" on the Bay of the early 1600s.

**First Landing State Park—
The Old New World: Creating
a Chesapeake Indian Village**

In a joint effort with the Nansemond Indian Tribe, this park in Virginia Beach will develop an authentic Virginia Algonquian Indian Village along the existing Cape Henry Trail. The village will include a chief's house, a sweathouse, and areas devoted to food preparation and crafts, with interpretive materials focusing on the culture of Chesapeake Indians and their complex relationship to the Chesapeake Bay and its resources. The project will be completed in time to serve as a backdrop for living-history programs during the upcoming 400th anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" in the Chesapeake Bay.

**Lawrence Lewis Jr. Park—
2007 Enhancement Project**

This twenty-four-acre park in Charles City, Virginia, was once home to the Weyanoke Indians, the tribe that claimed the site that European settlers turned into Jamestown. With the 400th anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" beginning in 2007, Lewis Park will install a series of interpretive wayside panels that describe the natural and cultural world of the Chesapeake in the early 1600s. The panels will be installed along an existing trail leading from a popular picnic pavilion to an elevated viewing platform.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

This historic context has been derived from the Statement of Significance written by John Salmon, Historian, under contract with the National Historic Landmarks Program, Washington Office, NPS. The Statement of Significance was drafted in accordance with the guidelines for evaluating national significance for national historic landmarks, in consultation with the staff of the National Historic Landmarks Program and the study team for this report. The statement of significance was then examined by a group of peer reviewers with specific knowledge of this field, and their comments were incorporated into the final document. As the national Trails System Act requires for National historic trail studies, this Statement of Significance was presented to and approved by the National Park System Advisory Board in March 2006. For the complete Statement of Significance and the list of peer reviewers, please see Appendix D.

Captain John Smith's voyages throughout the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries led to an unprecedented understanding of the geography of the region, an understanding that would eventually translate into writings and maps that would guide future travelers and settlers in the region for centuries. An understanding of these voyages and their impact is incomplete without a discussion of what preceded them as well as the events that followed.

The truth about the first years of the Jamestown colony is difficult to establish. Almost every aspect of this era is subject to debate as well as a frequent source of confusion among scholars and members of the public. Much of the problem lies in the fact that all of the contemporary letters and books were written by one party to the story—the English—who came to America bearing a culture almost as unfathomable to the native peoples as those cultures were to the newcomers. The challenge is to understand the worldviews and cultures of two

societies that are vastly different from most people's experiences today. In establishing that understanding, the power of myth is difficult to overcome.

A variety of native peoples lived around the Chesapeake Bay when the English arrived. During much of the period under discussion, the Powhatan people dominated the English, not the other way around. (Powhatan was both the name of the leader and the name of the tribe of people.) At first the English survived at the sufferance and with the continual assistance of the native peoples. This study also focuses on the Virginia Indians because it was with them that the English had the most frequent interactions and about whom more is known through contemporary writings combined with recent archeological investigations. There are groups in Virginia today who claim descendance from the seventeenth century Indian tribes and who are recognized as tribes by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The three principal figures in the story of this trail are Powhatan, Opechancanough, and Captain John Smith. Powhatan was the charismatic leader of the people in whose land the English settled in 1607. Opechancanough, a skillful planner and war leader, engineered a devastating attack on the colonists in 1622. Both men dealt during the first years of the colony with John Smith, the soldier of fortune whose forceful personality attracted either devotion or hatred from his contemporaries. It was with the Powhatan domain or polity that the English had their first and longest-lasting contacts, and much has been written about those contacts during John Smith's sojourn in America. (The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines polity as a specific form of political organization or a politically organized unit.) The interactions between the English and the Powhatan became the pattern—for good and ill—for future interactions between the newcomers and the native peoples throughout eastern North America.

John Smith remains a fascinating character today because of the volumes of writings he left behind and the strong feelings for and against him evident in the writings of others. From his explorations of the Chesapeake Bay came a map so accurate that it remained useful for most of the seventeenth century, and his books influenced the history of the settlement and commerce of North America. Both Smith and his journeys over the Bay are of national significance to the story of our country.

The Chesapeake Bay Region and Its People in 1607

The large body of relatively shallow water today called Chesapeake Bay was—about four centuries ago—the center of the world for the people who lived along its shores and tributaries. Large rivers and small streams flowed into the Bay from the east and the west, serving the inhabitants as liquid highways. The Bay itself teemed with aquatic life that also enriched the rivers and streams: sturgeon, striped bass, menhaden, white perch, eels, crabs, oysters, mussels, and clams were all found in great abundance. For thousands of years, the native peoples used the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries for transportation, migration, communication, and trade. Fish and shellfish not only provided food for the people, but shells served as valuable trade goods.

The people of Tsenacomoco, the southern half of the Bay in present-day Virginia, lived in towns located along the principal waterways. A typical large town was sprawling by European standards and usually contained garden plots, dwellings, storehouses, and ceremonial and religious structures. Towns might be occupied or virtually deserted at various times of the year, depending on the demands of gardening, hunting, and fishing. The towns also migrated slowly along the rivers as the people reconstructed dwellings closer to fresh arable land.

These people—whom the English called “the Powhatan” after the name of their paramount chief—were Eastern Algonquian speakers

residing in the southernmost range of linguistically related people who occupied the East Coast from coastal North Carolina up to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A small town named Powhatan, encircled by a palisade, stood at the lower end of the falls of the James River. It was the native town of the principal leader also named Powhatan (another of his names was Wahunsenacawh). Born perhaps about 1547, Powhatan had inherited a polity encompassing a number of tribal districts and a large territory that he further enlarged by diplomacy as well as conquest. The tribal districts within the polity were led by werowances or chiefs answerable to Powhatan, the paramount chief.

The Power of Powhatan

Although Powhatan was an imposing and powerful leader, his power was not absolute. It was personal and religious or shamanic, as well as what the English regarded as political or executive. To a certain extent he ruled by consensus, advised by a council of sub-leaders and religious authorities (“priests”), but he also seemed to dominate the council and could act independently of it. Powhatan was the principal civil leader, especially when it came to dealing with other nations, but others such as his brother (or possibly a cousin) Opechancanough were principal war leaders at the time the English arrived.

Powhatan possessed extensive powers of punishment over his people, but he also bore responsibility for their welfare. In 1607, Tsenacomoco was deep in a drought that would last until 1612. The challenges of the drought were compounded by the arrival of the Englishmen. In return for his protection and mutual aid and also as an acknowledgment of his leadership, Powhatan received from subordinate tribes what the English called “tribute,” mostly foodstuffs.

The English Newcomers

On April 26, 1607, a group of strangers from England entered the Chesapeake Bay. They came from a country ruled by a king whose power was tempered by Parliament. These

newcomers represented the Virginia Company of London, a private stock company whose objective was to establish a colony in the Chesapeake Bay region and exploit the resources there for the benefit of the investors.

Their three ships, named *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*, carried 144 English men and boys. A landing party came ashore at Point Comfort, rejoiced at touching land after four unpleasant months aboard ship, and reconnoitered the nearby terrain. As the party returned near nightfall, native inhabitants attacked and wounded two Englishmen. The others opened fire with muskets and the attackers vanished. This was the first contact between the newcomers and the people of Tsenacomoco.

It was not, however, the first experience that the Powhatan had had with Europeans. Perhaps as early as 1524, Spaniards may have visited the Chesapeake Bay. In 1584–1585, Englishmen established a settlement at Roanoke Island, in present-day North Carolina, and the next winter explored the Chesapeake Bay. They abandoned Roanoke Island in 1586–1587, then returned later in 1587 to create another settlement there—the so-called “Lost Colony”—and conflicts with the local people followed. The Spanish came back to explore the Bay in 1588, English mariners followed suit about 1603, and there were doubtless other, unrecorded explorations. England concentrated on using private investment to create colonies, but the first attempts in Newfoundland and Maine as well as on Roanoke Island ended badly. The English consistently underestimated the ability of the native peoples to control their own country.

What drove the Europeans to explore and settle the land west of Europe? In part it was a quest for a quicker and easier route to the riches of the Orient, in part it was a desire to dominate the seas and protect their own trade routes and raid those of other nations, and in part it was a wish to increase national power on the world stage. Personal ambition and

the hope of glory and wealth inspired many individual adventurers.

Powhatan and English Worldviews

The worldviews of the Powhatan and the English could scarcely have been more dissimilar. The Powhatan people saw the land and its flora and fauna as an organic whole inhabited by human and non-human beings. Human beings played an important role in sustaining the universe, but they did not assume a position over nature. The English worldview held that human beings were a special creation separate from nature, which existed to be conquered and put into man’s service. The spiritual realm was someplace else entirely. The English polity was organized into a rigid hierarchy. The superiority and essential rightness of English religious, social, and political life to all others was simply assumed. The Indians of America were considered human, but perhaps not as fully human as the English.

Collisions and misunderstandings between the newcomers and the Powhatan peoples were inevitable. This was particularly true because the English generally regarded the native people as ignorant and savage devil-worshippers living in a “state of nature.” In English eyes they lacked sacred traditions worthy of respect, a social or political culture worth understanding, and an approach to living on the land worth adopting. That the country belonged to the Powhatan peoples and the English were unwitting “invaders” scarcely occurred to the newcomers. Some of the Englishmen who regularly interacted with the native peoples, however, developed a greater understanding of them than the stakeholders who remained in England.

Powhatan himself probably considered the Englishmen nuisances who might nonetheless prove helpful in countering hostile tribes and supplying useful trade goods. The native peoples had seen other Europeans come and go, and Powhatan must have been puzzled as well as angered when this group began settling without his permission on a swampy, unhealthy

piece of land on the north side of the James River. By the winter of 1607-1608, only thirty-eight of the 104 men were left alive. Disease had killed most of them, and the survivors lived primarily because Powhatan fed them.

During that winter, Powhatan learned more about the English when a captured newcomer, Captain John Smith, was brought before him at Werowocomoco. This prisoner, unlike most other Englishmen, seemed to make an effort to comprehend the Powhatan view of the world.

Captain John Smith and the Virginia Company

John Smith was born at Willoughby, Lincolnshire, in eastern England, and was baptized on January 9, 1580. He received a basic education, and then his father apprenticed him to a merchant in King's Lynn, a port town about thirty miles southeast of Willoughby. After Smith's father died in 1596, the sixteen-year-old youth abandoned his apprenticeship and began soldiering in the Netherlands. Thus began a military career that took him to France, Scotland, Italy, Greece, the Balkans, Austria, Poland, and Germany, among other places. He learned horsemanship during a brief interlude at home, then participated in a war between the Hungarians and the Turks. Smith was captured by the latter and sent to Constantinople and the Caucasus. He escaped, traveled through North Africa, and returned home in 1605. His military prowess earned him the rank of captain and the title of gentleman; his experiences sharpened his ambition and thirst for further adventure.

Smith soon joined a new enterprise. Bartholomew Gosnold and others secured a charter on April 10, 1606, that established two companies to explore and colonize the coast of North America. One, based in Plymouth, had present-day New England as its objective; the other, in London, looked to the Chesapeake Bay area. The "Counsell of Virginia," composed of investors in both companies, oversaw



the activities of the two groups. Some of the investors and their supporters had earlier been involved in the Carolina colonization effort. Smith joined the investors in the company bound for the Chesapeake, and on December 20, 1606, the three ships of the expedition set sail. Christopher Newport, an experienced seafarer who was about forty-one, commanded the fleet for the duration of the voyage. With them went a box, not to be opened until the vessels arrived in Virginia, containing a list of the men who would govern the group there.

The voyage to America began badly and got worse, especially for Smith. Following delays due to stormy weather, illness and boredom, Smith was arrested for "mutiny" on February 13, 1607 and confined. After the first landing and fight with the local inhabitants on April 26, Newport opened the box and read the list of councilmen, and surprisingly among them was Smith. On April 29, the company held a ceremony including a cross raising at the landing site, which Newport named Cape Henry, and took formal possession of the country for

King James and the Protestant faith. The newcomers then set off to explore the James River and find a location for their settlement. They considered a point of land called Archer's Hope for their settlement, but when they could not anchor near the shore they selected instead the peninsula they called Jamestown Island. On May 13, the Englishmen arrived, and the next day they began to establish their settlement.

Members of the Company began explorations in search of a western passage. Disappointed that the falls impeded further navigation, Newport led the explorers back to Jamestown, where he learned that some Powhatan warriors had attacked the settlement and killed two Englishmen. He ordered a proper fort constructed, and soon a triangular, stockaded structure was erected with two bastions facing up- and downstream to guard against attacks by the Spanish and a third facing inland to confront the Powhatan.

Late in 1607, while exploring the Chickahominy River, Smith was captured and brought to Powhatan at Werowocomoco. There, according to Smith's famous account published in 1624, he was about to be executed when the ten-year-old Pocahontas—Powhatan's favorite daughter—intervened to save him and he was thereafter "adopted" as one of the people. This episode has generated a vast amount of debate among historians, both in regard to the story of Smith's captivity as well as to the meaning of what happened to him. There are numerous discrepancies between Smith's first account, written in 1608, and his retelling in 1624, as well as additional material and details in the later version. Assuming that Smith described what occurred as accurately as he could (Pocahontas aside), he clearly did not understand the implications of the encounter due to language and substantial cultural differences. Regardless of the truth or accuracy of Smith's accounts of his captivity, once it ended and he had been escorted back to Jamestown on January 2, 1608, Powhatan people soon began to appear there regularly

bearing food. Smith found the colony in a state of near-chaos. The company had been reduced to fewer than forty because of disease and starvation.

This same day, Captain Newport's "first supply" arrived from England bringing with it over one hundred men including craftsmen, and ample supplies. They unloaded most of the supplies; then, disaster struck when the whole place burned, including the supplies. Mere survival replaced mining as Newport's first objective, and Smith, because of his new association with Powhatan, became the key to survival. Smith soon arranged a meeting between Newport and Powhatan at Werowocomoco, and both sides agreed to a trade relationship, securing food supplies for the English.

For Powhatan, however, the meeting was less than successful because the English deceived him. Smith, during his captivity, had lied to Powhatan about why the English were in Virginia in the first place, claiming that they had merely come to escape the Spanish. In fact, of course, the English intended to colonize the country and take up residence wherever they pleased as soon as they could identify good sites for mines and trading posts.

Smith's First Chesapeake Bay Voyage (June 2 – July 15, 1608)

On June 2, 1608, Smith and his crew sailed into the Chesapeake Bay in a twenty-eight-foot shallop on his first bay-wide voyage of exploration. Before they parted, Smith gave Nelson, who was en route to England, a sketch map of part of the Bay and its river system, as well as a letter to a friend, published later that year as *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony*. A copy of part of Smith's map soon arrived in Spain, sent from London in a diplomatic dispatch in September 1608 by the Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Zuñiga. The dispatch and map constituted one of Zuñiga's several attempts to interest King Philip III in

eliminating the Virginia colony. The map would have made it relatively easy to do so, for the triangular James fort was clearly noted on the north side of the carefully drawn James River. Only a few months after Smith drew his first map, then, it had become an element in an international intrigue that threatened the English settlement's existence.

In exploring the Chesapeake Bay, Smith was following Company instructions to seek valuable minerals, identify fish and wildlife, study the forests for useful timber, locate good ports, and learn about the native people's towns and numbers of warriors. Smith later wrote and mapped extensively, documenting both of his Chesapeake Bay voyages, based both on information from the native people and his own observation. Many of the place-names he assigned are still in use.

Smith had selected fourteen companions for his first voyage, probably for their skills. Smith also engaged the services of native people as guides and translators when necessary throughout the voyage. Smith and his crew explored throughout the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, including up the Patapsco River past the site of present-day Baltimore, and the Potomac River past present-day Washington, DC. During their explorations, they encountered many different peoples and traded and interacted with them to varying degrees. While exploring the Potomac, Smith met a Wicocomoco man named Mosco, who had an unusually heavy beard that suggested some European ancestry via earlier explorers. Mosco assumed the position of guide and coordinator for Smith and his men, both on this and on Smith's second voyage of exploration.

Eager to explore the Rappahannock River, Smith headed south along the shore of the Northern Neck on July 15, examining the creeks along the way and visiting Wicocomoco on the Great Wicomico River. Their journey was cut short when Smith was stung by a cow-nose ray while fishing. He called the place Stingray Point, a name it bears to this day.

That night, Smith—still feeling the effects of the ray's sting—decided to postpone his exploration of the Rappahannock River and return to Jamestown. The incoming tide had floated the shallop off the shoal, and during the night the crew made enough progress to round Old Point Comfort and put in at Kecoughtan by the next evening.

Upon their return to Jamestown, they played a little joke on the inhabitants. Knowing that the colonists lived in dread of a Spanish attack and to test their responsiveness, Smith and his men decorated the shallop with painted streamers that looked Spanish rather than English, so that the Jamestown residents would think the vessel was a scouting boat in advance of a Spanish frigate. It is doubtful that they were amused, because the situation at Jamestown had gone from bad to worse in Smith's absence.

Smith's Second Chesapeake Bay Voyage (July 24 – September 7, 1608)

For his second voyage, Smith reduced the number of men from fourteen to twelve and first concentrated his explorations on the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River. The first voyage had taught Smith that the Northwest Passage probably could not be found by sailing up the rivers that flowed into the Bay. He knew that the navigability of the James, the Potomac, and several other rivers terminated in rocky falls, and none of the native people he interviewed thought that a great sea was accessible by sailing farther west. On his second voyage, Smith would test the head of the Bay and the Rappahannock River, but he probably knew that any such passage lay elsewhere, if it existed. Smith and his crew left Jamestown on July 24.

They explored the Sassafras River to the east and the Susquehanna River, into present-day Pennsylvania. Throughout their journey, Smith and his men placed wood crosses marking their landing sites for England, as they had been doing since first landing in the Bay. Along the way they met and traded with the

Massawomeck, Tockwogh and Susquehannock. Smith's friendly relationships and trading were based on misconceptions among the various tribes, who viewed the product of trade, particularly the objects that had been forcibly taken from their enemies, as expressions of friendship and alliance. Misunderstandings between the English and Native Americans were common and continued. Smith was fortunate to usually find himself on the beneficial side of these misunderstandings.

Smith's party learned, from the local inhabitants as well as from his own observations, that the head of the Chesapeake Bay did not lead to the Northwest Passage. It was not what he had hoped to find, but it was useful information nonetheless. Smith's party continued their voyage, exploring the Pautuxent and Rappahannock Rivers. Smith reunited with Mosco, traveling the Rappahannock to the vicinity of present-day Fredericksburg, where they were attacked. One of the attackers remained behind, wounded. The man's name was Amoroleck, and he was from a Mannahoac town, and lived outside the Powhatan polity. Amoroleck knew that there were mountains west of his town, but nothing about what lay beyond them. Smith's encounter with Amoroleck led to the establishment of a peaceful trading relationship with the Mannahoac, Powhatan's enemies of interior Virginia. Beside trading peacefully with the Mannahoac, Smith had also brokered a peace between adversaries within Powhatan's polity, breaking yet another rule.

Smith had to return to Jamestown by September 10, when he was due to assume the presidency of the colony legitimately. On September 7, laden with notes, maps, war booty, gifts, and trade goods, the shallow docked at Jamestown.

John Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries had ended. He had failed to find gold, silver, or the Northwest Passage. But he had accomplished a great deal, for good and ill. He saw more with his

own eyes (and wrote more about it) than any other Englishman then in Virginia. He gathered data for a map that would guide English explorers and settlers for decades to come. He journeyed a great distance for the time, in an open boat with crews that were often ill, and lost only one man. He faced storms and combat and brought his men and his vessel safely home. He formed alliances with a vast number of American Indian tribes, using courage and bluster and deception in the process, but he also violated the agreement with Powhatan and unwittingly endangered both Jamestown and the great chief. Smith's voyages brought out his best qualities—personal bravery, coolness in times of stress, canny negotiating skills, and a knack for leadership. They also illustrated his worst—deceit, manipulation, and the ability to claim land and resources through arrogance and force. Regardless of the outcomes, however, Smith and his companions had survived a grand adventure, and the voyages were a great accomplishment.

The End of Smith's Sojourn in Virginia

One benefit of the voyage for Smith's men was that they had avoided the worst of the sickly season at Jamestown, where disease and poor sanitation had taken its usual toll. When Smith was elected president on September 10, 1608, he instituted a campaign of cleanup and repair, rebuilding the fort and constructing a second on the south side of the James River. Earthen remnants of that stronghold, the oldest-surviving English structure in Virginia, are located in present-day Surry County, on a site open to the public called Smith's Fort Plantation.

The settlers anticipated the imminent arrival of the "second supply." The fleet, led by Christopher Newport, appeared in mid-October with seventy more colonists and provisions that Smith considered inadequate.

Newport also informed the council that the London Company had decided to stage a "coronation" ceremony for Powhatan at

Jamestown, the purpose of which was to recognize Powhatan's leadership of his own people as well as to symbolize his submission to King James I. Smith led a band of men to Werowocomoco to issue the invitation. Powhatan scoffed at the invitation. According to Smith, Powhatan said, "If your king have sent me presents, I also am a king, and this my land, 8 daies I will stay [at Werowocomoco] to receive them. Your father [Newport] is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort."

Newport agreed to Powhatan's demands, and the gifts were carried to Werowocomoco. The ceremony proved a fiasco for the English. After presenting Powhatan with the gifts (copper, a basin and pitcher, and a bed and bedclothes), Newport attempted to get the chief to kneel to receive his crown. Powhatan refused, despite pleadings and demonstrations, but finally, with men "leaning hard" on his shoulders to bend him slightly, Newport got the crown on his head. In return, Powhatan gave Newport a pair of his old shoes and a cloak. He refused, however, to assist Newport in his expedition into Monacan country beyond sending a guide with him.

In this episode, Powhatan clearly showed his awareness of English strategy. He had made the English come to him, he had accepted the crown largely on his own terms, and he had accepted gifts as the tribute of the English. He had demonstrated that he was indeed the "king" in his own land. Meanwhile, Smith busied himself organizing the remaining men to produce export goods. Smith also worked to trade, sometimes forcibly, to obtain food-stuffs necessary to supply the fort.

Factional divisions had intensified since the arrival of the "second supply." Smith explained his side in a letter to the London Company and enclosed a map which distilled the information gathered during his voyages. The map showed, the "way of the mountaines and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the

breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like." Smith's map would be published in 1612 and form the basis for his 1624 map as well. It established beyond challenge that the English had explored and "claimed" the Bay. It served future immigrants, helping them establish colonies such as William Claiborne's 1632 settlement on Kent Island and Lord Baltimore's Maryland colony in 1634.

In December 1608 Smith faced the problem of provisioning the colony for the winter. Smith had great trouble locating people with whom to trade and it became obvious that Powhatan was trying to starve the colony and would have to be confronted. Powhatan sent word that he would provision the English if Smith would agree to build him an "English house" at Werowocomoco. Work began on the house and by December 30 as Smith later recounted in *The Generall Historie*, the English celebrated Christmas amid the hospitality of the native people.

This peace was short lived and fighting broke out between the English and the Powhatan. Their alliance was dissolved. The English were at war with the Powhatan in the first of what would become a series of bloody conflicts.

Early in June, a large resupply fleet under Christopher Newport had departed Plymouth harbor for Virginia. Besides Newport, it also carried other gentlemen who would play important roles in the colony, including John Rolfe, who would become the husband to Pocahontas. On July 24, about a week out from Cape Henry, the fleet encountered a ferocious hurricane that dispersed the ships hither and yon. The *Sea Venture*, carrying Newport, Gates, and Somers, almost sank but miraculously stayed afloat. It then struck rocks but remained upright just off one of the Bermuda islands—an adventure later transformed and immortalized in Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*. The rest of the fleet straggled into Jamestown beginning August 11.

Although Smith welcomed the supplies and the new colonists, the problems of infighting,

jealousies, and wild charges of disloyalty threatened to rend the colony asunder again. Smith dispersed large numbers of colonists, both to break up the cabals and to save the rapidly dwindling food supply. Smith continued to trade with the Powhatan and eventually found himself under charges that he had at once both treated the Native peoples too favorably, perhaps attempting to gain status for himself, as well as treating them too harshly. Following a gunpowder accident that severely injured Smith's leg and amid charges by others at Jamestown, Smith returned to England. Smith arrived in London, slowly recovering from his injuries, late in November. Although the Company declined to pursue the charges against him, it never again sent him to the colony. John Smith's Virginia adventure had ended.

Smith the Writer

Smith set about turning his earlier work, *A True Relation*, and his notes and sketch maps from his Chesapeake Bay voyages, into a book. The result, *A Map of Virginia*, appeared in 1612. It consists of a book in two parts, and the map, which was reissued in many versions between then and 1632. The first part of the book is Smith's "Description of the Country," which details the fauna and flora of the Chesapeake region, as well as the American Indians who lived there. The second part describes the history of the colony and has a separate title page: *The Proceedings of the English Colonie In Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612.*

Smith returned to America in 1614, when he explored present-day Maine and the Massachusetts coast, chronicling that adventure in *A Description of New England*, published in 1616. Although he advanced several schemes for colonization and other endeavors in America, he remained in England the rest of his life. In 1624, he published his magnum opus, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles.*

He wrote several other books as well as poems, but it is for the *True Relation*, the *Map of Virginia*, and the *Generall Historie* that he is best remembered. They are self-promoting, but also exciting firsthand accounts of the wonders that he saw, especially in the Chesapeake Bay region.

He died on June 21, 1631, at the age of fifty-one. His epitaph was his last act of self-evaluation, delightfully ironic given the skepticism with which his writings often have been read:

*Here lies one conquered that hath
conquered kings,
Subdu'd large territories, and done things
Which to the world impossible would seem
But that the truth is held in more esteem.*

Smith remains for Americans today a fascinating, contradictory character, perhaps because he seems to personify so many traits that have come to be regarded as quintessentially American. His relentless self-promotion was typical of his time and it was largely based on real accomplishments, most notably his voyages of exploration and "discovery" on the Chesapeake Bay. The maps and books he produced from these and other adventures bore consequences for the native peoples as well as for new settlers for many years to come. His voyages were magnificent achievements not surpassed, perhaps, until the Lewis and Clark expedition almost two centuries later.

The Survival of the Virginia Colony

Powhatan had abandoned Werowocomoco soon after his last meeting there with John Smith in January 1609. He moved his principal village about fifty miles from Jamestown, which was as far away from the English as Powhatan could get and still govern his polity. By the spring of 1610, Jamestown was almost in ruins, with almost three-fourths of the colonists there having either died or run off. The decision was made to abandon Virginia when, on June 7, Governor Lord De La Warr arrived with a large number of

well-equipped men, including soldiers, as well as women and children—about five hundred people altogether—and enough food to last them all for some time. The fortunes of the colony had just been reversed.

The Virginia Company had reorganized the colony along military lines and secured a new charter in 1609 that greatly increased the area of “Virginia” to include most of what later became the United States. Whereas until then all the land had been under the Company’s control, now the concept of the private ownership of land was introduced into the colony, although it did not become a viable policy until the charter of 1618 was issued. The Company based its new plans and its instructions to the directors in Jamestown in part on John Smith’s *True Relation*, his letter, and the map he had drawn. It also ordered a new, much more harsh, policy toward native people.

A generation later, the year 1646 marked both an end and a beginning. The English colony’s survival was assured as early as the 1620s, despite the great attack of 1622, because the Powhatan people could not stop the flood of new settlers. Sheer numbers, technological superiority, self-sufficiency, and the determination to expand regardless of native opposition tilted the balance to the English long before 1646. It took Opechancanough’s last attack and defeat, however, for the native peoples to acknowledge that reality. In addition, Opechancanough’s death in that year cut the last link to the first years of the colony and especially to John Smith. Opechancanough was the sole surviving major player in that drama who had known Smith, spoken with him, and fought with him. Truly, an era had ended with the old man’s death.

The other colonies established in the Chesapeake Bay watershed—Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania—eventually followed the pattern of English-native relations in Virginia. Before long, many of the tribes that John Smith had encountered in his

voyages had either disappeared from English records or had been vastly reduced in numbers from disease, intertribal and intercultural conflicts, and exile to other places. The last significant war against the native people in seventeenth-century Virginia was Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676. A few tribes survived on reservations, some lived quietly in self-contained communities, while others emigrated or lost their cohesion and were assimilated into the surrounding population of non-natives. In Virginia, even the surviving tribes were officially stripped of their identities as Virginia Indians by the “racial purity” laws of the early twentieth century. Only recently, in historical terms, have they emerged from the shadows to claim recognition by state and federal authorities, a struggle that is far from over.

John Smith’s voyages on the Chesapeake Bay had far-reaching consequences. His “discoveries,” recorded in his maps and books, helped to change Company policy toward private land-holding and promoted the transformation of the Bay’s environment through farming and the settlers’ exploitation of natural resources. The large-scale emigration from England that followed in Smith’s wake increased the pressure on the native peoples and the Bay itself. Smith’s model for settlement in the Bay region largely became the model for English America from New England to the Carolinas. His maps served settlers and colonial governments until late in the seventeenth century. And the stories of his exploits continue to intrigue Americans today.

The threats to the Chesapeake Bay ecosystem, with which the native peoples had lived for so many centuries, are well documented and beyond the scope of this study. Perhaps, as modern tourists follow the trail of exploration laid down by John Smith, they will come to revere the Bay as did those first Americans.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY REGION

Through 1607

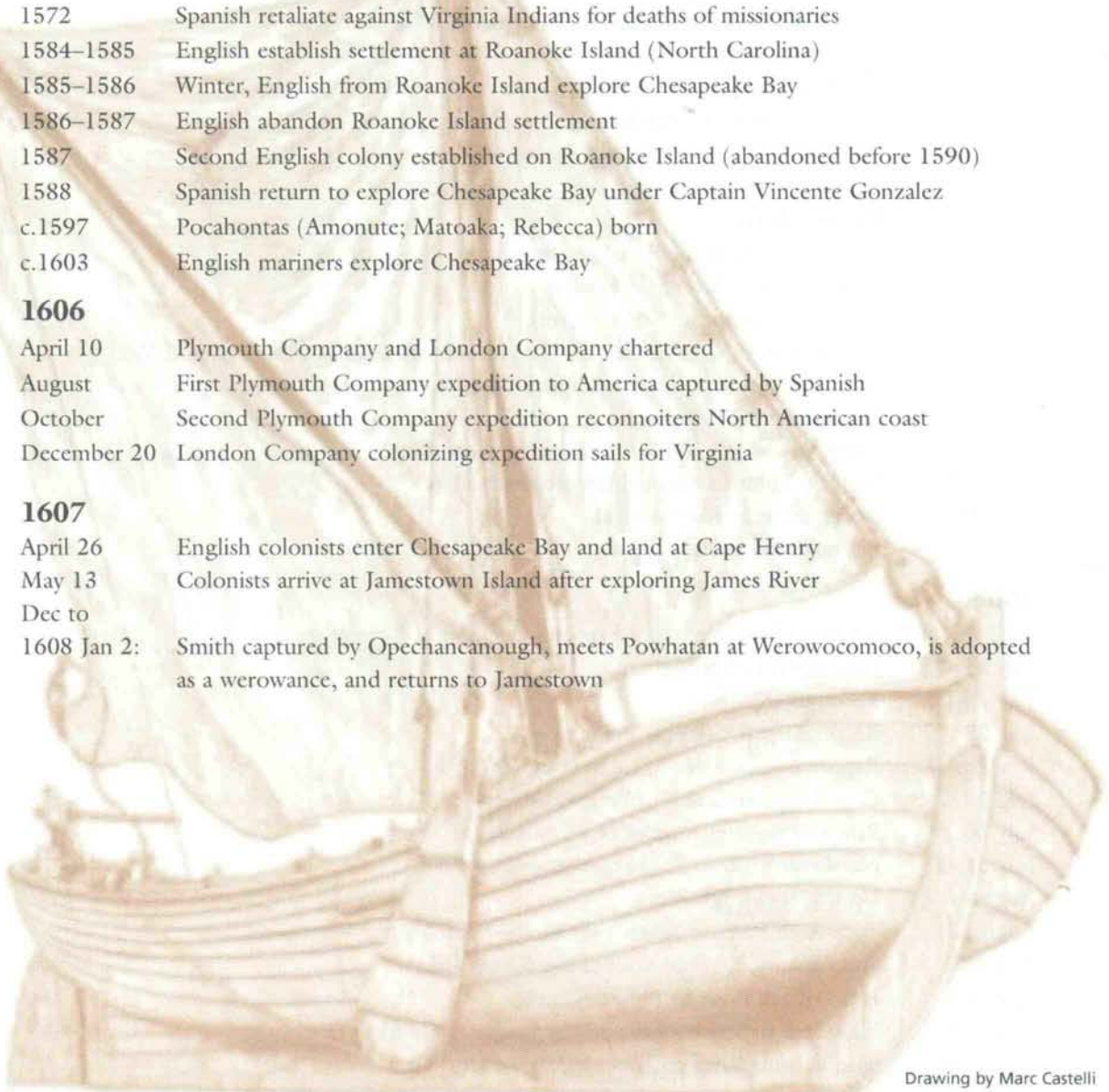
- 1524 Spanish explorer may have visited Chesapeake Bay
- 1546 French vessel enters the Chesapeake Bay
- c.1547 Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh) born
- c.1561 Paquinquino ("Don Luis") sails away with Spanish under Pedro Menendez de Aviles
- c.1570–1600 Powhatan inherits and expands polity
- 1570 September, Don Luis returns; Spanish establish Jesuit mission on York River
- 1571 February, Don Luis exterminates Spanish Jesuit mission
- 1572 Spanish retaliate against Virginia Indians for deaths of missionaries
- 1584–1585 English establish settlement at Roanoke Island (North Carolina)
- 1585–1586 Winter, English from Roanoke Island explore Chesapeake Bay
- 1586–1587 English abandon Roanoke Island settlement
- 1587 Second English colony established on Roanoke Island (abandoned before 1590)
- 1588 Spanish return to explore Chesapeake Bay under Captain Vincente Gonzalez
- c.1597 Pocahontas (Amonute; Matoaka; Rebecca) born
- c.1603 English mariners explore Chesapeake Bay

1606

- April 10 Plymouth Company and London Company chartered
- August First Plymouth Company expedition to America captured by Spanish
- October Second Plymouth Company expedition reconnoiters North American coast
- December 20 London Company colonizing expedition sails for Virginia

1607

- April 26 English colonists enter Chesapeake Bay and land at Cape Henry
- May 13 Colonists arrive at Jamestown Island after exploring James River
- Dec to
- 1608 Jan 2: Smith captured by Opechancanough, meets Powhatan at Werowocomoco, is adopted as a werowance, and returns to Jamestown



Drawing by Marc Castelli

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY REGION

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay Voyages

1608

- Jun 2–Jul 21 Smith leads fifteen men on first exploration of Chesapeake Bay
- June 2–3 Smith's party sails from Jamestown to Cape Charles
- June 3 Cape Charles to Accomack Town
- June 4 Accomack Town to Chesconnessex Creek
- June 5 Chesconnessex Creek to Wicocomoco Town (Md.)
- June 6 Wicocomoco Town to Bloodsworth Island
- June 7–8 Bloodsworth Island
- June 8 Bloodsworth Island to mouth of Nanticoke River
- June 9 Mouth of Nanticoke River
- June 10 Up Nanticoke River and back
- June 11 Nanticoke River to Randle Cliff
- June 12 Randle Cliff to Sillery Bay on Patapsco River
- June 13 Sillery Bay to Elkridge and back, on Patapsco River
- June 14 Patapsco River
- June 15 Patapsco River to mouth of Herring Bay
- June 16 Herring Bay to Cornfield Harbor
- June 17 Cornfield Harbor to Nomini Creek (Va.)
- Jun 18–Jul 15 Nomini Bay to Great Falls, return to mouth of Potomac River (Va. and Md.)
- July 15 Mouth of Potomac River to Ingram Bay (Va.)
- July 16 Ingram Bay to Fleets Bay
- July 17 Fleets Bay to Stingray Point, Rappahannock River
- July 18–19 Stingray Point to Kecoughtan on James River
- July 20 Kecoughtan to Warraskoyack
- July 21 Warraskoyack to Jamestown

1608

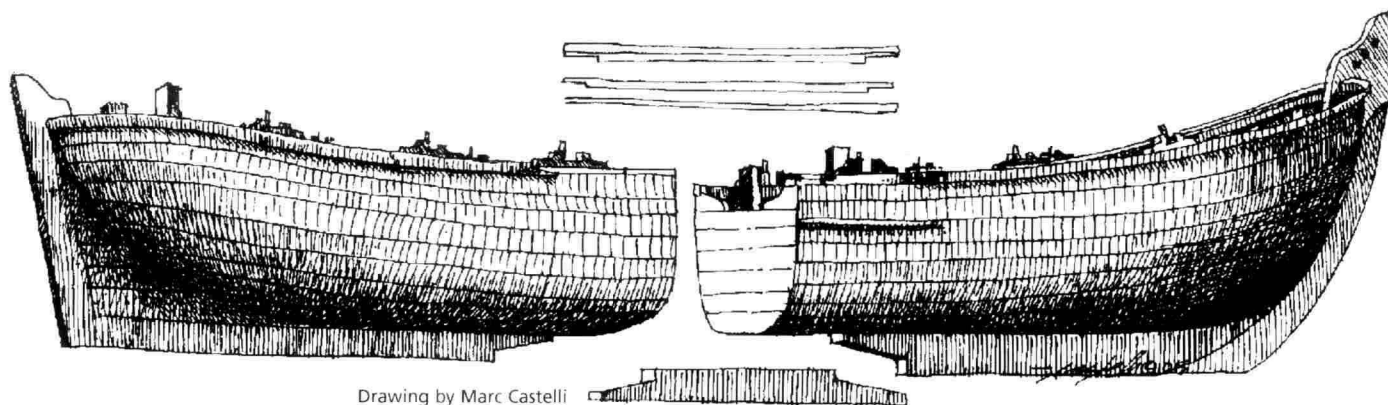
- Jul 24–Sept 7 Smith leads twelve men on second Chesapeake Bay exploration
- July 24 Jamestown to Kecoughtan
- July 25–25 Kecoughtan
- July 27 Kecoughtan to Stingray Point
- July 28 Rappahannock River to Cove Point (Md.)
- July 29 Cove Point to mouth of Patapsco River
- July 30 Patapsco River to head of Northeast River
- July 31 Northeast River to Tockwogh (Sassafras) River
- August 1 Up the Tockwogh River
- August 2 Tockwogh River to Smith Falls on the Susquehanna River (Pa.)
- August 3 Susquehanna River to head of Elk River (Md.)
- August 4 Head of Elk River to Big Elk Creek
- August 5 Elk Creek to Smith's Falls on the Susquehanna River (Pa.)
- August 6 Susquehanna River to Tockwogh town (Md.)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY REGION

August 7	Tockwogh town
August 8	Tockwogh River to Rock Hall Harbor, mouth of Chester River
August 9	Chester River to Patuxent River
August 10	Up Patuxent River to Pawtuxunt town on Battle Creek
August 11	Pawtuxunt town to Mattpanient town
August 12	Mattpanient town to Acquintanacsuck town
August 13	Patuxent River to St. Jerome Creek below Point No Point
August 14	Potomac River to Rappahannock River (Va.)
August 15–16	Up Rappahannock River to Moraughtacund town
August 17	Moraughtacund town to Rappahannock ambush at Cat Point Creek
August 18	Cat Point Creek to Pissaseck
August 19	Pissaseck to Nantaughtacund towns
August 20	Nantaughtacund to Upper Cuttatawomen towns
August 21	Cuttatawomen town to Fetherstone Bay
August 22	Fetherstone Bay to the fall line to Hollywood Bar
August 23	Hollywood Bar to Cuttatawomen
August 24	Cuttatawomen to Pissaseck towns
August 25	Pissaseck to Rappahannock ambushing place near Moraughtacund
August 26–29	Negotiations near Moraughtacund
August 30–31	Moraughtacund to Piankatank River
Sept 1–3	Piankatank River exploration
Sept 3–4	Piankatank River to Old Point Comfort
Sept 5–7	Point Comfort to Jamestown with explorations of Elizabeth and Nansemond Rivers
December	Smith sends “Mappe of the Bay and Rivers” and narrative to London Company

1609

May	Sir Thomas Gates sails to Virginia with instructions from London Company for expanding colony based on Smith’s map and narrative
May 23	New charter issued to former London Company, now Virginia Company



Drawing by Marc Castelli

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY REGION

Later Significant Dates

- 1609** September • Smith suffers gunpowder burns, sails for England
November • Smith arrives in London
- 1610** June • Lord De La Warr begins to pursue war against Powhatan peoples
- 1612** March 22 • Third charter issued to Virginia Company
John Smith publishes *A Map of Virginia* and *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia*
John Rolfe successfully plants and cultivates tobacco crop
Dutch establish colony on Manhattan Island, New York
- 1613** Sir Samuel Argall attacks French settlements in Maine
Spring • Argall kidnaps Pocahontas at Patawomeck and takes her to Jamestown to be held for ransom
- 1614** April • Powhatan agrees to peace; Pocahontas converts to Christianity
April • John Rolfe marries Pocahontas
John Rolfe sends first tobacco cargo to England
- 1616** John Rolfe, Pocahontas, and others visit England
- 1617** March • Pocahontas dies and is buried in England
- 1618** April • Powhatan dies
November 18 • new Company charter establishes headright system, fueling settlement
- 1619** Jul 30–Aug 4 • Virginia General Assembly first meets
August • First Africans arrive in Virginia
- 1620–1621** Opechancanough plans attack on English settlements
- 1620** November 9 • *Mayflower* reaches Cape Cod, Mass., with Puritans
- 1622** March 22 • Opechancanough's attack on English settlements
- 1622–1632** Era of warfare between English and Powhatan Indians
- 1623** English settlements sprout in Mass., New Hampshire, and Maine
- 1624** John Smith publishes *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*
- 1628–1629** Opechancanough becomes paramount chief
- 1632** Peace treaty between English and Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians
- 1632–1644** English expand settlements; growing population crowds Powhatan people
- 1632** June 30 • Lord Baltimore receives charter for Maryland colony
- 1633** November 22 • Gov. Leonard Calvert sails with two hundred settlers for Maryland
- 1634** February 27 • Maryland colonists sail into Chesapeake Bay
- 1635** February 26 • First Maryland assembly meets
- 1635** April 23 • Naval skirmish occurs between vessels of Virginia fur trader William Claiborne and Maryland government
- 1642** Oliver Cromwell overthrows King Charles I and establishes Parliamentary rule
- 1644** March 24 • Roger Williams receives charter for Rhode Island colony
April 18 • Opechancanough launches second attack on English settlements
- 1644–1646** English retaliate against Powhatan people, who begin to abandon eastern Virginia
- 1645–1647** Conflicts in Maryland between Catholic government and Protestant rebels
- 1646** Between spring and fall, Opechancanough captured, taken to Jamestown, and shot and killed
October 5 • English colonists conclude peace treaty with Powhatan polity

CHAPTER TWO:

EVALUATION OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE, FEASIBILITY AND DESIRABILITY



Photo courtesy of Randy Loftus

INTRODUCTION

The National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1241-1251) institutes a national system of recreation, scenic and historic trails. National historic trails (NHTs) are extended trails marking prominent past routes of travel, typically used for exploration, migration or military purposes. The study team for this document applied the significance, feasibility and desirability criteria of the National Trails System Act to determine whether or not this trail is eligible for establishment.

To qualify as a NHT, a trail must meet three criteria defined in the National Trails System Act (see Appendix A). The criteria are set forth below along with an evaluation of how the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT meets all three.

In addition, the Act requires that the feasibility of designating a trail be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether it is physically possible to develop a trail and whether the trail is financially feasible.

In addition, the National Trails System Act states that NHTs should generally be “extended trails” at least one hundred miles long, although historic trails of less than one hundred miles are permitted. The proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT traces the routes of Smith’s several 1607 and 1609 voyages on the York and James Rivers, covering about 190 miles, and his two voyages around the Bay and tributaries in the summer of 1608, totaling about 2100 miles.

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA FOR A NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Criterion 1. A proposed NHT must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of the potential for public recreation and historical interest. A designated trail should generally follow the historic route but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing or for more pleasurable recreation.

Criterion 2. A proposed NHT must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, the historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of American Indians may be included.

Criterion 3. A proposed NHT must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

APPLICATION OF NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL CRITERIA

The proposed NHT would follow the routes of John Smith's several expeditions up the York and James Rivers in 1607-1609 and his two bay-wide voyages conducted in the summer of 1608. The trail would be on water, with access provided where land currently

owned by a federal, state or local government overlaps with or is in proximity to one of Smith's landing points.

The voyages are well documented by Smith's journals and maps. Throughout Smith's voyages of 1608, he and members of his crew kept a written narrative of their two thousand mile expedition. These accounts of the Chesapeake's natural resources, waterways, and Native inhabitants have fascinated readers for centuries. Smith's journals still provide one of the most extensive first-person accounts of the early seventeenth century Chesapeake.

In 1612, after returning to Europe, Captain John Smith published his remarkable map of the Chesapeake Bay. The map proved to be so accurate that it served as the definitive rendering of the area for nearly a century, providing European settlers with a blueprint for colonization of the Chesapeake region.

The voyages are nationally significant with respect to several broad aspects of American history, including American Indian cultures; the economic, commercial, political, exploration and settlement history of the United States. The national significance of the proposed trail is explained in detail in the following section of this report.

The voyages had far-reaching consequences on the development of the United States. His "discoveries," recorded in his maps and books, promoted the transformation of the Bay's environment through farming and the settlers' exploitation of natural resources. The large-scale emigration from England that followed in Smith's wake increased the pressure on the native peoples and the Bay itself. Smith's model for settlement in the Bay region largely became the model for English America from New England to the Carolinas.

The proposed NHT has significant potential for public recreational use and historical interpretation. The setting of the proposed trail also enhances its appeal. Much of the proposed trail passes cultural and natural land-

scapes that have a great deal of integrity, including the Chesapeake Bay and the shorelines of its major tributaries. Because the trail will be water-based, there is an opportunity for interpretation both from the water and from the scenic, and substantially protected, shorelines. A number of museums, parks, and historic sites protect resources along the shorelines and provide public access and opportunities for interpretation of the historic themes of the voyages.

On the following pages, the proposed trail is evaluated against the three criteria for NHTs. The proposed trail fully satisfies the three NHT criteria.

EVALUATION OF CRITERION (1), HISTORIC USE AND KNOWLEDGE OF ROUTE AND CRITERION (2), NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Criterion One for a NHT requires that a proposed trail follow as closely as possible the historic route.

A notable feature of John Smith's voyages is the detailed journals he wrote and the maps he created. He saw more with his own eyes (and wrote more about it) than any other Englishman then in Virginia. He gathered data for a map that would guide English explorers and settlers for decades to come. The map, which he labored over for months, distilled the information he had gathered on his voyages from both his own observations and the descriptions given by the Indians. Smith's map was published in 1612 and formed the basis for his 1624 map as well. Thanks to Smith's journals and map, most of the routes of the two voyages are known today and are described in detail below.

Criterion Two for a NHT requires that the trail be nationally significant.

Significance statements describe the importance of a trail to the history of the United

States. They describe why a trail and its resources are unique within a broader regional, national and international context. A significance statement for the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT was authored by Historian John Salmon, and examined by peer reviewers, a team of scholars and experts in this subject matter. Comments made by the peer review committee and the study team for this document were incorporated into the significance statement and the final statement was approved by the National Park System Advisory Board in March of 2006. The complete Statement of Significance is found in Appendix D. The Statement of Significance for the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT explains how the trail would meet both Criterion One and Criterion Two.

The proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT is considered to be nationally significant for the Chesapeake Bay and river voyages of Captain John Smith it would commemorate. These voyages first revealed to Europeans the complexity and richness of the Chesapeake Bay region and the key roles the Bay came to play in the development of Great Britain's Mid-Atlantic colonies. The maps and writings that resulted shaped colonial affairs for more than a century afterwards.

In reviewing the story of Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages and the context in which they occurred, three themes stand out as most immediately related to Smith's expeditions and their effects: Ethnic Heritage, Exploration and Settlement, and Commerce and Trade. Several additional historical themes emerged relating to military history, business and political history, international diplomacy, and the long-term transformation of the Chesapeake Bay environment, as well as the stories of women and African Americans, the role in the colony of craftsmen and artisans ranging from carpenters to glassblowers to goldsmiths.

Each of the three principal themes is defined by the National Register of Historic Places *Data Categories for Areas of Significance*, and discussed in more detail below.

Ethnic Heritage (Native Americans)

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because they accelerated the processes that destroyed the Powhatan polity and disrupted the native peoples' lifeways throughout the Mid-Atlantic region, and established the primacy of English culture in the region and beyond.

The Trail is significant as:

- the route that John Smith followed in his voyages to explore and identify American Indian towns and territories
- a symbol of the independence of the English colonists from Powhatan's control
- a symbol of the impact on and eventual collapse of the Powhatan polity and the native peoples' lifeways in the Chesapeake Bay and beyond

"We demanded [of Amoroleck] why they [the Mannahoac] came in that manner to betray us that came to them in peace and to seek their loves. He answered they heard we were a people come from under the world to take their world from them."—John Smith, *The Generall Historie* (1624)

When the English entered the Chesapeake Bay on April 26, 1607, they soon encountered a variety of native peoples whose politics, societies, economies, and religions had long been organized. A variety of polities throughout the region governed the peoples, social structures and systems of etiquette guided their personal and intra-tribal interactions, a complicated web of trading networks spread their goods over hundreds of miles, and worldviews that joined the seen and the unseen in a seamless whole formed the foundation of their religions. The Bay had served the native societies for generations as a highway

for settlement and trade, linking the coastal communities with other societies as far away as present-day Ohio and the Great Lakes.

The American Indians, particularly the Powhatan people, the Piscataway, and the Susquehannock, saw themselves first as the superiors and later as the equals of the English. The native peoples' cultures were ancient and their manner of living in their environment was long established. They outnumbered the newcomers in 1607: a native population in Tidewater Virginia of thirteen thousand to fifteen thousand or more versus fewer than 150 — a number that plummeted rapidly—for the English. From the perspective of the paramount chief Powhatan, the English came to his country uninvited, sailed up and down his rivers, neglected at first to pay their respects to him or to the district chiefs, and occupied part of his land without asking permission. Powhatan must have watched in astonishment as the newcomers chose a swampy island for the settlement that would become Jamestown, planted crops or ate unfamiliar foods only when faced with starvation, and suffered the effects of infighting, paranoia, and the lack of effective leadership.

Instead of attacking the strangers, however, Powhatan followed the custom of his people by giving them hospitality and attempting to incorporate them into his political domain. His people guided them through the woods and up rivers and streams. They answered the strangers' questions about mines and other tribes and what lay around the next river bend or over the next mountain. They drew maps for them in the sand of riverbanks. They gave them feasts when they visited their towns. They brought venison and corn to Jamestown, depleting their own stocks of food so that the strangers would not starve. They even took some of them into their towns and homes during the winter.

The English, however, continued to go where they wished and occupied other people's land. They made their own alliances within and out-

side the polity and disrupted long-established networks of trade and politics. Their assumption of their own ethnic, religious, political, social, and economic superiority set them on a cultural collision course with Powhatan—indeed with the entire American Indian world of the Chesapeake.

In one attempt to accommodate the English, Powhatan incorporated them into his polity through an “induction ceremony” for Smith. The English then came under his protection but also owed him certain obligations. Powhatan believed that an agreement had been reached. Smith’s Chesapeake Bay voyages violated every article of the agreement. He explored without Powhatan’s permission, visited some towns but not others (violating the native etiquette of hospitality), negotiated trade agreements and alliances that were not his to negotiate, fought with some of the tribes (again, Powhatan’s prerogative), and generally stirred up the entire Chesapeake Indian world. Smith demonstrated independence from Powhatan rather than appropriate submission.

The situation deteriorated further, from Powhatan’s perspective, after Smith returned from his voyages, assumed the presidency of the colony, and began dispersing the settlers. The English staged a coronation ceremony to make Powhatan a “prince” subject to King James I, while Powhatan probably thought that he had demonstrated his superiority over the English. It was a fatal misunderstanding for both sides. When the English continued their expansionist policies, further showing that they did not recognize Powhatan’s authority much less consider him their equal, Powhatan held a final interview with Smith in January 1609. The two men finally understood that the situation was hopeless, the gulf too wide to bridge. Powhatan departed, withdrawing his and his people’s support from the English.

Powhatan was unable to maintain unity within his territory, and in part it was Smith’s Chesapeake Bay voyages that began the

breakup by exposing weaknesses in the Powhatan polity. Those weaknesses included Powhatan’s relative lack of authority over the tributary tribes at some distance from him, the willingness of several tribes to make their own trade agreements with the English, and Powhatan’s reliance on advice from his priests, who were attacked by the English to weaken the native culture. Years later, the polity would fall apart under the brutal pressure of English-style warfare as individual tribes sued for peace rather than be obliterated. The faith of the people in Powhatan was not easily shaken, because he maintained his position for years to come, but the decline of Powhatan and his polity likely began during John Smith’s voyages.

That the English came to dominate the Chesapeake Bay region within a generation is due in large part to John Smith. His voyages revealed that although there were no Northwest Passage or large-scale mines of precious metals there, the Bay nonetheless offered a great deal of value, including fish, furs, timber, and farmland. His early vision of privately owned farms spread over the landscape came to pass before long, ensuring that the Bay region would be English instead of Spanish or Dutch. The English culture, governmental structure, and language followed him there along with the farming patterns of the old country. In addition, the cultural conflicts between the English and the Powhatan polity became the pattern of the treatment of the native peoples for the next two centuries. The English disdain of native worldviews, the assumption of English cultural superiority, the lack of respect for native religion, and the presumption that land used for hunting and gardening was available for English occupation—over the years that followed, that story was repeated with different players from the Atlantic coast westward. English culture in the Chesapeake Bay region eventually overwhelmed or absorbed the Dutch, French, and Spanish cultures as well. The consequences of John Smith’s voyages reached far into the future.

Exploration and Settlement

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of the impact of his subsequent maps and writings on English and colonial policy regarding the exploration and settlement of North America, as well as the transformation of the Bay's environment.

The Trail is significant as:

- the route that John Smith followed in his program of exploration and discovery in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries
- a symbol of the spirit of adventure and wonder that were important components of Smith's voyages and English exploration
- the route by which Smith gathered information vital to the survival and growth of the English settlements in North America
- resulted in writings and maps that were highly influential to many who followed and settled the Chesapeake Bay region.

"The six and twentieth day of April, about four o'clock in the morning, we descried the land of Virginia; the same day we ent'red into the Bay of Chesupioe directly without any let or hindrance; there we landed and discovered a little way, but we could find nothing worth the speaking of but fair meadows and goodly tall trees, with such fresh waters running through the woods as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof."—George Percy

It is impossible to read the accounts written by Englishmen viewing their new home for the first time and not imagine them crowding the decks for a better look, pointing out the sights to each other, and shivering with a range of emotions. Relief: land at last, after long months jammed on tiny ships with bad food, bad water, and a mob of sick, bickering, smelly men. Wonder: everything was bright and new; the trees were tall and goodly, the meadows were fair, and the waters looked fresh and cool. Fear: they probably suspected that what lay ahead for most of them was death, far from home and loved ones, and each man no doubt

prayed that he would survive and beat the odds. Pride: they were the vanguard of a new empire, defying prior Spanish claims and planting crosses for Protestant England. Ambition: they would make better men of themselves, if not morally then at least in terms of wealth, and return sometime to England more prosperous than when they left.

Wonder and excitement soon gave way to the realities of a life that was far from familiar to most of them. They quickly discovered that despite all the planning back in England, they lacked accurate information about their new home. The interior of Virginia was not the same as coastal North Carolina. Some of them had read the works of Hakluyt and others, but they soon found that reality trumped propaganda, as well as their own dreams. Being on land quickly lost its charm, especially after the first native attack and as the contentions that had erupted aboard ship continued. The trees concealed enemies, the meadows did not yield abundant game, and the waters were salt-poisoned. Their fears of death were soon realized, as more and more men fell ill and succumbed. Patriotism did not put meat in the pot, and the supposed riches of the land were not found immediately. Instead of accumulating wealth for themselves or investors in the Company, the colonists struggled simply to survive.

They also explored the rivers and, in 1608, John Smith led two well-organized voyages up the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. Smith already had led expeditions to Powhatan towns near Jamestown, learning more about the land and its inhabitants along the way. He made notes on his "discoveries" and began sketching maps. Just as he was about to depart on his first voyage on the Bay, he sent a letter and a map back to England. The letter soon formed the basis for the much-edited volume *A True Relation*. The Spanish ambassador in London, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, obtained a copy of part of Smith's map and sent it to King Philip III to urge him to eliminate the English presence in territory claimed by Spain. Very quickly,

then, Smith's first map became a document of international significance.

Smith did not travel alone. He took fourteen Englishmen on the first trip and twelve on the next. He also used the services of many native people as scouts, guides, translators, and emissaries. Others remained in their towns but described to Smith what lay over the horizon or up the river, or drew maps for him in the earth. He could not have accomplished his mission without the assistance of the native peoples.

During the voyages, Smith made extensive notes about the features of the Chesapeake Bay. He recorded its animals, fish, and birds, as well as the flora that lined its shores and riverbanks. He also wrote of the people he encountered, their customs, and the assistance they gave him. He noted distances between points, the shapes of rivers, the locations of marshes, the positions of towns, and where he and his men had placed crosses to claim land and waterways for England. After Smith returned to England himself late in 1609, he began to expand *A True Relation* and his Chesapeake Bay notes and maps into his 1612 book, *A Map of Virginia*. He included the writings of Anas Todkill, Walter Russell, and Nathaniel Powell, who had shared his adventures on the Bay. In 1624, Smith published his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*.

Smith did not find precious metals, he wrote, or anything else "to incourage us, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded"—in other words, the rich natural abundance of the land, the rivers, and the Chesapeake Bay. To exploit such resources, however, in Smith's opinion would require not exploring parties or trading posts, but a primarily agrarian society composed of farmers, town dwellers, merchants, and support industries such as ironworks. To create that kind of economy, the land and its native inhabitants must first be occupied and subdued, which would require a massive influx of settlers. This gradually

became the Company's policy, but it needed the royal government to carry it into full effect.

Smith's maps of the Chesapeake Bay were of vital importance to the Virginia Company and, with his writings, helped persuade the Company to make essential changes in policy that affected the future course of the colony. His model for settling the land, arising as it did from his months of exploring the Bay and its tributaries and the books he wrote about his experiences, proved to be the right one for the North American colonies. He influenced their development for many years thereafter and contributed to the flood of immigration that populated the colonies during the next two centuries and forced the native peoples to immigrate to other localities. Thomas Jefferson, more than a century and a half later, quoted Smith's *Generall Historie* at length in his own *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787). So accurate were Smith's maps in their various editions or states that they remained the standard for the Chesapeake Bay and vicinity for most of the seventeenth century. They were used in boundary disputes between Virginia and Maryland, and were reprinted by Virginia in 1819.

Although Smith wrote extensively about the rich fishing grounds off the coast of New England, his words proved particularly applicable to the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The Bay's fish and shellfish—most notably oysters—long savored by the American Indians who lived in the region, also proved popular with early English colonists and succeeding generations of farmers and townspeople. Once food-preservation methods and transportation improved in the 19th century, the increasing demand for oysters nationwide resulted in the eventual depletion of the beds and the eruption of "oyster wars" between Virginia and Maryland oystermen. The growing American population, runoff from farms, roads, and parking lots, and other environmental factors have contributed for many years to the problems facing the Chesapeake Bay.

To Smith, the Bay's resources must have seemed infinite; he could not know how fragile the environment was that sustains them. The very qualities that made the Bay so perfect for human habitation—its natural resources—eventually would contribute to the transformation of that environment as settlers lured by Smith's descriptions and guided by his maps established farms and communities in Virginia and, in the 1630s, in Maryland.

Neither could Smith foresee the other fruits of his voyages, his books, and the evolution of the Chesapeake colonies: tobacco plantations supporting a system of chattel slavery and vice versa. He was not in Virginia when John Rolfe harvested the first successful tobacco crop in 1612, when the first Africans arrived in 1619, or when the institution of slavery began to grow as tobacco became the money crop in the Chesapeake Bay region during the next few decades. Yet his voyages, his maps, his writings, and his dispersal of the colonists as president, as well as the subsequent change in the landholding policies of the London Company, all played a role in laying the groundwork for the plantation economy that formed the foundation of Chesapeake society and eventually spread throughout the American South, with violent and tragic consequences.

Commerce and Trade

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of their impact on the commerce and trade of North America and the native peoples.

The Trail is significant as:

- the route by which John Smith surveyed the Bay and explored for gold, silver, copper, and the Northwest Passage, for the benefit of the commerce and trade of the colony and England
- the route by which Smith made contact with American Indian tribes, established trade agreements with them, and increased the chances that the English colony would survive

- a symbol of England's trading power, soon to be increased by the production of tobacco for export from the colony
- a symbol of the long-term impact on and cultural contact between the native peoples and European colonists

"And more over wee doe grannte and agree for us, our heires and successors, that the saide severall Counsellis of and for the saide severall Colonies shall and lawfully may by vertue hereof, from time to time, without interruption of us, our heires or successors, give and take order to digg, mine and searche for all manner of mines of goulde, silver and copper."

—First Virginia Charter, April 10, 1606

The promotion of commerce and trade, and the acquisition of valuable resources, were major reasons why the English Crown authorized the exploration and settlement of North America. To secure trade routes to the Orient, to deny resources and products to other nations, to achieve mastery of the seas, to enrich England, to establish an empire built on commerce—these were the goals of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I, and the Virginia Companies of London and Portsmouth were the instruments by which the goals would be reached. The colonists who came to Virginia hoped they would make discoveries that would bring wealth to the nation, the Company, and themselves through commerce and trade.

Before the colonists could begin trading with England, however, they first had to survive, and that meant trading with the native peoples. The Powhatan and other peoples of the Chesapeake Bay region were well experienced with trade and commerce. A vast network of rivers and footpaths connected the American Indians of the Eastern Seaboard with those of the Great Lakes and Canada. Items of value were dug from the earth, crafted from shells, and derived from plants, and then transported by canoe or on foot from one place to another. Haggling and sharp trading-practices were part of the native peoples' economy as well. John Smith and other Englishmen quickly found

that the Powhatan traders were as canny as their counterparts in Europe and elsewhere.

There were differences, however, in what the English and the Powhatan counted as wealth. Smith was amazed that he could obtain large quantities of corn—an item of immense value to the starving colonists—for a small number of cheap beads or a few pieces of ordinary copper. Individual wealth did not count for as much among the Powhatan people as it did among the English; it was not what one could purchase with the goods but what kind of power was associated with the item that was important. As Powhatan acquired items containing religious power, for example, his personal power increased, but his shamanic authority over the people grew even more. Gold, silver, and copper were valuable to the English primarily as the means to the acquisition of other things (land, livestock, dwellings), or, when they were crafted into ornaments, as symbols of personal wealth and influence. Among the Powhatan people, however, these precious metals were of more value to the status of the tribe as a whole, or the status of its leaders and hence the tribe indirectly, although they could also promote individual status. Each side probably never fully understood these basic differences in their philosophies of wealth.

John Smith's voyages around the Chesapeake Bay opened up the world of trade with the native peoples to the English. Henceforth, the colonists would not be limited to the tribes near Jamestown. Smith's journeys also informed him about the types of goods to be found in various places, from furs to silvery glitter for face paint to iron hatchets. His voyages also informed him about what was not to be easily discovered: gold, silver, and copper. The English thought that the metals they desired would be found in relative abundance, if not in Tidewater Virginia near Jamestown then perhaps above the falls or around the next bend in the river or over the next range of mountains or up the Bay.

Smith's pragmatism regarding the natural resources available to the colony for trade surfaced even before his Chesapeake Bay voyages, when he loaded Captain Francis Nelson's *Phoenix*, bound for England in June 1608, with fresh-cut Virginia cedar. That fall, as president, Smith watched Christopher Newport lead an expedition up the James River in search of mines again. Smith, however, set the men remaining in Jamestown to work making glass, soap ashes, pitch, and tar, and also led a gang into the forest to cut timber for wainscot and clapboards. These, he believed, were what the colony could produce immediately for the benefit of the Company and England, whether gold was ever found or not.

Over the next hundred years, Virginia and the other colonies would become major trading partners with England and other nations. Most of that commerce would include not the precious metals the Company and early colonists dreamed of, but the natural resources of the woods and fields. Furs, timber, tar, and the products of thousands of farms and plantations—tobacco, sugar, and cotton especially—would comprise much of the wealth of colonial and antebellum America. John Smith was among the first to recognize where the future economic foundation of the country lay in terms of commerce and trade, and he promoted in his books the vast and seemingly limitless resources of America. He could not, however, foresee the consequences of his vision for the Chesapeake Bay: the deforestation that resulted from the spread of farms, the pollution of the Bay's waters by fertilizers and other compounds carried by runoffs, the depletion of the Bay's resources such as oysters and sturgeon from overharvesting as well as pollution, and the development of towns and cities that permanently altered the Bay's environment. The intensive exploitation of the Bay's natural resources became the model for the exploitation of the continent as the English and other settlers spread across North America. John Smith played a vital role in creating that model through his voyages, maps, and writings.

EVALUATION OF NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL CRITERION THREE

Criterion Three requires that a proposed NHT have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation.

The potential recreational use and historic interest of the proposed Captain John Smith NHT are derived from many factors, including the scenic setting of the trail; the existence and integrity of historic sites linked to the voyages; the long-established and substantial use of the Bay and its major tributaries for many types of recreation, including both motorized and non-motorized boating; hundreds of marinas and many other points of public access to the trail; and the presence of a number of sites, partners and institutions in proximity to the trail that can provide interpretation and visitor services. These are described below.

Much of the setting of the voyage routes—the Chesapeake Bay, its shoreline and rivers—retains a scenic character similar to that of Smith's time. Certainly changes have occurred along the shores, particularly in the urbanized areas; but many of the rural areas retain conditions similar to Smith's time, with riparian forests, open fields, secluded bays and marshes. Based on a comparison with Smith's maps and descriptions, the bay and river shorelines are substantially similar today, and for the most part navigable by a variety of watercraft. Thus, in many places along the trail, a trail user can enjoy views similar to what Smith must have experienced. This enhances the opportunities for historical interest and interpretation. Map 11 shows the numerous public boat ramps throughout the Bay and in proximity to the Smith voyage routes. Since the trail will be entirely on water, there are numerous opportunities for the public to retrace the original routes by boat.

Substantial sections of the Bay shoreline are protected, inhibiting future degradation to the

landscape and viewshed. The matrix of trail-related resources (Appendix C) lists the stops Smith made on his 1608 voyages and the publicly and privately protected lands in the vicinity of the stops. Of the ninety-six stops listed, about sixty percent have adjacent public land. Many of these sites offer restrooms and/or parking, as well as opportunities for interpretation of the themes and stories of the John Smith voyages. The nearby and

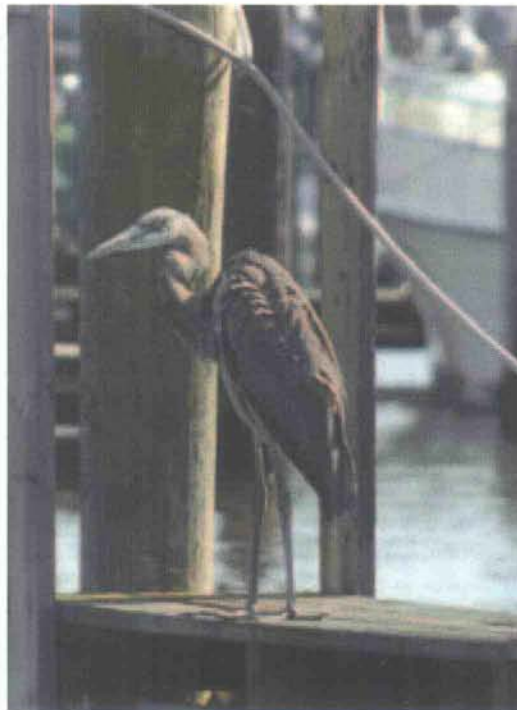


Photo courtesy of Ken MacFadden
Chesapeake Bay Foundation, cbf.org

adjacent public lands include eighteen Department of Interior sites: twelve National Wildlife Refuges, owned and managed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and six NPS sites. Most relevant to the John Smith voyages is Colonial NHP, which includes Historic Jamestowne, the first permanent English settlement in North America in 1607, and the Cape Henry Memorial, which marks the approximate site of the first landing of the Jamestown colonists on the Atlantic Coast in April of 1607.

Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network (CBGN):

Authorized by the United States Congress in 1998 and created in 2000, the CBGN was established to inspire public appreciation and conservation of the Chesapeake watershed. The Network, coordinated by the NPS and the Chesapeake Bay Program, connects visitors with scores of diverse Chesapeake Gateways—the public's entry points to the rich environmental, cultural and historical resources along the Bay and its rivers.

More than 150 non-profit, local, state and federal sites across sixty-four thousand square miles are linked in a joint strategy to coordinate visitor experiences and communicate the values of the Chesapeake. This is a central strategy for achieving the Bay Program's goals of fostering greater individual involvement in Chesapeake stewardship.

Presenting Chesapeake Bay history is an enduring focus of the CBGN. The commemoration of the settlement of Jamestown and Captain John Smith's voyages of exploration and the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT present key opportunities to nurture interest in Bay history and how and why the Chesapeake has changed over the past four hundred years. For a list of Gateway sites, please see the Bay Gateways website, www.bay-gateways.net.

In addition to the Gateway sites and water trail network, the CBGN provides a coalition of small and large organizations, an experienced team of interpretive planners working with sites, parks, museums, and refuges to tell the stories of the Bay and its watershed, and a commitment to fostering citizen stewardship of the Bay and watershed. The network also is experienced at producing water trail maps, and offers a water trail toolbox for planning, building, and maintaining water trails.

Interpretive projects already under way related to Captain John Smith's voyages:

(1) Bay-wide:

John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages 1607-1609

The CBGN assembled a team of historians, archaeologists and environmental scientists to write a book pulling together the best current knowledge on:

- Smith's voyages around the Chesapeake Bay
- The seventeenth century natural environment of the Chesapeake
- Native American settlements and culture of the seventeenth century Chesapeake

This fourteen-chapter book was employed as the definitive reference on Smith's voyages in the compilation of this study and is available to assist CBGN in developing interpretive projects and programming for the upcoming anniversary. A forthcoming printed edition of the book, with 150 maps and illustrations, is expected to be published by early 2007.

Exploring the Landscape of the Early 17th Century Chesapeake through John Smith's Voyages

Employing the latest photorealistic landscape visualization technology, CBGN, Pennsylvania State University, the Smithsonian Institution and two major Chesapeake cultural institutions—the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum and Historic St. Mary's City—are teamed up to develop a powerful new web-based attraction focused on the 400th anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" through the Chesapeake region. The project will give computer users in schools, homes, and libraries around the country—and the world—a chance to see vibrant images of the Chesapeake environment that so impressed Smith on his 1607-09 journeys and then compare them with images of the Bay environment today. This exciting interactive experience will allow visitors to track the progress of Smith's journeys, learn about the Native American inhabitants he encountered along the way and



Photo courtesy of Karen Underkoffler

explore the dramatic changes in the Bay. In addition, the materials will be linked to exhibits at Gateways and curriculum for schools.

The Colonial Chesapeake

The fourth in a series of CBGN guides for exploring Chesapeake themes is now in development. While not exclusively focused on John Smith, this guide will introduce visitors to the colonial period on the Chesapeake from 1607 to the 1770s—and the Gateways where those stories may be experienced. Thus it will provide the context for the many developments that followed Smith's initial forays into the Bay landscape. Expected to be published by January 2007, the guide will be accompanied by an interactive web module.

The Colonial Chesapeake will be available as a guide free to visitors at Gateways and welcome centers in Maryland and Virginia. It will complement a poster being developed by Schooner Sultana exploring aspects of colonial shipping commerce in more detail.

Chesapeake Bay Interpretive Buoy System

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), Chesapeake Bay

Office, through the NOAA Office of Education received \$500 thousand in 2006 to develop a prototype Chesapeake Bay Interpretive Buoy. The NOAA Chesapeake Bay Office will provide an additional \$100 thousand to develop classroom and community activities through the NOAA Bay Watershed Education and Training Program. NOAA plans to unveil the concept buoy and the educational programming during the Jamestown 400th anniversary commemoration in 2007.

Working with interested partners, the NOAA Chesapeake Bay Office will develop the buoy's technical, educational, and interactive components. The buoy will provide observations in support of the educational and interactive components relayed around the world via the internet – to nearby boaters and kayakers as well as far away students in the classroom. In addition to education, the buoy will have many other recreational, commercial, and maritime applications. It is hoped that the prototype will serve as the first in an interactive system of buoys that will be placed throughout the Bay as part of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT.

Captain John Smith 400 Project

Sultana Projects, Inc. a non-governmental organization that provides educational programs that emphasize historical, cultural and environmental topics pertinent to the Chesapeake Bay region, has been building a reproduction of John Smith's shallop. In the summer of 2007 a crew of modern-day explorers, historians, naturalists and educators will endeavor to retrace Captain John Smith's 1608 expedition.

(2) Site-Specific

Virginia Living Museum

(Newport News)—Survivor: Jamestown

Timed to coincide with the upcoming anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" through the Chesapeake, this highly interactive exhibit will explore why life was so difficult for early European settlers in Virginia and how different the Chesapeake environment was four hundred years ago from the Bay we know today. Traveling along a maze of interpretive stations, museum visitors will be challenged to make the choices that might have enabled them to qualify as "survivors" on the Bay of the early 1600s.

First Landing State Park

(Virginia Beach)—The Old New World: Creating a Chesapeake Indian Village

In a joint effort with the Nansemond Indian Tribe, this park in Virginia Beach will develop an authentic Virginia Algonquian Indian Village along the existing Cape Henry Trail. The village will include a chief's house, a sweathouse, and areas devoted to food preparation and crafts, with interpretive materials focusing on the culture of Chesapeake Indians and their complex relationship to the Chesapeake Bay and its resources. The project will be completed in time to serve as a backdrop for living-history programs during the upcoming 400th anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" in the Chesapeake Bay.

Lawrence Lewis Jr. Park (Charles City County)—New Wayside Exhibits

This twenty-four-acre park in Charles City, Virginia, was once home to the Weyanoke Indians, the tribe that claimed the site that European settlers turned into Jamestown. With the 400th anniversary of John Smith's "Voyages of Exploration" beginning in 2007, Lewis Park will install a series of interpretive wayside panels that describe the natural and cultural world of the Chesapeake in the early 1600s. The panels will be installed along an existing trail leading from a popular picnic pavilion to an elevated viewing platform.

Jamestown Quadricentennial:

2007 marks the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown. Planning is under way for national, state and local observances in 2007. The NPS and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities are working together to bring new facilities, exhibits and programs to the public at the site of the original James Fort and town. The Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, an educational agency of the Commonwealth of Virginia, is working to heighten national awareness and planning new programs, exhibits and facilities at Jamestown Settlement, a museum of seventeenth-century Virginia.

Federal Sites in Proximity to the Proposed Trail Offering Opportunities for Trail Interpretation (shown on Maps 3 through 7 and 9):

National Wildlife Refuges in Proximity to the Proposed Trail:

Eastern Shore of Virginia
Featherstone, Virginia (currently closed to public)
James River —Presquile, Virginia
Mason Neck, Virginia
Nansemond, Virginia (closed to public)
Plum Tree Island, Virginia
Rappahannock River Valley, Virginia
Occoquan Bay, Virginia
Chesapeake Marsh NWR Complex, Maryland:
Blackwater, Martin, Susquehanna and
Eastern Neck

**NPS Sites in Proximity
to the Proposed Trail:**

Colonial National Historical Park—

Jamestown (*Jamestown and Yorktown, VA*)

Colonial National Historical Park (NHP) administers two of the most historically significant sites in English North America. Historic Jamestowne, the first permanent English settlement in North America in 1607, jointly administered with the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and Yorktown Battlefield, the final major battle of the American Revolutionary War in 1781. These two sites represent the beginning and end of English colonial America. Situated on the Virginia Peninsula, these sites are connected by the twenty-three-mile scenic Colonial Parkway. Colonial NHP also includes Green Spring, the seventeenth century plantation home of Virginia's colonial governor, Sir William Berkeley, and the Cape Henry Memorial, which marks the approximate site of the first landing of the Jamestown colonists on the Atlantic Coast in April of 1607.

Piscataway Park (*Accokeek, MD*)

The tranquil view from Mount Vernon of the Maryland shore of the Potomac is preserved as a pilot project in the use of easements to protect parklands from obtrusive urban expansion. Piscataway Park stretches for six miles from Piscataway Creek to Marshall Hall on the Potomac River.

Fort Washington Park

(*Fort Washington, MD*)

Picturesque Fort Washington sits on high ground overlooking the Potomac River and offers a grand view of Washington and the Virginia shoreline. The old fort is one of the few U.S. seacoast fortifications still in its original form. The 341-acre park offers an assortment of recreational opportunities, including picnicking, fishing, and hiking and biking trails.

Anacostia Park (*Washington, DC*)

With over twelve hundred acres, Anacostia Park is one of Washington, DC's largest and most important recreation areas. Included in

Anacostia Park are Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens and Kenilworth Marsh. Hundreds of acres are available for ballfields, picnicking, basketball, tennis, and golf. There are three concession-operated marinas, four boat clubs, and a public boat ramp providing for access to the tidal Anacostia River for recreational boating.

**Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National
Historic Park** (*Potomac River, DC, MD, WV*)

The C&O Canal follows the route of the Potomac River for 184.5 miles from Washington, DC, to Cumberland, MD. The canal operated from 1828-1924 as a transportation route, primarily hauling coal from western Maryland to the port of Georgetown in Washington, DC. Hundreds of original structures, including locks, lockhouses, and aqueducts, serve as reminders of the canal's role as a transportation system during the Canal Era. In addition, the canal's towpath provides a nearly level, continuous trail through the spectacular scenery of the Potomac River Valley.

George Washington Memorial Parkway
(*VA, MD, DC*)

The George Washington Memorial Parkway features the natural scenery along the Potomac River. It connects the historic sites from Mount Vernon, past the nation's capital to the Great Falls of the Potomac. Developed as a memorial to George Washington, the Parkway is a route to scenic, historic and recreational settings offering respite from the urban pressures of metropolitan Washington. It also protects the Potomac River shoreline and watershed. The Parkway links a group of parks that provide a variety of experiences to millions of people each year.

Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail
(*the corridor between the Chesapeake Bay and
the Allegheny Highlands, DC, MD, PA, VA*)

The Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail is a partnership to develop and maintain a system of trails for recreation, transportation, health, and education between the mouth of the Potomac River and the Allegheny Highlands.



The designation of a Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail corridor in 1983, also under the National Trails System Act, is being used by communities in Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania to develop and make connections among trails, historic sites and a range of recreational and educational opportunities. Eleven trails are currently recognized as segments of the Trail.

Other Proposed National Trails that overlap or connect with the proposed trail (see Map 13):

The Star-Spangled Banner National Historic Trail

This would commemorate the Chesapeake Campaign of the War of 1812. It includes the British invasion of Maryland, Battle of Bladensburg, burning of the White House and the Capitol, and the Battle for Baltimore in the summer of 1814. Several water routes associated with this trail cross the proposed Captain John Smith trail routes in the Chesapeake Bay and follow the Potomac, Patuxent and Patapsco Rivers. The Feasibility Study and Environmental Impact Statement was published in May 2004. Designation legislation was approved by the U.S. Senate and is pending in the U.S. House of Representatives as of this writing.

Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route

The NPS is conducting the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Study as authorized by Congress through the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Heritage Act of 2000 (PL106-473). The purpose of the study is to determine if the route is eligible to become a NHT. It would commemorate the route

followed by the allied American-French armies in their movement from Newport, Rhode Island to Yorktown, Virginia in 1781, during the American Revolutionary War. The trail's water-route segment also crosses the Chesapeake Bay, overlapping with parts of the Captain John Smith proposed trail routes.

National Natural Landmarks in Proximity to the Proposed Trail (see Map 9)

Battle Creek Cypress Swamp

Calvert County, Maryland

Located on the east side of the Patuxent River, between Bowens and Port Republic.

Long Green Creek and Sweathouse Branch

Baltimore County, Maryland

Located two miles north of Perry Hall.

Belt Woods, Prince Georges County, Maryland

A fifty-six acre site that is fifteen miles east of Washington, D.C. in the vicinity of Upper Marlboro.

Caledon Natural Area

King George County, Virginia

A 2,860 acre forest bordered on the north by the Potomac River.

Great Dismal Swamp, Nansemond County and City of Chesapeake, Virginia

43,200 acres, including Lake Drummond.

Virginia Coastal Reserve, Accomack and Northampton Counties, Virginia

Occupying about forty-five miles of coastline, from ten miles south of Assateague Island to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.

Finding: The study team's finding is that the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail fully meets the three criteria for designation as a National Historic Trail.

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1 Study area map showing John Smith's 1607-1609 voyage routes (proposed trail routes) (*Map 1 also seen on page x*)

Map 2 Key to Inset Maps

The Following Inset Maps (Maps 3 through 7) show:

- Voyage routes (proposed trail routes) (note that only the water routes are being recommended for designation; future study is recommended on the land segments of Smith's explorations)
- All waterfront parks and public lands (federal, state and local) close to the proposed trail routes
- Dates (month, day) of 1608 voyages stops as recorded by John Smith
Note that Smith did not record dates for stops on Potomac voyage, therefore stops have been inferred from his writings and are shown on map with "P" number
- All Chesapeake Bay Gateways listed on most recent CBGN brochure

Map 3 Enlargement of Upper Bay

Map 4 Enlargement of Middle Bay

Map 5 Enlargement of Potomac River area

Map 6 Enlargement of Rappahannock, York and James Rivers area
(*note: no stop dates are known for expeditions on York River or north of Jamestown on James River*)

Map 7 Enlargement of Lower Bay

Full Bay Maps:

Map 8 National Register Properties close to the proposed trail routes

Map 9 Federal Lands and Chesapeake Bay Gateways close to proposed trail routes

Map 10 Indian Villages of 1607-1609 as derived from Smith's writings and maps

Map 11 Marinas and Public Access Sites close to proposed trail routes

Map 12 Navigation Issues (it is unknown at this time how these might affect the trail, but this should be addressed during the comprehensive management planning process)

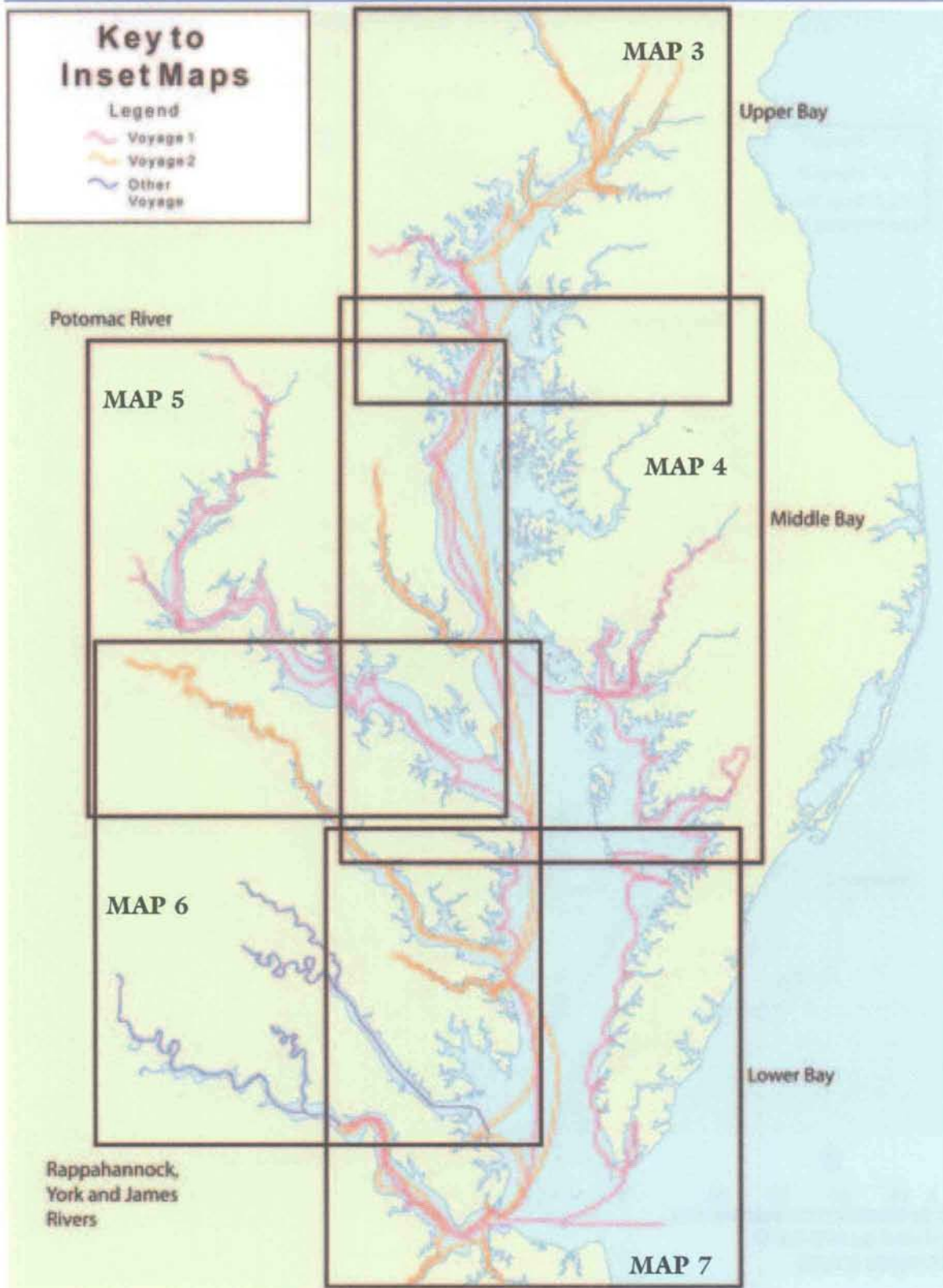
Map 13 Connecting and Overlapping Water Trails:

- Existing National Trails
 - Potomac Heritage NST
- Proposed National Trails
 - Star-Spangled Banner NHT (designation legislation pending)
 - Washington-Rochambeau NHT (feasibility study in progress)
- State Water Trails

Map 1 • Study of John Smith's voyage routes (proposed trail routes)



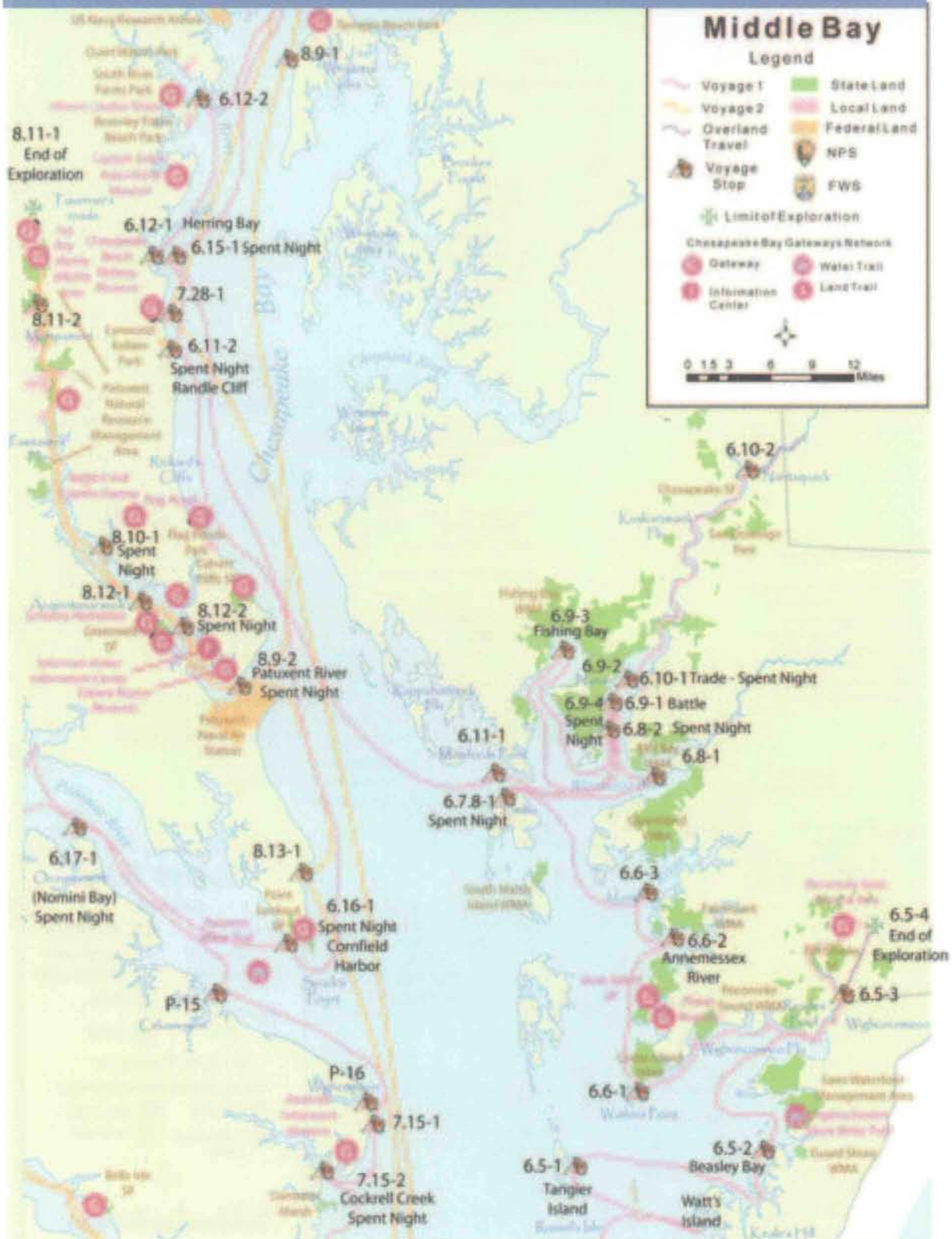
Map 2 • Key to Inset Maps



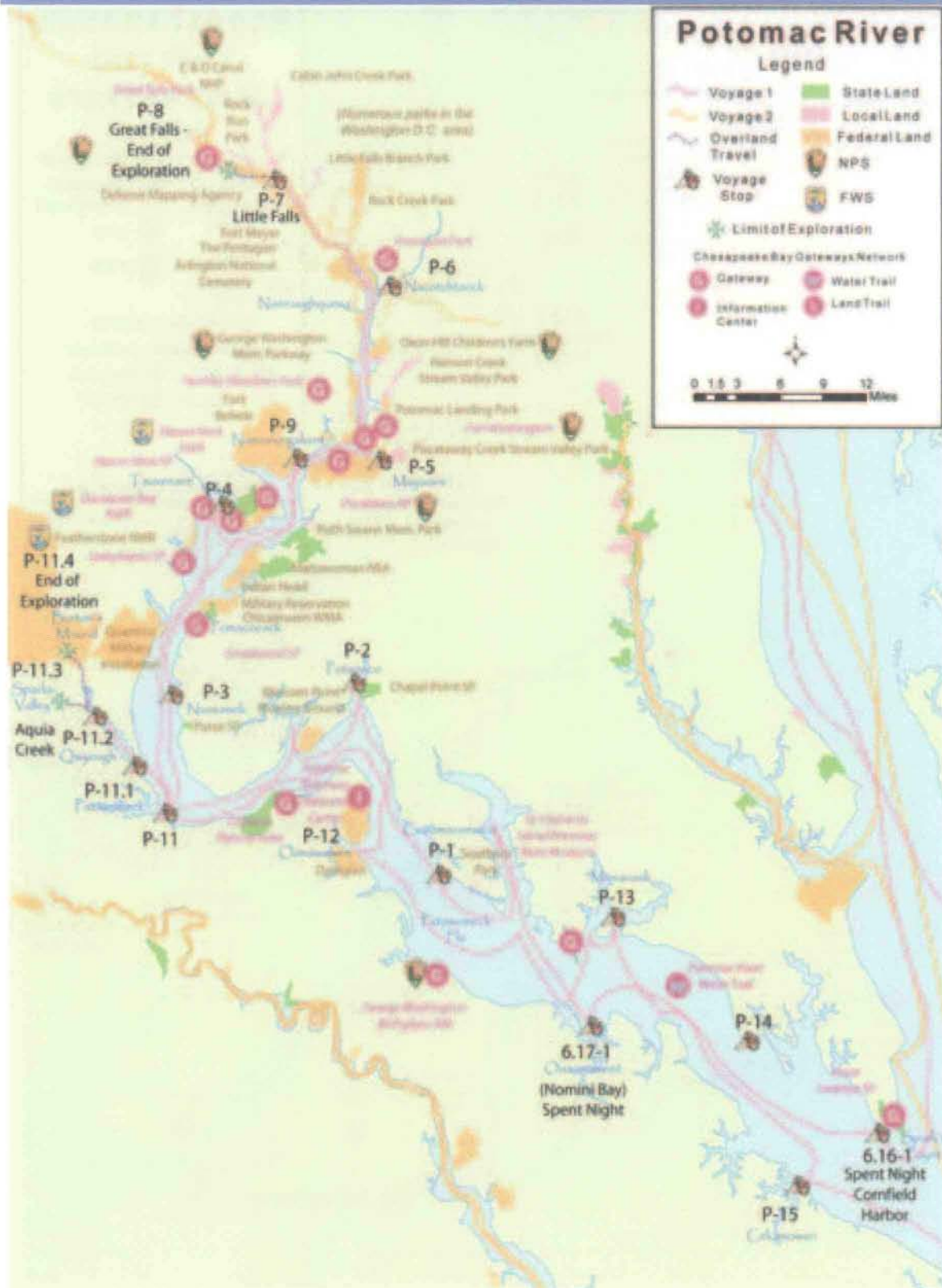
Map 3 • Enlargement of Upper Bay



Map 4 • Enlargement of Middle Bay



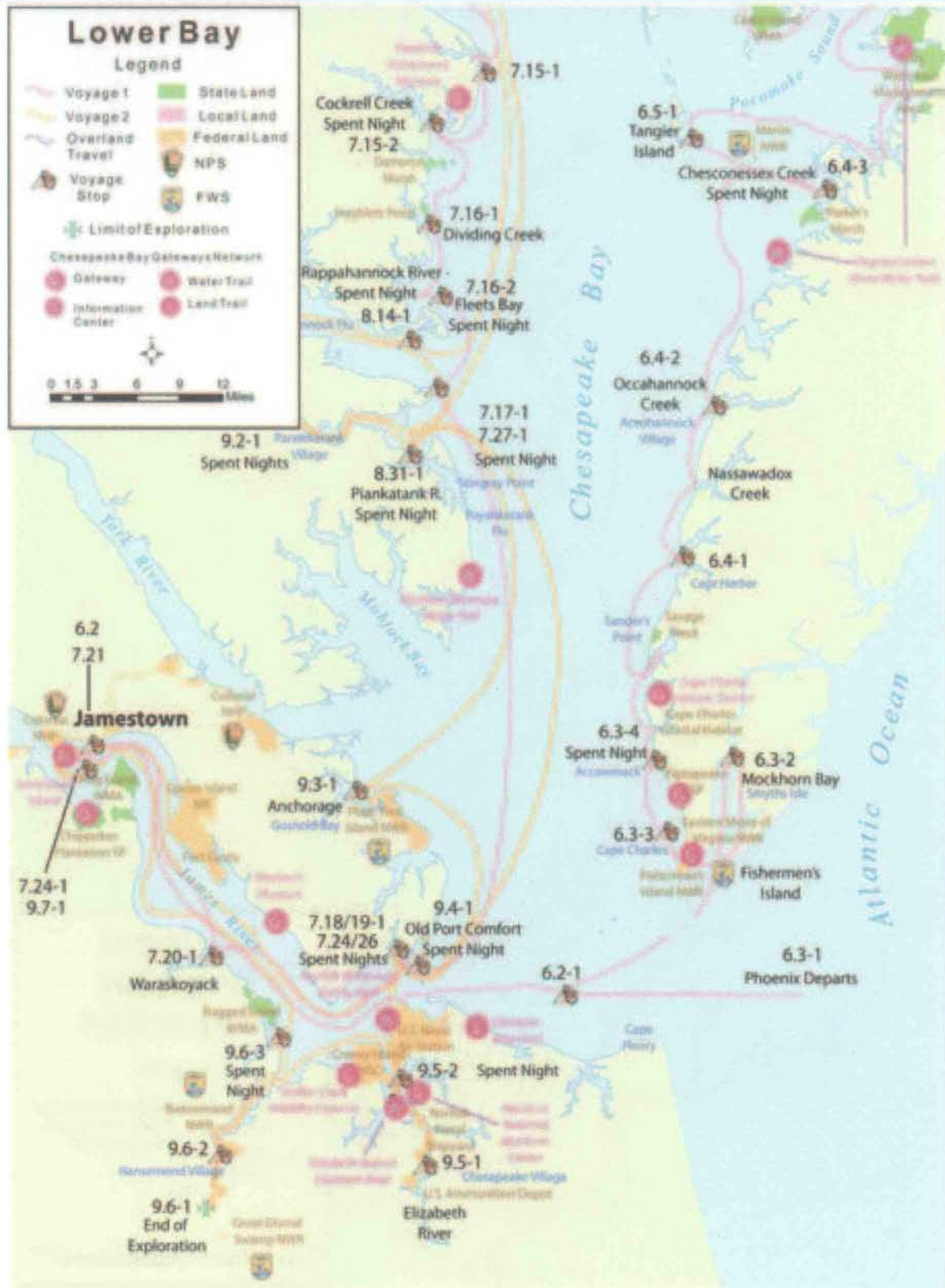
Map 5 • Enlargement of Potomac River Area



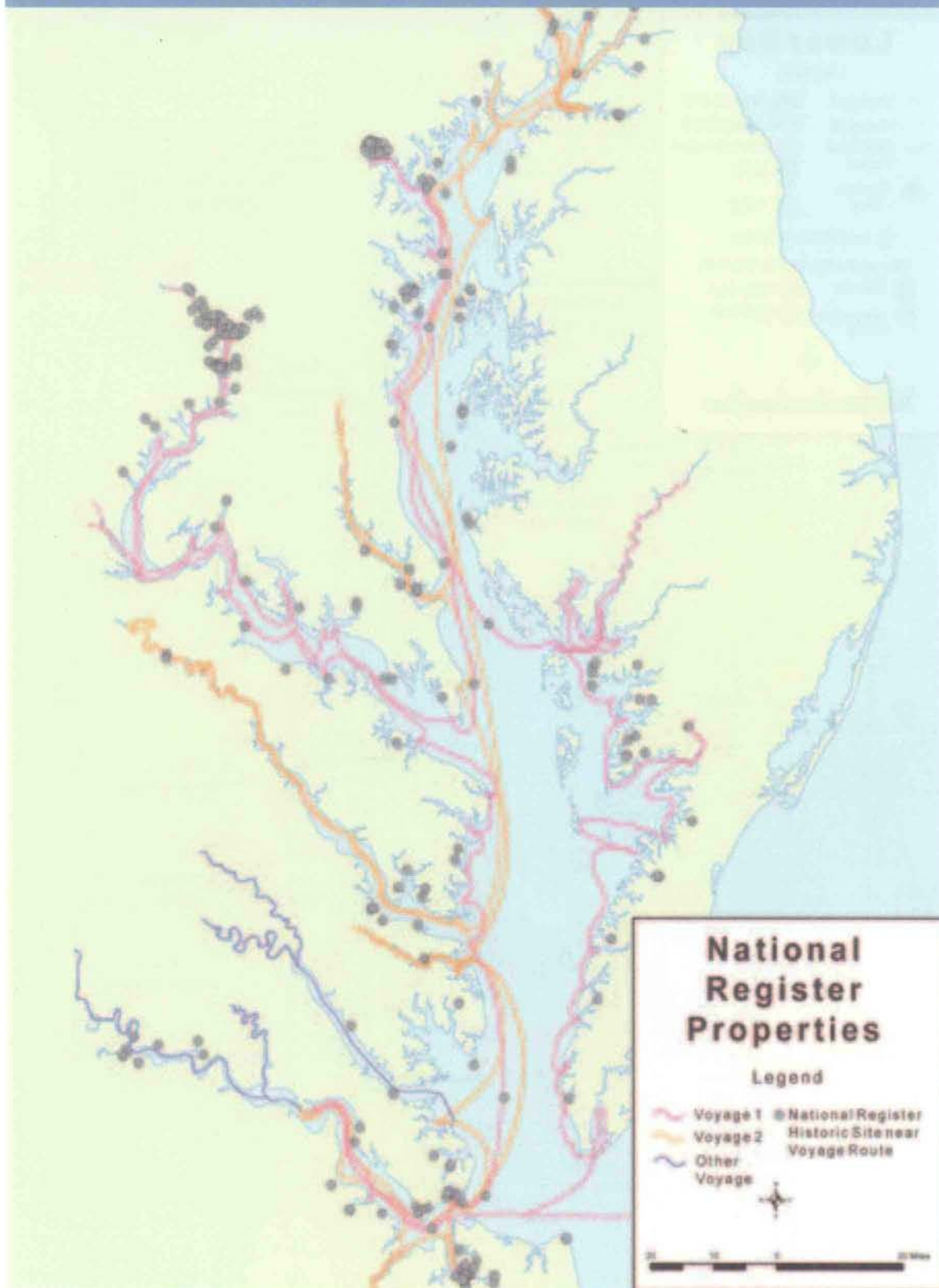
Map 6 • Enlargement of Rappahannock, York and James Rivers area



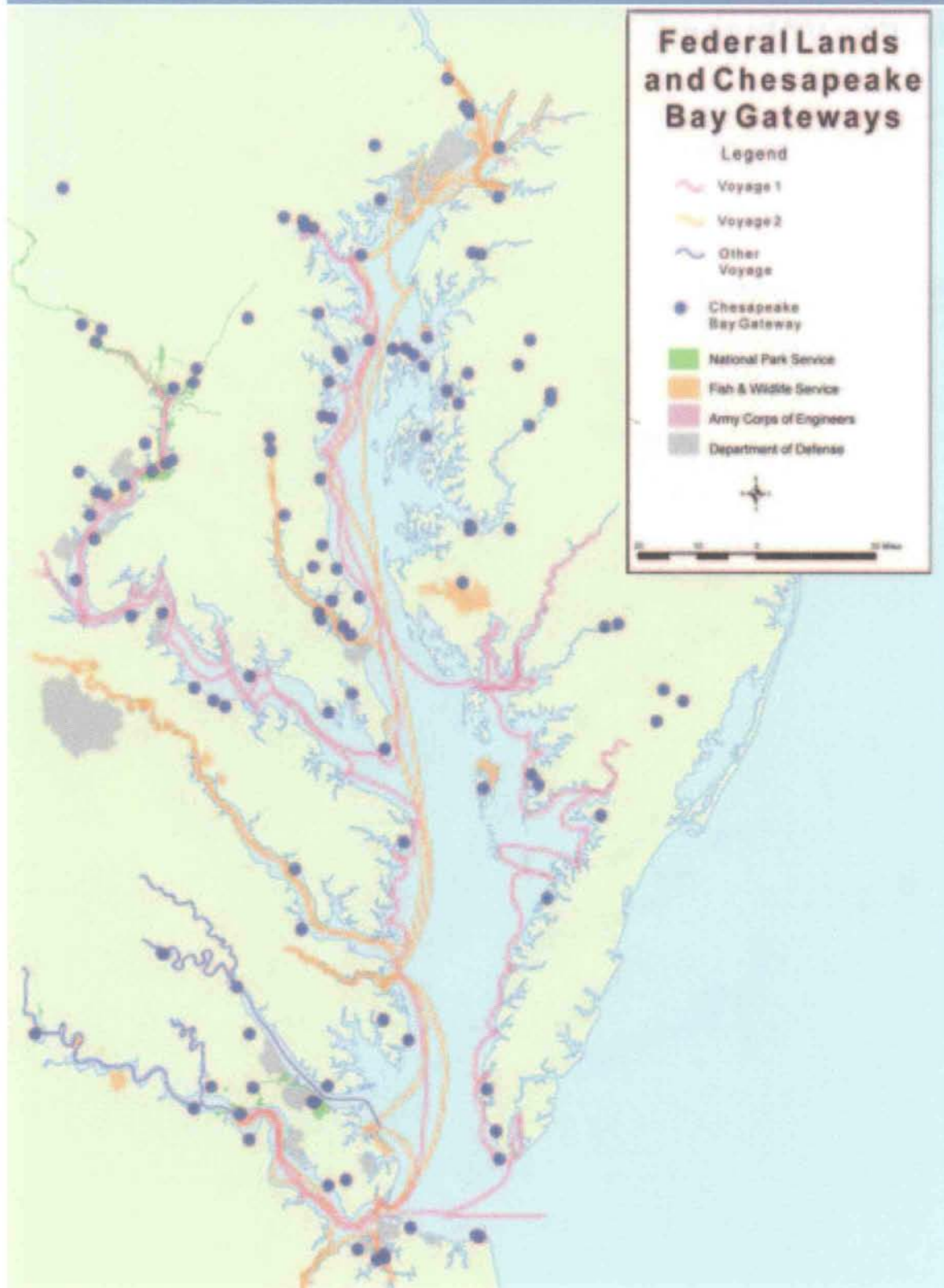
Map 7 • Enlargement of Lower Bay



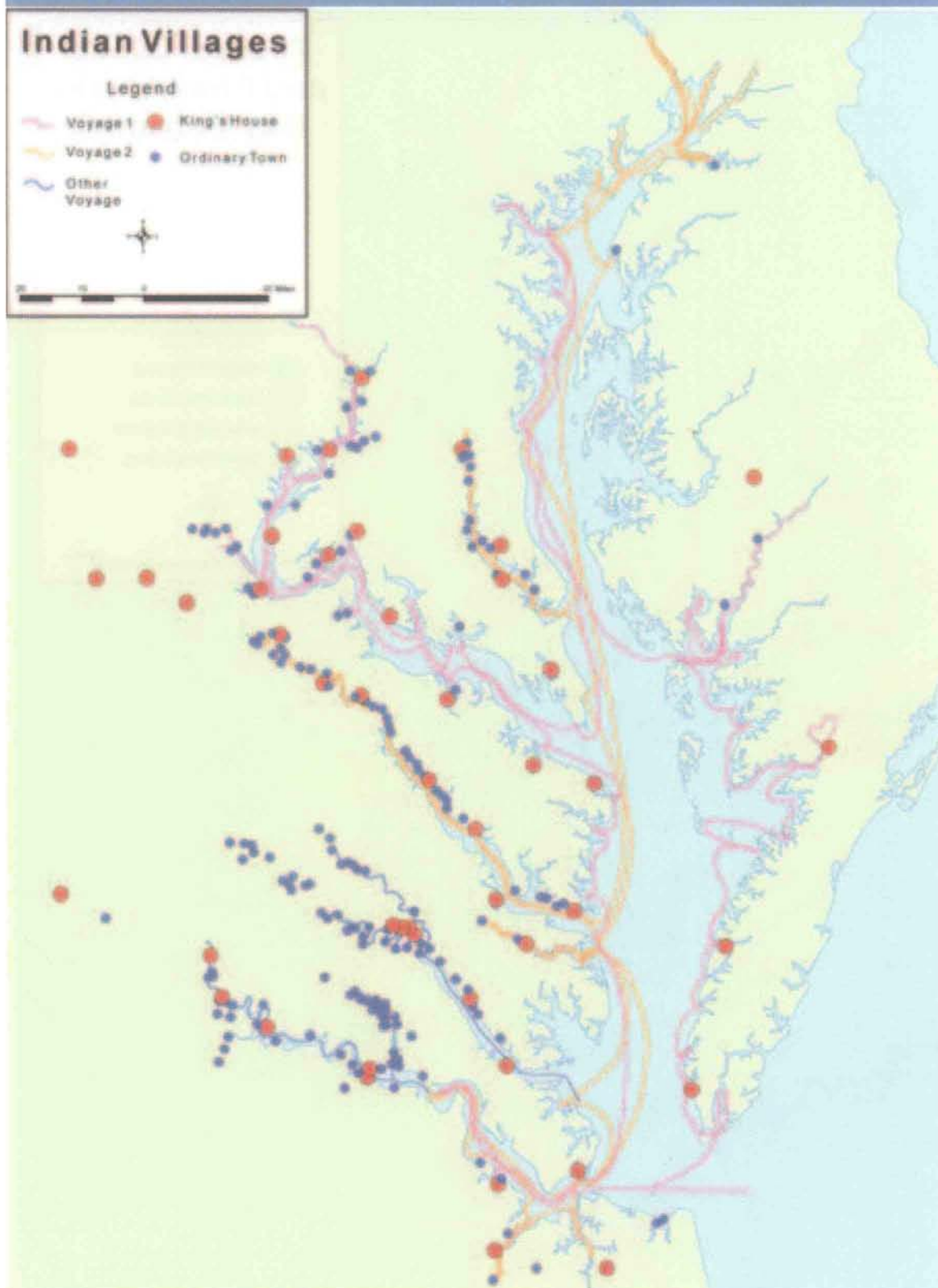
Map 8 • National Register Properties Close to the Proposed Trail Routes



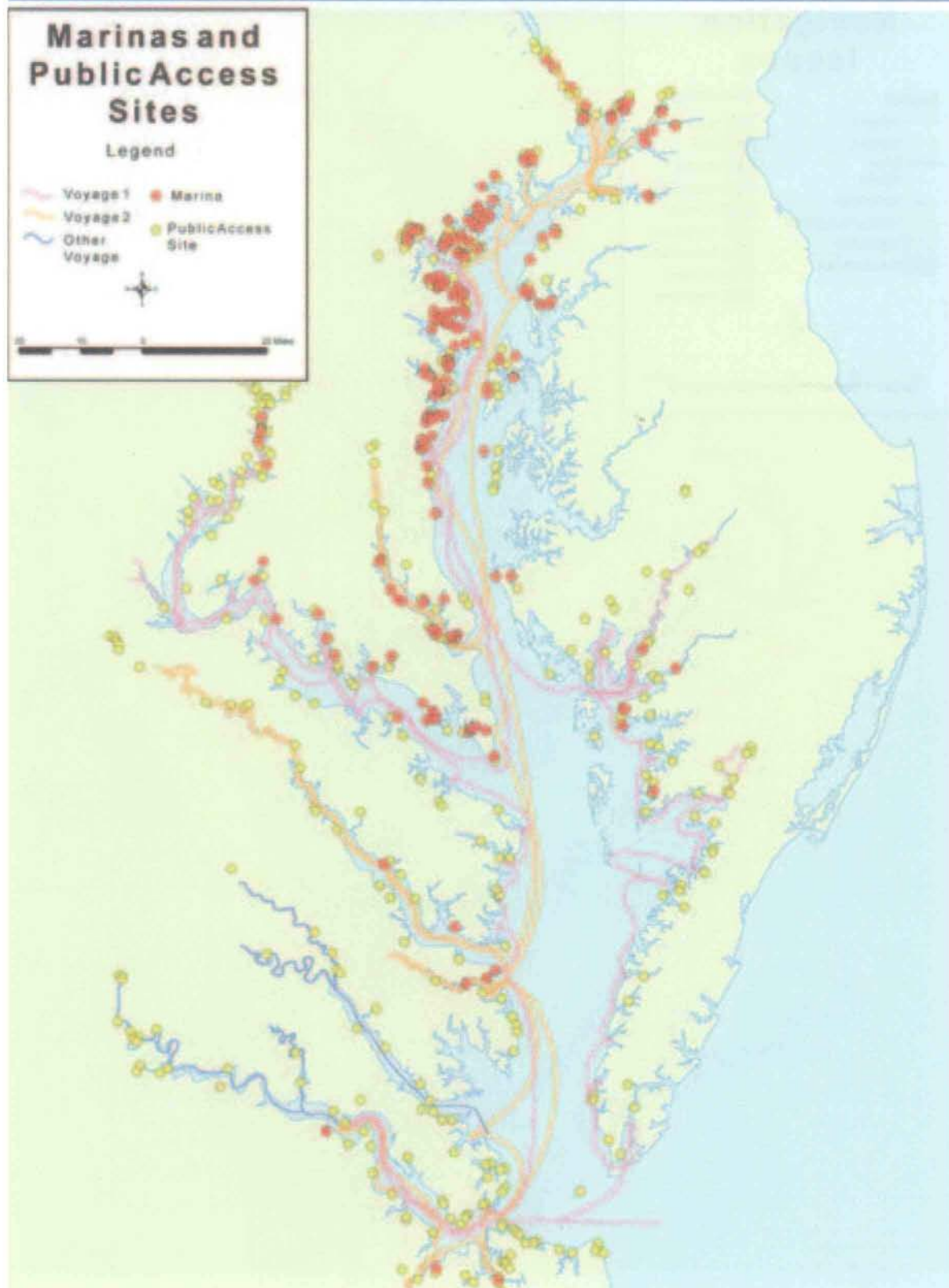
Map 9 • Federal Lands and Chesapeake Bay Gateways
Close to Proposed Trail Routes



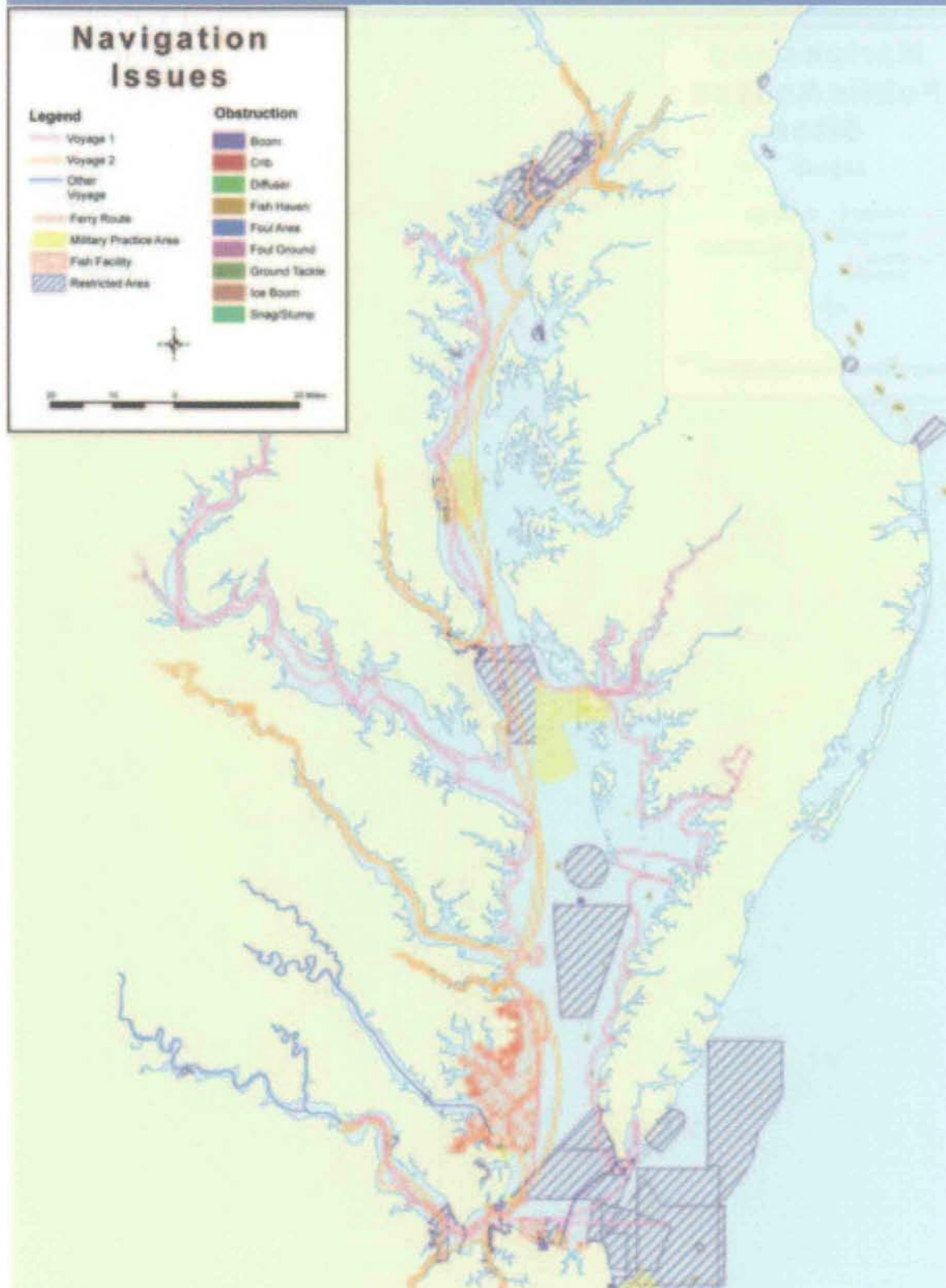
Map 10 • Indian Villages of 1607-1609



Map 11 • Marinas and Public Access Sites Close to Proposed Trail Routes



Map 12 • Navigation Issues



Map 13 • Connecting and Overlapping Water Trails



CHAPTER THREE:

ALTERNATIVES



Photo courtesy of National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

INTRODUCTION

From December 2005 through April 2006, the NPS conducted a number of interviews, scoping meetings, and team meetings to develop a reasonable range of alternatives for the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT. These consultations and team meetings included groups with a range of interests in the proposed trail: county, city, state, and federal agencies; politicians; historians; potential trail users; historic, natural, and cultural resource managers; and tourism officials. See Chapter Six for more information on Consultation and Coordination. Through the process of developing the significance statement and trail purpose statement, the groups identified opportunities and constraints associated with trail designation and development. These issues were then synthesized by the study team into proposed designation alternatives.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE FOR THE TRAIL

The purpose of the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT is to commemorate the exploratory voyages of Captain Smith on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries in 1607-1609, in association with the founding of Jamestown, the first permanent British colony in North America. It would also recognize the American Indian towns and culture of the seventeenth century, call

attention to the natural history of the Bay (both historic and contemporary), complement the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network, and provide new opportunities for education, recreation, and heritage tourism in the Chesapeake Bay region. In providing a focus on and appreciation of the resources associated with Smith's voyages, the trail would help to facilitate protection of those resources.

The proposed trail traces John Smith's several voyages on the York and James Rivers in 1607, and his two major voyages around the Chesapeake Bay during the summer of 1608, both of which started from Jamestown and headed out the James River into the Bay. On the first 1608 voyage, he traveled north along the eastern shore, exploring the mouth of the Pocomoke River and traveling some distance up the Nanticoke River. He continued north on the Bay as far as present-day Baltimore and the Patapsco River, then headed south along the western shore, exploring the Potomac (Patawomeck) and some of its tributaries to a point north of present-day Washington, DC, before returning to Jamestown. On the second voyage, Smith went straight up the Bay to the mouth of the Susquehanna and present-day Havre de Grace, exploring the Patuxent and Rappahannock Rivers on his return trip southward. The proposed trail would be a circuit of the Bay, with river extensions, combining the routes of all of these historic voyages.

Management Issues— A Vision Statement

The study team developed the following statements to describe desired future conditions for the trail, including visitor experience, resource conditions, and management. Many of these statements reflect experience gained administering other national historic trails nationwide:

Visitor Experience

- The public gains an enhanced appreciation for Captain John Smith's two major voyages of exploration around the Chesapeake Bay during the summer of 1608.
- The Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT is primarily a commemorative water trail to be experienced via watercraft and accessed by existing water access sites.
- Visitors can also view the trail setting and learn the stories from the land, by visiting selected land sites where interpretation can be appropriately provided in proximity to the voyage routes.
- The Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT has adequate and appropriate public use and interpretive facilities, and access points.
- The Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT ties many historic, cultural, and natural resources together to interpret and commemorate the stories associated with it.
- Several hubs along the trail serve as main interpretive and orientation points for visitors.
- Resources along the trail receive special designation when they meet criteria established for the trail.
- A coherent, well-designed water trail guide provides interpretation and information for water trail users.
- A coherent, well-designed information and interpretive program, which can be accessed electronically from specialized buoys developed by NOAA is effective in directing watercraft users along the trail and in interpreting the stories.

Resource Protection

- Cultural and natural resources associated with the trail are protected and interpreted in perpetuity.
- Ongoing research is conducted to explore the archeology and extant cultural resources associated with the trail.
- A Cultural Landscape Report is prepared and informs implementation planning
- Linkages between land access sites and water portions of the trail are made in an environmentally sensitive manner.
- A coherent, well-designed information and interpretive signage program is effective in keeping trail users away from environmentally sensitive areas and fragile historic resources.
- Currently unprotected resources that are found to be significant are appropriately protected through available preservation mechanisms at the local, state, and federal level.

Administration and Management

- A partnership among the local communities, state government, and federal government is responsible for the management of trail sites and connecting waterways.
- A trail comprehensive management plan is developed and implemented, as required by the National Trails System Act.
- A management entity is established to provide administrative and oversight duties.
- Formalized agreements exist between the NPS and the authorities who hold jurisdiction over the roads and rights-of-way of the trail and associated resources.
- Landowners and resource managers play an integral role in decision-making regarding trail use and development.
- Identified funding and support mechanisms exist to implement the trail comprehensive management plan.
- Linkages between roads, water, and resources are created and maintained as much as possible through cooperative agreements, conservation easements, and other means.

Achieving the Vision

To achieve this vision and to fully address key trail management issues, the following management responsibilities must be addressed :

- Trailwide administration, coordination, and oversight
- Right-of-way protection for the trail access points
- Inventory of resources
- Resource protection and monitoring
- Monitoring and adapting appropriate visitor uses (carrying capacity, cultural and environmental sensitivity)
- Close coordination and collaboration with local government planning and land use management to maintain integrity and visitor experience
- Interpretation of cultural and natural resources
- Development of facilities (physical improvements along the trail including access, parking, waysides, pull-offs, utilities, etc)
- Trail marking and signs
- Production, oversight, and distribution of trail maps, site bulletins, and websites
- Maintenance of trail right-of-way, facilities, and exhibits
- Enforcement of resource protection standards and local laws
- Liability and indemnification of landowners

Alternatives and Analysis of Management Considerations

This is a feasibility study, not a management plan, for the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT. Part of the feasibility and desirability assessment of a NHT concerns how and by whom it will be run, if established. This feasibility study evaluates various options for the administration of the proposed trail. As required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the NPS planning process requires the development, analysis, and public review of different solutions, or "alternatives," for accomplishing planning goals while minimizing negative impacts on the environment. A reasonable range of alternatives must be developed, including a baseline alternative,

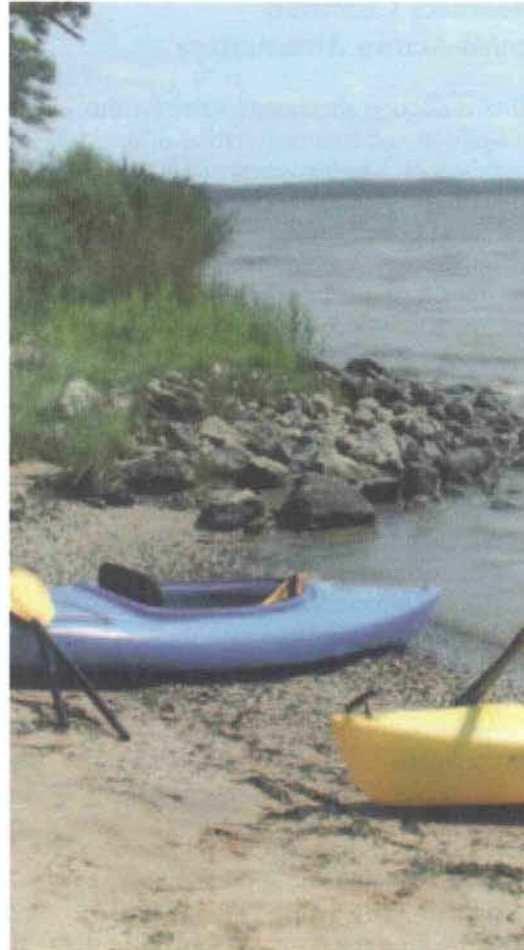


Photo courtesy of Carolyn Marlow

or "No Action Alternative." This creates a baseline of existing conditions and impacts against which the impacts of the action alternatives can be compared. The action alternatives should examine potential federal involvement and other management concepts that achieve similar goals.

The project team considered two action alternatives: (1) federal designation of a NHT and (2) multi-state (non-federal) establishment of a commemorative trail. These action alternatives and the no-action alternative are discussed below.

Measures Common to All Action Alternatives

All of the action alternatives strive for the recognition and commemoration of the Captain John Smith voyages of 1607-1609. The different alternatives focus on varying degrees of federal involvement and describe the implications for resource protection, interpretation, visitor experience and management and operations of the proposed national historic trail and its associated resources. The action alternatives seek to:

- Protect and interpret the historic routes and cultural resources associated with the historic routes, American Indian heritage, exploration of the Chesapeake Bay and the establishment of English settlements.
- Commemorate significant exploration cultural interaction events and the individuals associated with those events.
- Recognize, interpret, and protect sites associated with the historic routes.
- Allow visitors to envision and experience the heritage and struggles that ensued during explorations of 1607-1609.
- Recognize the individuals who explored with or encountered Captain Smith to serve as a reminder of the significance of the exploration, both in terms of impact on native inhabitants and as symbols of the spirit of adventure and wonder associated with exploration.
- Protect private property rights.
- Capitalize on water recreation access to much of the Chesapeake Bay, its shoreline, and tidewater tributaries.
- Provide interpretive and recreational opportunities for visitors to learn about the stories of the Captain John Smith voyages.
- Provide a unique visitor experience through a commemorative water route and driving tours that explore many different themes.
- Provide resource protection and interpretation with minimal construction or site disturbance.
- Provide resource management and interpretation based on thorough professional research and scholarship.
- Encourage preservation of both private and public resources related to the history of the trail.

Alternative A: No Action (Continuation of Existing Policies and Authorities)

Under no action, there would be no federal designation of a NHT. Without federal designation of the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT, existing actions of agencies, organizations, and individuals could continue their various approaches to the protection and interpretation of resources associated with Captain Smith's voyages. There would not be an overarching agency or private management entity directed to help coordinate, interpret, and protect resources and segments of the proposed trail. Trail segments and individual resources would continue to be managed individually by a variety of state and local entities. There would be no coordinated recognition or administration outside of existing state programs focused on managing and interpreting the entire two thousand miles of potential trail associated with Captain Smith's explorations. National recognition of the significance of Smith's travels and the impact of the exploration upon American Indians, British domination of the region, and European settlement would only be recognized in a piecemeal fashion.

Water trails developed by Maryland and Virginia and programs of the CBGN would be the primary vehicles for telling the stories related to the trail and marketing the resources to the general public. The states, Colonial NHP and the Gateways Network would implement their trail and interpretive activities focusing on parts of the John Smith story in the context of broader Chesapeake Bay and American Colonial themes. The state trails would not be required to meet NHT criteria.



Photo courtesy of Tom Boddorff

Individual trail segments and resources would continue to be managed, developed, interpreted, used, marked, maintained, and enforced by interested agencies, groups, and property owners. Under no action, it is likely that public access would be limited to those sites now in public ownership. Existing preservation mechanisms would likely remain in place but, given the currently shrinking budgets and staff of most state and local governments and non-governmental organizations, it is likely that few additional easements would be acquired and that few or no new actions would be taken to protect other significant resources. State and county laws for historic preservation, shoreline protection, and private property rights would apply. County-level planning would continue to balance preservation of historic and cultural resources with the realities of development and shoreline access.

Existing interpretive programs would continue. Under this no-action alternative, the CBGN may continue to provide the broadest geographic and thematic system of Bay-related sites and resource interpretation in the Chesapeake watershed. The Gateways

Network's many independently managed partner sites would likely continue to enhance interpretation and public access and set examples for Bay stewardship, depending upon available funds and priorities. NOAA would continue to install interpretive buoys.

The current regional and national attention to Captain John Smith would cease for many decades after the events associated with the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown are completed. There would be no additional federal funding for this alternative.

Alternative B: Federal Designation as a National Historic Trail (The NPS Preferred Alternative)

Trail Administration—Under this alternative, the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT would be established by the United States Congress as a NHT and administered by the NPS. This federal role, based on the administrative authorities of the National Trails System Act, includes coordination of resource protection and trail route marking, general oversight and promotion, interagency consultations,

cooperative agreements, support of volunteers, inventorying of high potential sites and segments, coordination of interpretive themes and media, compliance, certification of appropriate sites and segments, provision of limited financial assistance (when such funds are available), and support of the trail's advisory council. If Congress designates the proposed trail as a NHT, this study recommends that NPS administer the trail for the following reasons:

- The NPS already has an administrative presence in the Chesapeake Bay area, provided by the Chesapeake Bay Program Office, Colonial National Historical Park, Jamestown National Historic Site, and the Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail.
- NPS has strong knowledge of and interpretive background in telling the story of Captain John Smith and of the Chesapeake Bay in general.
- NPS has an in-depth capacity to support pre-history, history, and archeological projects.
- NPS has a demonstrated track record of successfully administering NHTs and currently is involved in the administration of fourteen of the sixteen NHTs nationwide. Several of these (especially the Trail of Tears and Lewis and Clark NHTs) are largely made up of water trail routes.
- A variety of NPS programs are essential to the full cultural resource operations of national historic trails. These include the National Register of Historic Places, National Historic Landmarks, Historic American Landscape Survey, Federal Archeological Assistance, and Teaching with Historic Places.

Trail Management—As trail administrator, the NPS would coordinate closely with other federal agencies, in particular the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, National Wildlife Refuge System (FWS) and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) interpretive buoy project, as well as state and

local agencies, to coordinate consistent on-the-ground management to make the trail and its various routes and public sites fully available to the public. NPS, through the comprehensive management plan, would determine more precisely the various jurisdictions' roles in resource inventory, protection and monitoring; enforcement; proper use; interpretation; facility development; and maintenance.

Nonprofit Partnership—NPS experience with other national trails indicates that a successful trail also needs the involvement of one or more nonprofit trail organizations. In close and long-term coordination with federal and state agencies, counties and municipalities, tribal organizations, landowners, and other interested parties, such a group assists in the long-term planning, maintenance, volunteer recruitment, interpretation, trail and resource protection, and development along the trail's routes and sites. Without such a group as a partner, it has proven difficult to fulfill the potential of any national trail. With such a group in place and functioning in close partnership with the trail's administering office, national trails have proven to be cost-effective, efficient, and public-spirited investments.

Trail Access and Resource Protection—All existing federal, state, and local laws would apply to users of the trail and to owners of property in proximity to the trail. While the federal government would not actively seek to acquire trail access sites or other resources, it could work with consenting owners should resources become available. If willing sellers present opportunities to protect significant trail segments and resources, then federal, state, local and/or non-profit organizations may be used to acquire them. For trail-related resources not owned by local, state or federal government, nor protected by a non-profit organization, efforts would be made to encourage the trail organization, state and local governments, and other private and non-profit entities to enter into cooperative agreements and/or obtain easements, rights-of-way, and land in fee for the

protection and public access to the trail site or segment.

The partner organization would encourage cooperative agreements with landowners to certify trail resources as a part of the national trail while maintaining private ownership. Certification would help assure the public that access sites are qualified historic sites and that protection, interpretation, and facilities meet the standards of significance and quality that would be expected for a nationally designated trail. Private property owners and resource managers would be eligible for technical and any available financial assistance from the trail organization and/or the NPS. While no federal fee-simple acquisition of trail-related sites or associated resources is now envisioned, the federal government could acquire land and/or preservation easements, based on the comprehensive management plan, through dedications, donation, or purchase from willing sellers to protect significant trail segments, viewsheds, and resources.

Trail Marking and Interpretation—

Over time, certified resources along the trail, as well water access points and the trail itself, would be marked with a uniform trail marker (established during the comprehensive management planning process) and would be made accessible to the public. Where feasible and desirable, roads that parallel the historic routes could be marked as an auto tour route to provide non-boaters the ability to experience the trail. In cases where the original voyage stops have been lost to development, degradation, neglect, vegetative overgrowth, or other causes, they could be interpreted through wayside exhibits as appropriate and feasible.

Additions to the trail that are of significant public interest may be interpreted and managed as state or local jurisdiction side trails. These non-federal resources may be certified in the future as part of the National Historic Trail should they meet the national significance criteria themes developed as a component of the comprehensive management plan.

Under this alternative, a Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT would build upon and be supported by the CBGN. In recent years the CBGN has made important strides in helping people experience the Bay and become personally involved in its stewardship. The Gateways Network is currently authorized through 2008 and subject to annual appropriations.

The existing CBGN is an extensive and successful partnership of parks, refuges, maritime museums, historic sites and water trails around the Bay watershed. The NPS provides overall guidance and coordination of the Gateways Network in coordination with the Gateways Network Working Group. The Working Group—composed of representatives of the Chesapeake Bay Program, the natural resources, historic resources and tourism agencies of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia (including the state programs that support water trail development), federal agencies managing designated Gateways, and key private sector Bay organizations—would provide an established group of stakeholders that could be instrumental in the development of the trail comprehensive management plan and might evolve to fulfill the necessary trail support organization roles.

The CBGN would continue to provide the broadest geographic and thematic system of Bay-related sites and resource interpretation in the Chesapeake watershed. The NPS would continue to coordinate the Gateways Network and provide technical and financial assistance to designated Gateways and water trails, while the sites and trails would still be managed by a variety of local, state and federal agencies and non-governmental organizations. The Gateways Network's many independently managed partner sites would continue to enhance interpretation and public access to Bay-related land and water resources and set examples for Bay stewardship. A comprehensive web site and an annual map and guide would continue to provide comprehensive interpretation of Chesapeake stories and

empower visitors to find their way to Chesapeake destinations.

Initial federal costs to develop the comprehensive management plan required by this alternative and an initial interpretive brochure are estimated to be \$400 thousand. Phased costs such as access site development, interpretive sign development and installation, and any necessary archaeological surveys are unknown at this time and will be estimated during the comprehensive management planning process. It is anticipated that these costs will be the responsibility of the trail partners.

Potential Impacts of National Trail Designation on Privately Owned Land and Water—The legislation authorizing this study called for “an extensive analysis of the potential impacts the designation of the trail as a national historic watertrail is likely to have on land and water, including docks and piers, along the proposed route or bordering the study route that is privately owned at the time of the study.” Given existing levels of recreational boating on the Bay and experience with other NHT, it is not expected that designation will result in a significant increase in boating.

None of the water in the Chesapeake Bay or its tributaries is privately owned. It is all under the jurisdiction of the bordering states. If the trail is designated a national trail, this would not change.

Recreational boating is a major activity on the Bay and its tributaries and is a key factor in the economic health of the bordering states. For example, Maryland currently has over 200,000 registered and documented boats. In addition, it is estimated that there are over 26,000 transient recreational vessels that use Maryland’s waterways on an annual basis. Annually, recreational boating generates over \$2 billion in Maryland, making it an important factor in the state’s overall economy. Virginia has 246,000 active boat registrations. In Virginia, new boat sales and equipment was worth \$397 million, which is only a partial

accounting of expenditures generated by recreational boating.

The states have fostered the use and enjoyment of their rivers and bays, especially through the development of public boating access sites and facilities. The states have partnered with local governments and nonprofit organizations to leverage and secure additional state and federal water access funding through programs such as Recreational Trails, Transportation Enhancements and the CBTN. Since the 1960s, for example, Maryland has developed over 290 publicly owned boating facilities on federal, state, and locally owned lands that serve both trailered and non-trailered boats. Maryland also has approximately three hundred privately owned boating facilities, bringing the total number of boating facilities to nearly six hundred throughout the state. Virginia has 220 private marinas providing water access in the Bay area, and 233 publicly owned tidal access sites.

Boating activities on the Bay include the use of power, sail, and non-motorized boats. Of these, power boats are the most predominant; however, the use of non-motorized boats such as kayaks and canoes is becoming increasingly popular. In addition to recreational boating, sport and commercial fishing by boat are prevalent throughout the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, and they also contribute significantly to the states’ economies.

Since the late 1990s, major water trails have been developed along several of the major tributaries to the Chesapeake Bay. Since 1999, Maryland’s Department of Natural Resources has focused on creating a water trails network, now consisting of over 450 miles of coastline in and around the Chesapeake Bay to complement its existing network of public lands along the Bay. Virginia has nine designated water trail systems totaling 467 miles.

In addition, the 2000 Chesapeake Bay Agreement set goals for establishing new water trails and improving boating access. Through partnerships among local governments, non-



Photo courtesy of Sara Lewis

profit organizations, and citizen associations, water trails can be effective in helping to protect and enhance local waterways while simultaneously providing a tourist attraction and a magnet for economic development. To that end, the establishment of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT would be consistent with the states' goals to promote the development of water trails. Portions of the proposed John Smith Trail will coincide with several water trails that already exist in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries.

The extensive number of existing public and private boating facilities around the Bay shoreline (see Map 11) could be used to support the proposed trail. This includes public and private boat ramps, piers, landings, marinas, marked navigation channels, and protected anchorages. Furthermore, many services that can support users of the proposed trail are already located throughout the Bay including wet slips, boat ramps, boat repair facilities, restaurants, restrooms, fuel docks, marine

sewage pumpout stations, utilities, and recycling stations.

The majority of the water trails and public and private boating facilities in and around the Chesapeake Bay are located in areas that are adjacent to private properties. Boating activities in these areas include power and sailboat cruising, water skiing, crabbing, fishing, as well as paddle boating. Boating activities in general have minimal adverse impacts on local waterfront property owners, particularly as long as boaters obey laws and regulations regarding trespassing, wakes, noise, and littering. However, there are several actions that can be taken under various laws, regulations, policy and planning authorities currently in place to help ensure that the proposed trail will not contribute to adverse impacts on adjacent private properties.

The states work with the public daily to provide safety on state waterways. Problems with speeding, overcrowding and/or conges-

tion can be addressed in a number of ways. In areas where problems are consistent and pose significant safety issues, regulations creating speed zones may be necessary. The general public can request regulating a waterway by petitioning the state in accordance with established procedures. In addition, the state can recommend minimum or no wake zones for all or portions of a waterway if determined appropriate. The state can also impose enforcement actions on vessels that exceed regulated noise and speed limits on state waterways.

With respect to trespassing issues on private property, there are isolated instances where boaters may congregate on points of land with safe anchorages or stop along a shoreline to stretch their legs. However, the number of complaints received by the states regarding trespassing issues fronting on tidal waters is minimal. This is part due to the significant number of public and private boating access areas that are located throughout the Chesapeake Bay. It is anticipated that the proposed trail will not significantly increase the instances of trespassing on private properties.

As for the potential impact on future development along the proposed trail, designation of the trail will not have any impact on the existing state and federal regulatory processes regarding dredging or the maintenance/construction of marinas, docks, piers, slips, boat ramps or shoreline protection on private or public lands.

Additional actions to help minimize any impacts of the proposed trail on private property owners would include providing educational programs and information to the public that will encourage responsible boating; clearly defining where users can and cannot exit their watercraft; promoting "Leave No Trace" principles; educating communities about the economic benefits of the trail; and establishing signs, interpretive displays, and brochures/maps for the public. Such programs and initiatives, along with the identification of potential



funding sources for the trail, will be addressed in the Comprehensive Management Plan if the trail is designated and will include the opportunity for input by federal, state, and local agencies as well as the general public.

There is an extensive number of public and private boating facilities located throughout the Chesapeake Bay. This existing infrastructure is available to support boating activities including those associated with the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT. The states have sufficient laws and regulations in place that can address issues that may arise as a result of boat traffic along the trail. The trail will not place any additional requirements on property owners who want to dredge or maintain or construct marinas, piers, docks, slips, boat ramps or shoreline protection. In light of the above, this study has determined there will not be a significant impact on private properties as a result of establishing the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT.

Alternative C: Multi-State Designation as a Commemorative Trail

Under this alternative, the states may designate a Captain John Smith commemorative trail or series of trails, with associated resources to be managed by the states (MD, VA, DC, PA, DE) or a commission or a private entity. This designation is not recognized under the National Trails System Act and would not be a federal designation or a national trail. The trail could be one entire trail or a series of state designated trails, which may later qualify for designation as a National Recreation Trail(s). The trail and its resources would be owned and managed by state and local governments or private entities, not by the federal government. A local management entity could be created that would develop a comprehensive plan, including strategies for natural and cultural resource protection and interpretation.

The local management entity(s) would be responsible for the long-term planning, management, oversight, interpretation, trail and resource protection, and development along the historic routes. A non-profit trail organization could be established and, in coordination with the states and counties, would assume responsibilities as necessary.

Over time, the routes would be marked as continuous trail segments along the water's edge. Wherever feasible, modern roads that follow the historic routes would be marked for travel for those without access to watercraft. In cases where the original voyage stops have

been lost to development, degradation, neglect, or vegetative overgrowth, or other causes, they could be interpreted through waysides, as appropriate and feasible. No additional land or resources would be acquired for the trail. For the portions of the trail not owned by the state or federal government, state and local governments and other private entities would be encouraged to enter into cooperative agreements and obtain easements, rights-of-way, and land in fee for the protection and permanency of the trail. Responsible agencies would encourage cooperative agreements with landowners to certify trail segments and resources as a part of the trail while maintaining private ownership. Certification would help assure the public that sites and segments are qualified historic sites and that protection, interpretation, and facilities meet state standards.

Given current state budget constraints, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia may not have sufficient resources to undertake a major coordinated initiative without federal support.

Selection of Environmentally Preferred Alternative

Alternative B, Federal Designation as a National Historic Trail with Joint Management is the environmentally preferred alternative because it provides the greatest degree of resource protection and enhanced visitor experience while allowing for individual property rights, diverse land uses, and balance between the existing population and the creation of a National Historic Trail.

Summary of Alternatives

	Alternative A: No Action	Alternative B: Federal Designation as National Historic Trail (NHT)	Alternative C: Multi-State Designation as a Commemorative Trail
Concept	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continuation of existing policies and authorities A disconnected series of resources with no linkages No single agency or management entity directed to coordinate, protect, and interpret the associated trail resources and segments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A federally-designated water trail around the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, approximating the historic routes of John Smith's 1608 voyages, with sites to be selected on land providing interpretation and public access Planned for and managed through a partnership among the federal government, one or more trail organizations, state and local governments NPS administrates & coordinates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No NHT designation No designated federal money, no NPS management The states can designate a John Smith commemorative trail, with associated resources to be managed by the states (MD, VA, DC, PA, DE) or a commission or a private entity The trail can be one entire trail or a series of state designated trails, which may later qualify for designation as National Recreation Trails
Resource Protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Piecemeal resource protection on a case-by-case basis as development or threats occur State and local governmental authorities responsible for monitoring development and enforcing regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NPS, in partnership with federal, state and local agencies, develops a comprehensive management plan (CMP) that identifies selected sites that support public access and interpretation and identifies needed resource protection strategies State and local land use laws and regulations apply Technical and financial assistance provided by NPS No additional federal regulatory actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and local land use laws and regulations apply Resources are acquired and/or managed by state and local governments with or without a non-profit partner
Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpretation of the historic John Smith voyages and explorations of the Chesapeake Bay by various state & local agencies & NGOs with no unified interpretation Continuation of existing interpretation at various federal, state, local and private sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NPS and partners cooperate to develop a management plan (CMP) that establishes an interpretive plan and themes, and provides for coordinated interpretation through individual resources and a trail guide A wide variety of media and interpretive devices orient visitors to experience the trail (potentially including the NOAA buoy project) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primarily coordinated through local efforts with some financial support from the states Reliance on individual resources Provide coordinated interpretation through individual resources States work together to establish themes and interpretation

Summary of Alternatives continued

	Alternative A: No Action	Alternative B: Federal Designation as National Historic Trail (NHT)	Alternative C: Multi-State Designation as a Commemorative Trail
Visitor Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilities provided at existing public parks and museums No single itinerary for visitors; reliance on individual resources, states of Maryland and Virginia The Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network would continue to provide the broadest geographic and thematic system of Bay-related sites and resource interpretation in the Chesapeake watershed—through 2008 The Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network would continue to provide the broadest geographic and thematic system of Bay-related sites and resource interpretation in the Chesapeake watershed—through 2008 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visitors experience the trail from the water along the approximated route of Smith's voyages, and from selected shoreline sites that provide access or information Visitors experience the trail through appropriate access points and modes, and interpretive materials and devices are provided to promote public understanding and appreciation of the trail and the John Smith voyages The trail would build upon and be supported by the Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network which would continue to provide the broadest geographic and thematic system of Bay-related sites and resource interpretation in the Chesapeake watershed. The Gateways Network would continue to provide technical and financial assistance to designated Gateways and water trails. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visitors are oriented at sites established by the states
Administration and Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and local governments and private entities continue to manage individual sites No trailwide coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NPS coordinates a CMP planning process which involves federal, state, and local agencies, landowners, and site managers NPS provides technical and financial assistance State and local agencies play a major role in a cooperative management strategy NPS and partners develop a plan that identifies a trail management entity that NPS works with in the implementation of the plan The plan outlines resource protection, interpretation, operation and maintenance of the trail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any or all of the states of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia would determine a joint management approach No trailwide NPS administration

CHAPTER FOUR:

AFFECTED ENVIRONMENT



INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the existing environmental conditions in the study area. It provides the descriptive information necessary to understand current conditions and the context for comparing potential impacts caused by each designation alternative. The degree of detail satisfies the requirements of an environmental assessment (ECA) as prescribed by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).

The proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail is comprised of multiple routes extending approximately 2,300 miles along the Chesapeake Bay and portions of eight of the major tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay: the Potomac, Patuxent, Susquehanna, Patapsco, Nanticoke, Rappahannock, York, and James Rivers. The trail study area falls within the states of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Cultural resources for the purposes of this Environmental Assessment include historic properties, archeological resources, and ethnographic resources.

Historic Resources

The Chesapeake Bay region is endowed with a wide array of historic structures and sites, and

the efforts to identify and protect these invaluable resources continue today. Within the study area, there are seven units of the National Park System, as previously described in Chapter Two. There are a number of National Historic Landmarks in proximity to the proposed trail; those potentially thematically related to the trail are listed below, in Figure 1.

The National Register of Historic Places contains detailed records on hundreds of properties within the area of consideration, and scores more remain either eligible or potentially eligible for listing on the register. Figure 2, below, lists National Register sites with seventeenth-century themes. Map 8 shows all National Register sites in proximity to John Smith's voyage stops, though most are not directly related thematically to the proposed John Smith trail.

Relevant to the John Smith voyages is Colonial National Historical Park (NHP), which administers two of the most historically significant sites in English North America. Historic Jamestowne, the first permanent English settlement in North America in 1607, jointly administered with the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and Yorktown Battlefield, the final major battle of the American Revolutionary War in 1781. These two sites represent the beginning and

end of English colonial America. Situated on the Virginia Peninsula, these sites are connected by the twenty-three-mile scenic Colonial Parkway. Colonial NHP also includes the Cape Henry Memorial, which marks the approximate site of the first landing of the Jamestown colonists on the Atlantic Coast in April of 1607.

Historic Jamestowne was the beginning of England's successful colonization of America. It was the first permanent English colony on the North American continent; the first seat

of English government in Virginia and its social and political center for ninety-two years; where the first English representative government in the New World met in 1619, the foundations of our form of government today; and at Jamestown that the first arrival of Africans to Virginia was recorded, although they actually landed at Cape Comfort. The Cape Henry Memorial marks the approximate site of the first landing of the Jamestown colonists on the Atlantic Coast in April of 1607.

Figure 1: National Historic Landmarks related to English Exploration and Settlement:

St. Mary's City Historic District, St. Mary's County, Maryland
 Bacon's Castle, Surry County, Virginia
 St. Luke's Church, Smithfield, Isle of Wight, Virginia
 Shirley Plantation, Between Richmond and Williamsburg Charles City County, Virginia

Figure 2: National Register sites related to Seventeenth Century Exploration and Settlement:

VA Accomack County	Scarborough House Archeological Site (44AC4), Davis Wharf
VA Charles City County	Dogham, Doggams, Charles City
VA Chesterfield County:	Falling Creek Ironworks Archeological Site, Richmond
VA Gloucester County	Warner Hall, Gloucester
	Werowocomoco Archeological Site, Gloucester
Virginia Henrico County	Varina Plantation, Varina
VA Hopewell Independent City	City Point Historic District, Hopewell
VA James City County	Colonial National Historical Park, Jamestown
	Jamestown National Historic Site, Jamestown Island in Jamestown
VA Middlesex County	Urbanna Historic District, Urbanna
VA Newport News	
Independent City	Boldrup Plantation Archeological Site, Newport News
VA Surry County	Pleasant Point

National Register Sites Related to Seventeenth Century Commerce

DE Sussex Co	DeVries Palisade, Lewes
	Pagan Creek Dike, Lewes
VA Hopewell Independent City	City Point Historic District, Hopewell
VA Middlesex County	Urbanna Historic District, Urbanna

Archeological Resources

The Chesapeake Bay

From the mysterious shipwreck lying off the tip of Tangier Island (possibly dating from the sixteenth century) to the Coast Guard cutter Cuyahoga that sank after slamming into a freighter in 1978, more than eighteen hundred different vessels have met their end in the Bay's waters.

Certain areas in the Bay are known for their treacherous shoals or exposure to dangerous storms. The area at the mouth of the Bay between Capes Henry and Charles is notorious for its shifting sand bars: it is so well known, in fact, that it has earned the name "the Middle Ground."

During wars, calamities of battle heightened the usual hazards of ship travel. Many of the shipwrecks in the Bay were casualties of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. Direct hits from cannons, explosives and torpedoes brought down many of the ships, but fires and collisions also played a role.

By the latter part of the 1800s, steamboats became a popular means of traveling around the Bay. These boats were vulnerable to the whims of hurricanes or nor'easter storms, especially if caught in the open Bay with no cover. Marine archeologists use whatever records may be available, including old news reports, to help locate wrecks of possible historic interest.

Because the Chesapeake Bay is actually a drowned river valley, a significant portion of what is currently underwater was once dry land. Many prehistoric archaeological sites likely remain intact along the bottom of the Bay, and along ancient river terraces. Underwater archaeology has only recently begun to assess these hidden resources with new recovery techniques and predictive locational models. In fact, the absence of so many early sites would be accounted for by the fact that archaeologists have been looking in the wrong place.

The Chesapeake Plain

A wide variety of archeological resources, however, nevertheless remains on dry land, and most especially on the broad coastal plain surrounding the Bay. As these lands were most often occupied by sedentary agriculturists, and given the fact that these people tended to aggregate into larger settlements with more material remains, the Tidewater areas of the Chesapeake are likely a rich source of archaeological resources. Unfortunately, these resources are also in the closest proximity to modern populations and the forces of development, and they remain most at risk in the region.

Scientists estimate there are at least one hundred thousand archeological sites scattered around the Bay with only a small percentage documented. Most are susceptible to a variety of destructive factors, both natural and man-made, which imperil their existence. With development consuming land around the Bay at a rapid pace, undocumented sites may be bulldozed before their valuable information comes to light. When farmers plow their fields, they can inadvertently destroy artifacts from a Native American tribe long gone. As sea level rises, as it has for many thousands of years, shoreline erosion will continue to destroy many sites. Minimal till practices limit the likelihood of artifact dislocation, while shoreline stabilization projects help protect sites from wave erosion.

Ethnographic Resources

Ethnographic resources are natural and cultural resources that are important in the cultural practices, values, beliefs, heritage and identity of traditionally associated peoples and groups. Such groups may be ethnic and occupational groups, American Indian tribes, and other groups whose traditional cultural practices, values and beliefs connect them with the resources in Chesapeake Bay. These peoples must have been associated with the resource for at least two generations, or forty years,

prior to the establishment of the trail. Types of ethnographic resources include objects (such as in museum collections), structures (historic buildings, boats, etc.), sites (such as archaeological sites and burial locations), landscape features, and the cultural landscapes within which they are situated. Ethnographic resources may be identifiable from extant features (i.e., gravesites), but they usually require extensive consultation and localized research efforts to locate and document these properties.

Three main categories of ethnographic resources can be recognized in the Chesapeake Bay region: sites, landscapes, and ethnographically-important natural resources. Each of these types of resources relates to different traditionally associated groups such as Native Americans, ethnic enclaves, or traditional watermen, and at different times (e.g., mythical, prehistoric, historic), but they remain important aspects of our shared cultural heritage.

Sites are usually single locations of specific importance to an identifiable group of people. Included in this category would be sacred sites, such as traditional burial grounds, Indian spiritual locations, or 'lookout points.' Many of these types of ethnographic resources are identifiable from extant features (i.e., graves), but some may require extensive consultation and local research to locate and record these properties.

Ethnographic landscapes include widespread areas for resource acquisition and/or transport, rock quarrying, or traditional hunting or fishing territories, as well as corridors such as Indian trails, or routes and used by escaping slaves along the Underground Railroad. In many cases, these resources may be claimed and interpreted differently by different and competing groups of people. As cultural resources, however, they remain integral to the Bay's history.

Natural ethnographic resources include primarily seasonally-available anadromous fish,

deer, or ripening fruits and flowering plants. While arguably the most difficult to identify and protect, to many Native Americans, these resources are integral to defining their traditional existence.

SOCIOECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Land Use and Population

Land uses throughout the Chesapeake Bay area vary from highly agrarian to highly developed, particularly in the metropolitan areas of Washington DC, Baltimore, and Hampton Roads. According to the Multi-Resolution Land Characteristic Consortium, only 9.3% of the land area in the Chesapeake Bay watershed is intensely developed, with 15.2% and 75.5% with commercial development or low intensity development respectively. Land cover across the large watershed area has the following breakdown: 3.6% developed, 28.5% agriculture, 60.1% forested; 4.3% water, 2.6% wetland, and 0.9% barren. Approximately sixteen million people live in the Chesapeake Bay watershed; about ten million people live along its shores or near them.

The Chesapeake Bay Watershed is divided into eight smaller watersheds. These include the Susquehanna, Patuxent River, the Eastern Shore, the Rappahannock, Maryland Western Shore, James, York, and Potomac Rivers. The upper section of the Bay includes the Susquehanna and Maryland Western Shore Watersheds. The areas in these watersheds located along the Chesapeake Bay are industrial and commercial, such as the cities of Annapolis, Baltimore, and Havre de Grace, Maryland. However, the southern portion of the Maryland Western Shore Watershed consists of forestland. Directly along the Bay, these areas have a well-developed infrastructure of roads and are heavily populated. This area showed an increase in population from 1990 to 2000, and projections anticipate a continual increase in population through the year 2020.

The middle section of the Bay consists of the Eastern Shore, Patuxent River, and Potomac River Watersheds. The areas located along the Chesapeake Bay within these watersheds consist mainly of forest and agricultural land. Still, areas highly developed with residential and commercial uses exist sporadically along the Chesapeake Bay. These areas have a well developed infrastructure of roads. Populations, along the Bay, within these watersheds are denser than in other areas. An increase in population from 1990 to 2000 occurred and projections anticipate a continual increase in population through the year 2020. This is seen especially in Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and Montgomery Counties, Maryland.

The lower section of the Chesapeake Bay includes the York, Rappahannock, and the James Watersheds. The area in these watersheds is mostly agricultural and forested, with a little residential and commercial development interspersed. Populations in these areas are lower than in other areas of the Bay. There was an increase in population from 1990 to 2000, and it is anticipated that there will be a continual increase in population through the year 2020. The area along the Bay is not anticipated to have a well-developed infrastructure of roads. The exception is seen in and around Norfolk, where there is a large concentration of development, population, and infrastructure.

Economy

The economic mainstays of the Chesapeake Bay region since the late 1800s have been ports with their import and export, the seafood industry, agriculture, tourism, the military, and shipbuilding and repair. Major ports in the Chesapeake Bay include the City of Baltimore and the City of Norfolk, transporting container cargo and products such as coal, grain, tobacco, cocoa beans, and rubber.

The seafood industry remains a major factor in the economic life of the Chesapeake Bay. More than five hundred million pounds of seafood are harvested from the Bay every year. The

Chesapeake Bay is the largest producer of crabs in the United States. More than one third of the blue crab harvest in the United States comes from the Bay. The long-term outlook for the seafood industry is in question, however, as over-fishing and pollution of the Bay and rivers have caused a decrease in marine life populations and a destruction of habitat. Oyster populations have declined dramatically. Harvest is about one percent of what it was at the end of the nineteenth century, due to over-harvesting, pollution and disease.

Agriculture plays an important part in the Chesapeake Bay Watershed. For example, in Virginia, statistics show that, over the past forty years, farm production has increased 63%, while agricultural land use decreased 47% and labor decreased by 89%. Production of broiler chickens is the state's leading agricultural commodity, followed by milk, cattle, turkeys, tobacco, greenhouse and nursery plants, soybeans, eggs, winter wheat, and corn. Cotton is making a comeback with the new demand for natural fibers, and, in 1996, a new record was set for cotton production at 160 thousand bales.

Tourism continues to play a key role in the economy of the Chesapeake Bay region. Visitors come to the area from all over the United States and other countries. Attracted by the water, beaches and shores of the Bay, these visitors can also take in the historic sites and museums in the region. Maryland tourism reports show that visitors to the state in 2001 spent almost \$7.7 billion on goods and services, generated \$646 million in tax revenue, and indirectly provided more than 103,000 jobs. In Virginia, 275 historic attractions host more than 6.5 million visitors annually, with another 25 million annual visits to NPS areas.

The Chesapeake Bay economy is greatly influenced by a large military presence. A number of military bases border the bay or its tributaries. For example, at the mouth of the Bay, the Norfolk Naval Base contributes significantly to the economy in the tidewater area. Other bases

on the Chesapeake Bay contribute to the local economies. They include but are not limited to Aberdeen Proving Grounds on the northern end of the Bay and Langley Airforce Base near the southern end. Nearly a third of the region's workers earn a paycheck from the Department of Defense or a defense contractor. Norfolk has the world's largest Navy base, and Portsmouth is home to the world's biggest ship-repair yard.

Transportation

Two bridges cross the Chesapeake Bay: the Chesapeake Bay Bridge-Tunnel and the William Preston Lane Jr. Memorial Bridge (commonly referred to as the Chesapeake Bay Bridge). The Chesapeake Bay Bridge-Tunnel crosses the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay and connects the City of Virginia Beach to Cape Charles in North Hampton County on the Virginia Eastern Shore. It is 17.6 miles long from shore to shore, crossing what is essentially an ocean strait. Including land approach highways, the overall facility is twenty-three miles long, and it carries highway traffic on US-13, the major arterial highway serving the corridor between Norfolk, Virginia, and Wilmington, Delaware.

The Chesapeake Bay Bridge, officially the William Preston Lane, Jr., Memorial Bridge, crosses the Chesapeake Bay near Annapolis as part of US-50 / US-301. The bridge's dual spans connect Maryland's Eastern Shore recreational and ocean regions to the metropolitan areas of Baltimore, Annapolis, and Washington, D.C. The bridge also forms part of an alternative route from the Delaware Memorial Bridge to the nation's capital. The 4.3-mile Bay Bridge is a prominent and important element of the State of Maryland's transportation infrastructure. Carrying more than twenty-three million vehicles a year, the bridge consists of two separate spans with roadways running 186 feet above the water.

The Bay's ports and waterways are critical to the world's commerce. Approximately ninety

million tons of imports and exports pass through the major ports of Baltimore and Hampton Roads each year.

Parks and Recreation

In proximity to the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail, there are seven NPS sites, twelve National Wildlife Refuges, and three National Natural Landmarks. The Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network (CBGN), a partnership system of sites, land trails, and water trails, around the Chesapeake Bay watershed, represents a broad cross-section of Bay-related resources. The Gateways Network includes 154 exceptional parks, wildlife refuges, museums, sailing ships, historic communities, and trails. Most of these sites are close to the Bay coastline or one of the tributary rivers. Chesapeake Bay Gateways are the places to experience, first-hand, Chesapeake Bay life and culture. Each communicates important facets of the Chesapeake story.

In addition to the CBGN, there are many state and local parks and over five hundred public access sites which are catalogued through the *Public Access Guide—Chesapeake Bay, Susquehanna River, & Tidal tributaries*.

The Chesapeake Bay and its rivers are a haven for fishing and for both motorized and non-motorized boating. Numerous marinas are located throughout the waterways to provide the boater with service. Local charter captains offer their expertise to the novice and professional fishermen. Handicapped assistance is available on many of the boats, if needed. Public fishing piers, scenic cruises and restaurant boats are also popular ways to enjoy the Bay. Tidal ponds, rivers, and saltwater marshes attract many canoers and kayakers. State parks and private campgrounds and outfitters offer canoe and kayak rentals. Private guides are available to assist paddlers in exploring pristine nooks and bays to view the birds and wildlife. The Bay's waters are also heavily used for sailing and rowing.

Figure 3: U.S Department of Interior Sites

NPS Sites

Colonial National Historical Park—Jamestown
Piscataway Park
Fort Washington Park
Anacostia Park
Chesapeake & Ohio Canal NHP
George Washington Memorial Parkway
Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail

National Natural Landmarks

Battle Creek Cypress Swamp, Calvert County, Maryland.
 Located on the east side of the Patuxent River, between
 Bowens and Port Republic.

Long Green Creek and Sweathouse Branch, Baltimore
 County, Maryland. Located 2 miles north of Perry Hall.

Belt Woods, Prince Georges County, Maryland
 A fifty-six acre site that is fifteen miles east of
 Washington, D.C. in the vicinity of Upper Marlboro.

Caledon Natural Area, King George County, Virginia
 A 2,860 acre forest bordered on the north by the Potomac
 River.

Great Dismal Swamp, Nansemond County and City of
 Chesapeake, Virginia. 43,200 acres, including Lake
 Drummond.

Virginia Coastal Reserve, Accomack and Northampton
 Counties, Virginia. Occupying about forty-five miles of coast
 line, from ten miles south of Assateague Island to the mouth
 of the Chesapeake Bay.

National Wildlife Refuges

Eastern Shore of Virginia
Featherstone, Virginia (currently closed to public)
James River—Presquile, Virginia
Mason Neck, Virginia
Nansemond, Virginia (closed to public)
Plum Tree Island, Virginia
Rappahannock River Valley, Virginia
Occoquan Bay, Virginia
Chesapeake Marsh NWR Complex, Maryland:
 Blackwater, Martin, Susquehanna and Eastern Neck

Maps 3 through 7 show all parks and public lands adjacent to the water and close to the trail routes. Map 9 shows all CBGN sites. Map 11 shows the sites which provide public boat ramps along the trail routes.

Tourism and Visitor Experience

The study area is a destination for local, regional, and out-of-state visitors. While tourism and visitor use statistics are often misleading due to double counting and the undifferentiated economic impacts of local visitors versus those from out-of town, it is important to understand the magnitude of visitation throughout the area and at specific sites. Statewide tourism statistics are not available due to the difficulty in gathering such data. The District of Columbia, Virginia, and Pennsylvania rank in the top five states for national park unit visitation.

The Chesapeake Bay region has many historic and cultural resources that attract local, regional and national visitors. The visitation rates at several different types and sizes of resources within the Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network serve as a proxy for the tourist activity at state parks, museums, and historic sites. The annual visitation rates, as illustrated in Figure 4, vary widely.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Surface Water Resources

The proposed trail would lie almost entirely on the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and portions

of eight of its largest tributaries: the James, York, Rappahannock, Potomac, Patuxent, Patapsco, Susquehanna, and Nanticoke Rivers. The major rivers link the study area's cultural and historic resources and provide a variety of recreational opportunities. The resources and connections created by the waterways opened up the area for settlement and trade and were a major factor in the location of development in the region.

The Chesapeake Bay is the nation's largest estuary (an area where fresh and salt water mix) and the world's third largest. The Bay's watershed of sixty-four thousand square miles encompasses parts of six states – New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia. The bay itself is approximately two hundred miles long, stretching from the mouth of the Susquehanna at Havre de Grace, Maryland, to Norfolk, Virginia. This provides about twenty-five hundred square miles of surface water. The Bay varies in width from about 3.4 miles near Aberdeen, Maryland, to 35 miles at its widest point, near the mouth of the Potomac River. The Bay is uniquely shallow, with an average depth of 21 feet. There are a few deep holes that are more than 170 feet deep. There are more than 11,600 miles of shoreline, including tidal wetlands and islands.

The Patuxent River Tributary drains about nine hundred square miles of land in portions of St. Mary's, Calvert, Charles, Anne Arundel, Prince George's, Howard, and Montgomery counties of Maryland. The Patuxent is the

Figure 4: Visits to Selected Chesapeake Bay Gateway Sites

Gateways Site	Location	Visits per year
Colonial NHP	Yorktown/Jamestown, VA	3.3 million
First Landing State Park	Norfolk, VA	1 million
Fort McHenry NMHS	Baltimore, MD	673,000
Gunpowder Falls State Park	Kingsville, MD	543,000
Blackwater NWR	Cambridge, MD	120,000
Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum	St. Michaels, MD	95,000

largest river which drains entirely within Maryland. Large water bodies include the Western Branch, Little and Middle Patuxent Rivers, and two large water supply reservoirs on the mainstem river above Laurel, which supply water for the Washington metropolitan area. The watershed supports more than one hundred species of fish in its freshwater streams and brackish waters, including largemouth bass, chain pickerel, catfish, weakfish and bluefish. The Patuxent also supports an important commercial and recreational blue crab fishery. The Patapsco/Back Rivers Basin drains about 630 square miles of land including all of Baltimore City and portions of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, and Howard Counties. Larger waterbodies include Back River, Gwynns and Jones Falls, the North and South Branches of the Patapsco River, Lake Roland, Piney Run Reservoir, Liberty Reservoir, and Baltimore Harbor. The basin supports over forty species of fish, including white and yellow perch, and large and small-mouth bass. The area also supports a commercially productive oyster bar just outside the river's mouth, in the mainstem of the Bay.

The Middle Potomac Tributary Basin drains about 610 square miles of land, including portions of Montgomery and Prince George's County. The mainstem river serves as a receiving tributary for upriver sources. Major tributaries include Seneca, Rock and Piscataway Creeks and the Anacostia River. The basin supports over one hundred species of fish in its freshwater streams and brackish waters, including white and yellow perch, largemouth bass, and catfish. Bladensburg was once a colonial port on the Anacostia River, but due to centuries of sedimentation, is no longer navigable except to small recreational watercraft.

The Lower Potomac River basin drains approximately 730 square miles of Charles, St. Mary's, and Prince George's counties. Within the Lower Potomac basin are eleven smaller watersheds, including the Mattawoman River, Wicomico River, Breton Bay, and St.

Mary's River. More than one hundred species of fish are supported in the basin's freshwater streams and brackish waters, including American and hickory shad, menhaden, and gizzard shad. The basin also supports one of the largest great blue heron rookeries on the East Coast.

The James River, Virginia's largest river, is about 335 miles long. Its drainage, covering some ten thousand square miles, lies wholly within Virginia and includes some or all of thirty-nine counties. Since its headwaters lie far up in the Appalachian Mountains, it brings great quantities of fresh water down to the Chesapeake Bay. In the process, the river passes through a gap it has made in the Blue Ridge, after which it follows a broad and fertile valley where a mixture of forests and more open grasslands, and later agricultural fields, have fostered grazing wildlife. The lands along the mouth of the James are low, with dune-fields and sandy peninsulas along the southern and western rim of the Bay itself. The James is densely lined with marshes from the Hampton Roads area up to about Hatcher Island.

The York River lies across the Virginia Peninsula from the James and passes through similar terrain from the western margin of the Chesapeake Bay to the Piedmont. It divides at West Point, Virginia, into two major branches, the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi. The York drains about 2,670 square miles (about twelve percent of Virginia's part of the Chesapeake's drainage). As with other tributaries of the Chesapeake, the York River's flow changes significantly with the seasons: highest in March and April, when it carries snowmelt, and lowest in October to November. The York is bounded by low, flat land that grades into marshlands near the Bay. Many fish species enter the lower York as part of their life cycle, including striped bass, sea trout, drum, spot, croaker and flounder.

The Nanticoke River is one of the largest tributaries of the Chesapeake on the Eastern

Shore. It has extensive marsh and hammocks to the wets of its mouth and uplands on the east side. This river, which has its headwaters in Delaware, drains 718,000 acres of wetlands, a third of Delaware's land, taking its waters from the swamps and cultivated flatlands of Sussex County and flowing into Maryland, where it empties into Tangier Sound and the Chesapeake Bay. The Nanticoke is endowed with abundance and diversity of wildlife, undisturbed land, and rural characteristics. The river and its major tributaries—Broad Creek, Deep Creek, Gravelly Branch, and Marshyhope Creek - are free of dams and support excellent fisheries. Bald eagles, ospreys, and great blue herons are common in the skies above the Nanticoke, while the waters below support many fish and shellfish, including American shad, striped bass, largemouth bass, white and yellow perch, crabs, oysters, and clams. Flocks of migrating waterfowl—black ducks, canvasbacks, mallards, and teals—use the Nanticoke as a resting point and wintering area. Otters, owls, and muskrats also call the Nanticoke their home.

The Susquehanna River flows 444 miles from its headwaters near Cooperstown, New York, to Havre de Grace, Maryland, where it meets the Chesapeake Bay. The river drains 27,500 square miles, covering half the land area of Pennsylvania and portions of New York and Maryland. It is the largest tributary of the Chesapeake Bay, providing ninety percent of the fresh water flows to the upper half of the bay and fifty percent overall. It comprises forty-three percent of the Chesapeake Bay's drainage area. The river carries an immense amount of rainwater out of its watershed, a billion gallons per day even during a drought year. The lower Susquehanna supports thirty-nine species of fish, including four species of game fish, as well as one species of mussel and sixteen species of reptiles and amphibians.

The Susquehanna River migratory fish restoration partnership, including Pennsylvania and Maryland, the electric utilities, fisheries agencies and the Susquehanna River Basin

Commission, has installed fish passages at the four hydroelectric dams on the lower Susquehanna. This has reopened the Susquehanna River to American shad and other migratory species. The Susquehanna River (to its headwaters) and its tributaries were once the historic range for these migratory fish species as they journeyed from the Atlantic Ocean through the Chesapeake Bay and upstream to the rivers of their origin.

The Susquehanna Flats make up a broad, shallow sediment trap adjacent to that river's mouth, where the confined, rapidly flowing Susquehanna spreads out into the Bay, slowing in velocity and depositing much of its sediment. The Flats have a maximum depth of ten feet in most places. Half a dozen species of freshwater rooted aquatic plants make up a thick bed of underwater grasses that extends from the northern tip of Spesutie Island to Furnace Bay, at the Chesapeake's head.

Estuarine Environment

The Bay itself is an estuary—a place where fresh river water mixes with the salty Atlantic Ocean currents. It is the largest estuary in the United States and one of the largest in the world. The Bay consists of deep and shallow open salt waters and brackish waters of the lower tidal portions of the rivers. The fresh waters of the rivers and streams flow into the Bay, making it ten percent less salty than the ocean. The Bay was formed at the end of the last Ice Age, when melting glaciers caused sea levels to rise worldwide. Its deepest portions trace what in ancient times was the path of the Susquehanna River; its shallower parts were formed when land was flooded by rising ocean waters. Deeper waters are home to many species of fish, shellfish, and, on occasion, visiting ocean fish and aquatic mammals.

The Coastal Plain that borders the Bay is comprised of beaches, marshes, forests, and grasslands. This coastal area, often referred to as the "Tidewater" since the waters along the shore rise and fall, tends to be flat and drained

by salty and brackish waters. Where the broad shallows merge with the land's edge, the Chesapeake forms a quarter-million acres of tidal marshes, or wetlands. The Bay wetlands provide particularly crucial habitat for fish, shellfish, various waterfowl, shorebirds, wading birds, and several mammals. Striped bass, menhaden, flounder, oysters, and blue crabs are among the most commercially important fish and shellfish that depend on estuarine wetlands.

Fish and Other Aquatic Life

A tremendous diversity of aquatic life inhabits shallow water environments. The best-known animal in the Chesapeake Bay is the blue crab, but the Bay watershed provides food, water, cover and nesting or nursery areas to 3,600 species of plant and animal life, including more than 300 fish species and 2,700 plant types. Rich plant communities that grow in the shallow waters, such as submerged aquatic vegetation and tidal marshes, provide key habitats for many invertebrates, fish, and waterfowl in various life stages. Shrimp, killifish, and juveniles of larger fish species use submerged aquatic vegetation, tidal marshes, and shallow shoreline margins as nursery areas and for refuge. Vulnerable shedding blue crabs also find protection in submerged aquatic vegetation beds. Predators (including blue crabs, spot, striped bass, waterfowl, colonial water birds, and raptors) forage for food here. Along the shoreline, fallen trees and limbs also give cover to small aquatic animals. Even unvegetated areas, exposed at low tide, are productive feeding areas. Microscopic plants cycle nutrients and are fed upon by crabs and fish.

The fish in the Bay region fall into two categories: resident and migratory. Of the over three hundred species of fish known to inhabit the Chesapeake Bay region, thirty-two species are year-round residents of the Bay. Resident fish tend to be smaller than migratory species and often occur in shallow waters, where they feed on a variety of invertebrates.

The resident Bay anchovy, for example, is the most abundant fish in the Bay waters and consequently forms a critical link in the food web because it serves as the dietary basis for many other species, including some species of birds and mammals. In the winter, it remains in the deep waters of the Bay, but, in the warmer seasons, it clings to shoreline areas, swimming in schools and feeding on zooplankton. The Bay anchovy spawns at night from April through September in warm areas of the estuary, where the temperature is above 54° F.

Migratory fish fall into two categories: catadromous or anadromous. Catadromous fish live in fresh water, but travel to the high-salinity ocean waters to spawn. The only catadromous species in the Bay ecosystem is the American eel, or *Anguilla rostrata*, which leaves its habitat in the Bay to spawn in the Sargasso Sea. Anadromous fish (fish whose incubation and juvenile state is in fresh water, maturation state is at sea, and later as adult, migrate into rivers for reproduction) such as the American shad and the Blueback herring, travel from the high salinity waters of the lower Bay or Atlantic Ocean to spawn in the Bay watershed's freshwater rivers and streams. Other anadromous fish travel shorter distances to spawn and occupy a narrower range of salinities. For example, white perch journey from the middle Bay, which is not as salty as the ocean, to freshwater areas of the upper Bay and tributaries to spawn.

Federally Listed Threatened and Endangered Species

The Puritan tiger beetle (*Cicindela puritana*) can be found on narrow beaches backed by cliffs in several Maryland locations including Calvert county and near the mouth of the Sassafra River in Kent and Cecil Counties. The northeastern beach tiger beetle (*Cicindela dorsalis dorsalis*) occurs on wider, sandy beaches in Calvert and Somerset Counties in Maryland and on both shorelines of the Chesapeake Bay in Virginia. In the Chesapeake Bay region, these species are threatened by

habitat alterations associated with human population growth, shoreline development and shore erosion control.

Endangered: Shortnose sturgeon, *Acipenser brevirostrum*, found in Chesapeake Bay and tributaries

Endangered: Atlantic ridley turtle, *Lepidochelys kempi*, summer visitor to Chesapeake Bay

Other Wildlife

The region provides habitat for a wide variety of animals. Important mammals include the whitetail deer, black bear, bobcat, red fox, gray fox, gray squirrel, fox squirrel, eastern chipmunk, white-footed mouse, pine vole short-tail shrew, and cotton mouse. Common small mammals include raccoons, opossums, rabbits, and numerous species of ground-dwelling rodents. The turkey, ruffed grouse, bobwhite, and mourning dove are the principal game birds. Migratory non-game bird species are numerous, as are migratory waterfowl. Nearly thirty species of waterfowl visit the Bay during the winter. The most abundant breeding birds include the cardinal, tufted titmouse, wood thrush, summer tanager, red-eyed vireo, blue-gray gnatcatcher, and Carolina wren. Characteristic reptiles include the box turtle, common garter snake, and timber rattlesnake.

Vegetation

An important component of the Chesapeake Bay wetland ecosystem is submerged aquatic vegetation (SAV) – vascular plants that grow entirely under water. SAV provides habitat and food for fish, waterfowl, shellfish, and other invertebrates. Sixteen species of SAV are commonly found in the Chesapeake Bay or nearby rivers. Salinity is the primary factor affecting SAV distribution. Historically, 200,000 acres of Bay grasses grew along the shoreline; only 38,000 acres remained in 1984. The loss of SAV is due primarily to increased turbidity, which prevents light penetration to the plants, thus reducing photosynthesis; sedimentation that covers the plants; and increased nutrients in the water, which increases the algae popula-

tion and also reduces light penetration. The primary source of this loss is runoff from agriculture, new development, and industry.

Because of restoration and conservation efforts in the Bay and the watershed, the area of SAV had increased to 85,000 acres by 2001.

OPERATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

The public and private resources that contribute to the significance of the proposed trail are currently under a variety of management and ownership. While there are numerous publicly owned and/or publicly accessible lands and resources in the study area, no one entity coordinates the interpretation and protection of resources related to the John Smith voyages.

The study team has documented substantial technical, financial and organizational commitments to the designation and implementation of the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail. Many local governments, tourism agencies, and the states have indicated an interest in having a strong connection to a Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail, in a range of ways, from commemorative events and other tourism-related activities, to interpreting the stories and preserving the resources related to the trail. To date, no formal organization has been established related specifically to the trail.

In addition to financial and programmatic commitments, staffing, maintenance, security, provision of facilities, resource protection, and interpretation must be considered during the management planning efforts for the trail. Individual resource sites have maintenance, security, and resource protection measures in place. There is no overarching maintenance or coordinating organization.

Many interpretive sites along the proposed trail have existing visitor facilities that include restrooms, drinking fountains, seating, and parking areas.

CHAPTER FIVE:

IMPACTS/ENVIRONMENTAL CONSEQUENCES



Photo courtesy of Loretta Jergensen/Chesapeake Bay Foundation, cbf.org

INTRODUCTION

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) is the national charter for environmental protection in the United States. Title I of the law requires that federal agencies plan and carry out their activities in a manner that protects and enhances the environment. The requirements of the act are fulfilled when there is extensive public involvement in the planning and development of any proposed federal action and consideration of potential impacts to the cultural, natural, and socioeconomic environment. The impacts are analyzed through the Environmental Assessment (EA). This EA presents an overview of potential impacts that could result from each alternative. A Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) will be developed subsequent to this study.

This chapter contains a description of the environmental consequences associated with each designation alternative concept described

in this study. The alternatives and their associated management considerations are conceptual in nature and do not include any development activities or any site specific actions. Therefore, the potential impacts are addressed based on the best available knowledge. Any future actions must be evaluated in site-specific detail in accordance with all applicable laws, mandates and policies. The discussion includes generalized measures to minimize potential impacts; however, this does not suggest that these measures would work for every site or should be applied without further study of specific sites.

Environmental impact topics selected for analysis are based on federal laws, orders, and regulations, agency policies, and issues and concerns expressed during public scoping. Impact topics allow for a standardized comparison of the potential environmental consequences each alternative could trigger. Selected impact topics considered relevant to

this study are cultural resources, natural resources, socioeconomic environment, operations and administration, unavoidable adverse environmental effects. NEPA requires consideration of context, intensity, duration of direct, indirect, and cumulative impacts plus measures to mitigate impacts.

This chapter is organized by impact topic with alternatives as subheadings under each topic area. Following a brief description of the potential environmental consequences by topic is a brief discussion of the methodology used to determine the impacts, a discussion of the impacts of each alternative by topic area, and an outline of potential mitigation measures.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Cultural resources that may be affected by trail designation, development, and use include: archeological resources, historic resources, and cultural landscapes.

Potential Adverse Impacts to Cultural Resources

Cultural resources at access sites can be degraded by trail use and development if research and protection measures are inadequate. Resources could be degraded in a number of ways including: inadequate protection of collections, artifacts, and known archeological sites; inadequate research and scholarship regarding the importance, location, and integrity of resources; through development as land uses change and resources are compromised; and inadvertent damage from unknowing trail users. Threats from trail use might relate to the inadvertent damage caused by users.

Methodology

Any activities related to trail designation or use that harm important cultural resources could be considered an adverse impact. Potentially adverse impacts include movement, defacement, or deconstruction of artifacts, structural features, or through a reduction of resources,

including landscapes and viewsheds, necessary to maintain the integrity and interpret the stories of the proposed trail. Cultural resources may benefit as the public's interest in the trail, its history, and the resources grows. Greater awareness and protective measures of currently unprotected resources would provide a beneficial effect.

Potential Measures to Minimize Adverse Impacts on Cultural Resources

Protection of cultural resources can most successfully be managed on a case-by-case basis, but certain measures can be recommended for all portions of the trail under all action alternatives. Archaeological, historical, and cultural landscape surveys should be conducted in order to document features on public lands and private lands along the trail. These resources should be identified and documented in coordination with the State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs), which may already have information on some of these resources. These actions should be taken in order to fully document resources, understand their historic importance, and control visitor use when necessary to protect resource integrity.

Trail planning and design should carefully consider the location of facilities and waysides so that no cultural resources are disturbed. No trail segments should be promoted for public use (beyond the existing patterns of travel) until resources within that segment are documented and a management plan describing appropriate treatments for artifact and site preservation is prepared. The management plan should also specify the breadth of the survey area adjacent to each side of the trail based on segment conditions. Inventories should include landscapes whenever appropriate to guarantee that contextual components of the trail are adequately protected. This decision may be made on a case-by-case basis in consultation with the SHPO or by negotiating a programmatic agreement. Efforts to inventory and protect these resources should

be combined with existing state and District of Columbia programs, to ensure efficiency, compatibility, and eliminate redundant efforts. In some areas, the designated trail route may need to deviate from the historic route to avoid sensitive sites or navigation issues.

The trail comprehensive management plan should incorporate the expertise of local residents, historians, archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, landscape architects, and natural scientists, among others representing the federal, state and local governments, in order to capture the broadest knowledge base and most current scholarship.

Alternative A

No protection beyond what is in place would result from this alternative. Limitations on public access to private lands may result in indirect resource protection. Cultural resources could be adversely impacted by incremental development on privately-held land.

Alternative B

This alternative would provide funding from a combination of federal, state, local, and private sources to administer the trail, creating broader potential for research, cultural resource inventories, assessments, protection, and maintenance. Compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1996 would be required. The trail as a whole would be considered when development actions are proposed, leaving less opportunity for piecemeal development. The NPS may provide expertise and technical assistance for cultural resource protection and interpretation. Methods for minimizing impacts to cultural resources could be included in the general management plan and implemented over time. Cultural resource studies would be conducted and used to inform the comprehensive management plan. NPS, along with other federal agencies, State Historic Preservation Officers and private interest groups, would emphasize the importance of natural and

cultural resources protection while providing for public enjoyment of the trail. Visitation and use have the potential to be higher than in Alternative A and C and therefore have a greater potential to adversely impact cultural resources. These adverse effects may be offset by a greater public awareness afforded by the larger audience this alternative could be expected to draw.

Alternative C

This alternative would have similar effects to Alternative B except funding and assistance for resource protection would be limited in time and quantity. Implementation of resource protection measures would be conducted by the state or local entities.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Socioeconomic factors include the effects on the regional economy, on nearby communities, and the visitors' experiences.

Methodology

Contributions to the local economy and nearby communities that are attributable to trail use and development would create a positive impact. Any activity related to trail use and development that degrades the user experience, such as the development of incompatible land uses or inappropriate visitor facilities, would be considered a negative impact. Users may be defined as residents, tourists, and other users of the proposed trail.

In this case, existing roads have capacity to move many vehicles and visitors to many access points. The waterways make the carrying capacity of the trail itself high. However, the capacity of individual resources and access points should be determined on a case-by-case basis. Use may need to be limited to protect cultural and natural resources and to protect the quality of experience. It is likely that national designation and recognition of the trail will generate increased visitation and car-

rying capacity of the trail and access sites will need to be assessed more thoroughly.

Potential Measures to Minimize Adverse Impacts to User Experience

A carrying capacity analysis should be incorporated into the trail comprehensive management plan.

Alternative A

No change in the socio-economic environment and nearby communities would result from this alternative. Increased traffic in the area may create crowded conditions. As development increases, an increased number of people would experience the area and its resources without knowing or understanding the significance. Landowners would continue to experience whatever impacts of recreational use that occur now.

Alternative B

Designation of the trail as a NHT would have a neutral to positive effect on the local economy. Any actions related to trail use and management would be spread out over time and over the geographic area of the trail, limiting the beneficial effects to one area at one time. Efforts to protect, develop, maintain, and manage the trail would create new localized spending and potential jobs and tax revenue. Expenditures for labor and materials would be minor, in the short-term, and would accrue to a few firms or individuals.

The communities along the trail may benefit from increased tourism and spending as trail use is promoted. Increased trail use would not be expected to affect the profitability of area businesses. Local landowners and business owners could benefit from their proximity or association with the trail. Property values could increase if permanent preservation methods are employed to protect open lands and landscapes. Trail designation would not affect how private property owners in the vicinity of the trail use their property. Private use and construction of privately owned piers and docks would continue to be regulated by

existing local and state laws. No additional regulations would affect the use of private land, piers or docks.

Promotion of the trail and its associated resources would result in more visitors to the trail. Users would be provided multiple itineraries and access points and would benefit from interpretive, educational, and recreational opportunities. Higher levels of use would be expected where resources are clustered or near the population centers. A carrying capacity analysis should be included in the trail comprehensive management plan. Perceived or real crowding along the trail would have an adverse effect on user experience.

Alternative C

Effects of this alternative would be similar to Alternative B.

Transportation and Access

Water-based, vehicular, pedestrian, and bicycle transportation and access within the study area may be affected by trail use and development.

Potential Impacts on Transportation and Access

Any trail designation or plans for use and management that creates the need for additional roadways or that burdens existing road and waterway capacity, safety, or level of service would be considered an adverse impact. Improvements to water access points, pedestrian and bicycle routes, and group transportation would be considered a positive impact.

Methodology

The transportation through the area and along the trail, and access points to the trail could be adversely affected if the level of service, circulation, and accessibility are degraded. A positive effect may be measured if visitation and access to the trail increase by way of alternative transportation, bicycling, water recreation, and foot traffic.

Potential Measures to Minimize Adverse Impacts to Transportation and Access

The trail's comprehensive management plan should assess baseline traffic counts and visitation figures for the trail area and individual resources and establish a schedule for reassessing these counts. Scheduled group tours and alternative transportation could be explored in the management and interpretive plans. Appropriate facilities for watercraft users pedestrians, and bicyclists should be made available.

Alternative A

Under this alternative, transportation and access in the area would continue, primarily in response to new regional development and traffic pressures unrelated to this planning effort. No improvements would be made directly related to the trail. Increased traffic in the area may create crowded conditions.

Alternative B

Under this alternative, traffic may increase as a result of national designation and increased visitation and travel along the trail. Traffic and transportation studies should be part of the management plan for the trail. Improved access to and circulation around trail resources may be necessary if crowding occurs. Alternative modes of transportation and group tours may have a positive effect on the environment by encouraging alternatives to automobile use.

Alternative C

Effects would be similar to those under Alternative B.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Natural resources which may be affected by trail use and development are wetlands, surface waters, and fish and wildlife.

Potential Adverse Impacts to Natural Resources

The many rivers and creeks that run through the study area and actual segments of the proposed trail may be degraded by erosion

and sedimentation, development and land use changes (which may result in a loss of resources), over-use by recreational users, and inadvertent damage from unknowing trail users.

Increased public use of a designated trail by watercraft could cause more fuel emissions and dumping of rubbish into the waterways and air. Threats may also involve impacts on native species and the contamination of water or soil by human waste. Other adverse impacts may result from increased motorized and non-motorized watercraft use. Disturbance to fish and other fauna and the shoreline vegetation may occur at points of increased visitor access between the water and land and from the watercraft motors. Parts of the Chesapeake Bay—long popular for motorized and non-motorized recreational water craft—have suffered from such disturbance.

Methodology

Any activity related to trail designation or use that reduces the survival or recovery of plant and animal species or reduces the natural function or appearance of habitat areas would be considered an adverse impact. The impacts assessment for natural resources was conducted in accordance with NPS 77: Natural Resource Management Guidelines, NPS Management Policies, Director's Order 2: Planning, and NPS 12: NPS Environmental Compliance. These documents provide general guidance for compliance with environmental laws, executive orders, and other regulations, including the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA), the Endangered Species Act, the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, Executive Order 11988 (Floodplain Management), and Executive Order 11990 (Protection of Wetlands).

Due to the conceptual nature of the alternatives presented in this plan, more detailed impacts to natural resources will need to be assessed during more specific management planning. Natural resources, including the waterways, may benefit as the public's interest

in the trail grows and greater emphasis is put on the significance and value of protecting natural resources. Greater awareness could also result from the public's increased understanding of the interrelationship between the natural landscape and historic events.

Potential Measures to Minimize Adverse Impacts on Natural Resources

Measures to reduce impacts may range from complete avoidance of sensitive areas and rare species' habitat, to minimization of visitor access and development. Signage and interpretation should educate users on how to minimize impacts. The management entity should encourage the establishment of a stewardship and protection program for the waterways and lands along the trail. Tree removal and the addition of impervious surfaces should be avoided in sensitive areas in order to minimize the indirect effects of increased run-off and degradation of water quality. Any actions that would affect potential habitat for rare species should be avoided.

The trail comprehensive management plan should incorporate the expertise of natural resource specialists, biologists, landscape architects, and natural scientists, among others representing the federal, state and local governments.

Along with other existing programs to celebrate and conserve the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, efforts related to the proposed trail may help minimize adverse affects on the natural environment. Natural resource education could be incorporated into trail interpretation.

Alternative A

No actions associated with the trail would be taken to further degrade or enhance the quality of wetlands, surface water resources, or habitats. Natural resource areas within the study corridors that are not already protected and monitored, could continue to degrade from unmanaged use. Access points to and from the rivers and creeks would remain

unchanged. Recreational users may cause inadvertent harm to the natural resources.

Alternative B

Under this alternative, the Bay's natural resources could benefit from the trail comprehensive management plan, required by the National Trails System Act, as amended. Changing traffic patterns and increasing levels of visitor use and activity could have an adverse impact on the natural resources in the area. Management protocol for waterways, natural habitats, and public access points could be determined as part of the management plan. With appropriate management measures in place, natural resources could benefit from greater protection as visitors are directed to appropriate trail areas and restricted from accessing fragile resource areas and ecosystems. The trail comprehensive management plan could recommend measures to minimize negative impacts to the waterways, flora, and fauna, including stewardship interpretive signs, use restrictions, and monitoring. Trail partners and volunteers could provide labor and management of these efforts.

Alternative C

The effects of this alternative are similar to Alternative B except natural resource protection would be incorporated into trail management plan(s) developed by the States and their partners.

OPERATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

If NPS experience following the establishment of earlier national historic trails is any guide, visitor experience, educational programs, shared resources, degree of coordination, and outreach to a diverse audience are likely to be enhanced by the selected action alternative.

Potential Impacts on Operations and Administration

Any trail designation or plans for use and management that create an opportunity for

increased agency and stakeholder coordination, shared resources, and an enhanced visitor experience would be considered a beneficial impact. However, designation, use and management that impedes agency coordination and cooperation, limits the interpretive potential and audience, and limits shared resources would be an adverse impact.

Methodology

A positive effect may be measured if visitation increases within acceptable limits and the diversity of the audience is enhanced. Also, if the visitor experience, through enhanced educational opportunities and outreach, is improved by coordination between agencies and resource managers, a positive effect can be measured. Negative impacts would be evaluated if the opportunities for visitor experiences and resource protection are degraded or limited.

Alternative A

Under this alternative, there would be no coordinated management entity or organized interpretation of the trail. Individual groups and resource managers would continue to operate and administer their programs and resources as they do today. No additional resources would be dedicated to interpreting or protecting the trail. Cultural and natural resources could be degraded if funding and enhanced programming are not prioritized and championed by a management entity.

Alternative B

With federal designation and administration by the NPS, management entities dedicated to the interpretation, protection, and management of the trail could benefit. Individual resources and the federal, state, and local governments would benefit by sharing responsibility for the trail. By providing coordinated administration, the NPS would provide oversight. One or more trail organizations would have the responsibility of maintaining, monitoring, and promoting the trail while providing some coordination among trail stakeholders,

resource managers, and interpretive staff. Such coordination between trail organizations and the NPS creates an opportunity for the greatest levels of funding for resource protection; promotion through a broad network of agencies and resource managers; and interpretation through a complementary system of associated trail sites and a comprehensive interpretive program.

Alternative C

State and local governments, could establish a partnership management model and management plan. Funding and primary support would be provided and leveraged by the state and local governments. The visitor experience would be affected by this alternative as the themes and resources would be much broader and more regional than with the National Historic Trail designation.

INDIAN TRUST RESOURCES

Secretarial Order 3175 requires that any anticipated impacts of Indian Trust resources from a proposed project or action by Department of the Interior agencies be explicitly addressed in environmental documents. The federal Indian Trust responsibility is a legally enforceable obligation on the part of the United States to protect tribal lands, assets, resources, and treaty rights, and it represents a duty to carry out the mandates of federal laws with respect to American Indians. Because this trail is proposed to be entirely on the waters of the Chesapeake Bay, it would not affect any Indian Trust resources. Therefore, the impact topic of Indian Trust resources was dismissed.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

All Actions Involving Federal Administration—Alternative B Only
Executive Order 12898 (*General Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations*) requires all federal agencies to incorporate

environmental justice into their missions. They are to identify and address the disproportionately high and/or adverse human health or environmental effects of their programs and policies on minorities and low-income populations and communities. Because the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT is proposed to be entirely on the waters of the Chesapeake Bay, it would not have any direct or indirect adverse effects on human health or the environment regarding any minority or low-income population or communities as defined in the Environmental Protection Agency's *Draft Environmental Justice Guidance* (July 1996).

Although the story that the proposed trail commemorates is primarily about white Europeans, one very core reality concerns the indigenous Native Americans present in 1607-1609. If the trail is designated as a national trail and comes under federal administration, this Executive Order must be considered during preparation of the trail management plan or other action plans to ensure compliance. The trail does not directly or indirectly affect vulnerable human communities.

UNAVOIDABLE ADVERSE ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS

Alternative A

Trail water quality and access points and associated cultural and natural resources would remain susceptible to natural deterioration, inadvertent human damage, and vandalism. It is likely that some important resources would be lost during natural processes or through development. Increasing piecemeal development in proximity to the route could contribute to the loss of trail resources.

Alternatives B and C

With proper planning and management, few long-term adverse impacts to trail resources would be anticipated from any of the action alternatives. The physical activities with potential for adverse effect would be installing route markers and interpretive exhibits in areas

of public use; limited road construction and reconstruction for access areas; and facility development related to trail activities. These activities would have a long-term visual impact. With appropriate siting, these effects could be minimized, but not eliminated. Construction activity could result in short-term disturbance of wildlife near construction sites, but construction should be located so that there would be no permanent disturbance. Visitor use could result in temporary displacement of species when people are present. The extent of impacts to vegetation and wildlife would have to be determined on a site-specific basis and cannot be predicted at this time. However, none are foreseen.

SHORT-TERM USES AND LONG-TERM PRODUCTIVITY

NPS is required to describe actions in terms of the NEPA objective to maintain and enhance the long-term productivity of the environment. The feasibility study alternatives include elements that would either diminish or enhance the long-term productivity of the environment.

Alternative A

Negligent or insensitive uses or activities along the trail could damage or destroy trail segments and associated resources and negatively affect the long-term ability to interpret and protect the trail.

Alternatives B and C

In the long-term, trail segments and associated cultural and natural resources would be protected. Any short-term use would contribute to this long-term effect. Recognition and interpretation of the trail would have a negligible effect on the long-term productivity of adjacent land. Short-term actions and uses that enhance the national recognition and understanding of the trail and associated resources will create greater opportunities for the protection of resources of the Chesapeake Bay, tributaries and other resources surrounding the trail.

IRREVERSIBLE AND IRRETRIEVABLE COMMITMENT OF RESOURCES

An irreversible commitment of resources is one that cannot be changed once it occurs. An irretrievable commitment of resources means that the resources cannot be recovered or reused.

Alternative A

There would be no commitment of resources under the no action alternative.

Alternatives B and C

The use of non-renewable energy resources, such as fuel to power construction equipment to build new facilities, would be an irreversible commitment of resources under any alternative. Although energy supplies are expected to be sufficient, once committed these resources are irretrievable. Under any of these action alternatives, limited amounts of non-renewable resources would be used for construction project--trail access points, parking and pull-off sites, visitor facilities, and rest-rooms; development and placement of wayside exhibits, directional signs, and other interpretive materials. These non-renewable resources would include fossil fuel energy and materials. Disturbance and/or destruction of non-renewable resources such as archeological resources is also potentially part of all action alternatives. Even with mitigating measures, it is possible that some of archeological information could occur at trail access points. Some erosion could occur along the trail path because of access development and use, which could result in irreversible loss of portions of these resources.

The funding, renewable resources, and staff time used to construct, operate, and maintain the trail and visitor facilities would be lost for other activities. This would constitute an irretrievable commitment of resources.

Although proposed developments could be removed, these areas could not be restored to pre-development conditions.

Creation and expansion of interpretive programming for the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail would also constitute an irreversible and irretrievable commitment of resources because of the use of funding, park staff, and renewable and limited non-renewable energy sources and materials. Once interpretive programs and partnerships are in place, it would be difficult to withdraw resources and support from them.

If memoranda of understanding, easements, or transfer of development rights are not implemented, adjacent lands owned by private property owners could be developed and would constitute an irretrievable loss of the acreage and cultural resources. The NPS (as trailwide administrator), trail management entities, and local jurisdictions would cooperate with adjacent landowners and the local jurisdictions to protect the trail setting and cultural resources from possible incompatible development and encroachment. This would constitute an irretrievable commitment of resources because of the level of long-term support and commitment of park staff and resources that would be required to address adjacent lands issues.

Impairment

The study team finds that there would be no substantial impairment to park and/or refuge resources caused by the proposed creation of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION



Photo courtesy of Bridget Shea/Chesapeake Region Accessible Boating

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the public involvement, agency coordination and required consultation procedures in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).

NEPA is the national charter for environmental protection. Title I of the law requires that federal agencies plan and carry out their activities "so as to protect and enhance the quality of the environment. Such activities shall include those directed to controlling pollution and enhancing the environment."

The requirements of the act are fulfilled when extensive public involvement in the planning and development of any proposed federal actions and consideration of potential impacts to the cultural, natural and socioeconomic

environment have taken place. This is accomplished through the environmental assessment (EA). This EA is essentially a programmatic statement, presenting an overview of potential impacts relating to the proposed program for each alternative. More detailed plans will be developed for individual actions prior to implementation. The requirements for this National Historic Trail Study will be completed when the Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) is signed by the Regional Director, Northeast Region, NPS.

PROJECT SCOPING AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Public and stakeholder involvement for this trail study has been coordinated by the NPS's Northeast Regional Office, with assistance

from the Chesapeake Bay Program Office and Washington Office. A study team was formed and includes representatives of the NPS's Northeast and National Capital regional offices, Chesapeake Bay Program Office, Washington Office, Fort McHenry NMHS, Colonial NHP, and Jamestown NHS and representatives of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. To solicit public input, the study team maintained a website, issued two newsletters, and met with the Chesapeake Bay Gateways Working Group on three occasions. As of May 31, 2006, prior to public release of the draft study report, over 250 letters had been received from individuals, local governments, and non-profit organizations supporting the concept of designation of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT.

Since the beginning of the study process in November 2005, this project has engaged the public, interested individuals, and organizations. The study team conducted work sessions with project partners and stakeholders, and hosted one roundtable of interdisciplinary experts in an effort to better understand what is historically significant about the proposed trail. The study team also has contacted federal and state agencies.

INTERAGENCY CONSULTATION

All relevant local, state and federal agencies, tribal organizations, and regional institutions, including the Chesapeake Bay Foundation, the Chesapeake Bay Commission, and the Chesapeake Bay Program have been notified of the study process; invited to comment on material; and asked to provide input and information to inform the Environmental Assessment.

Consultation with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Maryland Historical Trust, and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (16 USC 470, et seq.), requires that federal agencies that have direct or indirect jurisdiction take into account the effect of undertakings on National Register properties and allow the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) and the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) an opportunity to comment. Toward that end, the NPS will work with the Maryland Historical Trust and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the Advisory Council to meet the requirements of 36 CFR 800 and the September 1995 programmatic agreement among the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the NPS. This agreement requires the NPS to work closely with the SHPO and the ACHP in planning and design for new and existing NPS areas.

To ensure that any trail proposals that might affect properties listed or eligible for the National Register comply with provisions of Section 106, the ACHP and the SHPO (Maryland Historical Trust and Virginia Department of Historic Resources) were invited to participate in the planning process. Representatives of the SHPO and ACHP have had an opportunity to provide input and will review and comment on the Draft EA.

The September 1995 programmatic agreement also provides for a number of programmatic exclusions for specific actions that are not likely to have an adverse effect on cultural resources. These actions may be implemented without further review by the SHPO or the ACHP provided that NPS internal review finds the actions meet certain conditions and this review is documented with an assessment of effect. Undertakings, as defined in 36 CFR 800, not specifically excluded in the programmatic agreement must be reviewed by the SHPO and the ACHP during the planning and design stages and before implementation. Throughout the process there will be early

consultation on all potential actions.

Prior to any ground-disturbing action by the NPS, a professional archeologist will determine the need for further archeological inventory or testing evaluation. Any such studies will be carried out in conjunction with construction and will meet the needs of the SHPO as well as the NPS. Any large-scale archeological investigations will be undertaken in consultation with the SHPO. Responsibility for protecting archeological resources is included under several laws mentioned earlier as well as the Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979.

Consultation with American Indian Tribes

Potentially relevant to the development and management of the proposed trail are the various laws and regulations that deal with American Indian relationships and discovery of human remains. United Indians of Virginia, Maryland Indian Affairs Commission, and the Virginia Indian Council were contacted by letter to involve them in the planning process, and were asked to participate on the peer review committee, to gain an understanding of tribal concerns, and to determine whether or not there might be ethnographically sensitive areas within the study area. The NPS American Indian Liaison Office was also contacted. The 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act and the Archeological Protection Act provide means whereby information about the character, location, or ownership of archeological sites, historic properties, and ethnographic sites, including traditional and cultural sites, might be withheld from public disclosure. This provision is especially important for archeological sites, where disclosure could risk harm to potential and actual resources. Throughout the planning process, and as additional archeological discoveries are made, protective measures will be taken to protect archeological resources.

The NPS will continue to consult with American Indian tribes on a government-to-government basis. This special legal relationship is outlined in the secretary's April 29, 1994, memorandum for the heads of executive departments and agencies. In keeping with this mandate and provisions of NEPA, the NPS will consult with American Indian groups on planning and management activities that affect their historical connection with the proposed Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT. The NPS will develop and accomplish its programs in a way that reflects the respect for the beliefs, traditions, and other cultural values of the American Indian tribes with ancestral ties to the area.

Consultation with U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service

Section 7 of the Endangered Species Act of 1973, as amended (16 USC 1531 et seq.), requires all federal agencies to consult with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to ensure that any action authorized, funded, or carried out by the agency does not jeopardize the continued existence of listed species or critical habitat.

Informal and formal consultations did not indicate that any rare, threatened, or endangered species will be affected by the proposed trail. The NPS will continue to consult with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service regarding habitat requirements and management strategies for rare, threatened and endangered species before the implementation, design and construction phases of any proposed actions. The NPS will develop and implement measures in consultation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to ensure that protected federal listed species and their habitats will not be affected.

Consultation with Delaware Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Controls, Maryland Department of Natural Resources, Maryland Department of Agriculture, Maryland Department of Environment, Virginia Department of Game and

Inland Fisheries, Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services, and Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Virginia Marine Resources, Department of Environmental Quality

NPS Management Policies require cooperation with appropriate state conservation agencies to protect state-listed and candidate species of concern in the parks. The Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries (VADGIF), Maryland Department of Natural Resources (MDNR), and the Delaware Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Control (DNREC) are consulting agencies under the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act (48 Stat. 401, as amended; 16 U.S.C. 661 et seq.), providing environmental analysis of projects or permit applications coordinated with the appropriate state and federal agencies.

The NPS consulted with the state natural resources agencies to ascertain the presence of any state-listed or candidate rare, threatened or endangered species that could be affected by this project.

The Maryland Department of Agriculture and the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services were consulted for additional information on the potential or confirmed presence of federally or state-listed rare, threatened and endangered species or candidate species of concern in or near the study area.

MDNR, DNREC, and the Natural Heritage Division of the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (VA DCR) were contacted for information on the management of potential habitat for rare species. The NPS will continue to consult with MDNR, DNREC, the VADGIF, the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services, and the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Natural Heritage Division, regarding habitat require-



Courtesy of Colonial National Historical Park

ments and management strategies for state-listed rare, threatened or endangered species or state species of concern before the design and construction phase of any proposed actions. The NPS will develop and implement measures in consultation with appropriate state agencies to ensure that protected state-listed species and their habitats will not be affected.

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Act are included as Federal protection components of a national historic trail. The appropriate Secretary may certify other lands as protected segments of an historic trail upon application from State or local governmental agencies or private interests involved if such segments meet the national historic trail criteria established in this Act and such criteria supplementary thereto as the appropriate Secretary may prescribe, and are administered by such agencies or interests without expense to the United States.

(4) Connecting or side trails, established as provided in section 6 of this Act, which will provide additional points of public access to national recreation, national scenic or national historic trails or which will provide connections between such trails.

The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker for the national trails system.

(b) For purposes of this section, the term "extended trails" means trails or trail segments which total at least one hundred miles in length, except that historic trails of less than one hundred miles may be designated as extended trails. While it is desirable that extended trails be continuous, studies of such trails may conclude that it is feasible to propose one or more trail segments which, in the aggregate, constitute at least one hundred miles in length.

NATIONAL RECREATION TRAILS SEC. 4. [16USC1243] [section not shown]

NATIONAL SCENIC AND NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAILS SEC. 5. [16USC1244] (a) National scenic and national historic trails shall be authorized and designated only by Act of Congress. There are hereby established the following National Scenic and National Historic Trails:

(1) The Appalachian National Scenic Trail, a

trail of approximately two thousand miles extending generally along the Appalachian Mountains from Mount Katahdin, Maine, to Springer Mountain, Georgia. Insofar as practicable, the right-of-way for such trail shall comprise the trail depicted on the maps identified as "Nationwide System of Trails, Proposed Appalachian Trail, NST-AT-101-May 1967", which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service. Where practicable, such rights-of-way shall include lands protected for it under agreements in effect as of the date of enactment of this Act, to which Federal agencies and States were parties. The Appalachian Trail shall be administered primarily as a foot-path by the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture.

(2)-(22) [not shown]

(23) Old Spanish National Historic Trail

(A) IN GENERAL—The Old Spanish National Historic Trail, an approximately 2,700 mile long trail extending from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, that served as a major trade route between 1829 and 1848, as generally depicted on the maps numbered 1 through 9, as contained in the report entitled 'Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study,' dated July 2001, including the Armijo Route, Northern Route, North Branch, and Mojave Road.

(B) MAP—A map generally depicting the trail shall be on file and available for public inspection in the appropriate offices of the Department of the Interior.

(C) ADMINISTRATION—The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior (referred to in this paragraph as the 'Secretary').

(D) LAND ACQUISITION—The United States shall not acquire for the trail any land or interest in land outside the exterior boundary of any federally-managed area without the

consent of the owner of the land or interest in land.

(E) CONSULTATION—The Secretary shall consult with other Federal, State, local, and tribal agencies in the administration of the trail.

(F) ADDITIONAL ROUTES—The Secretary may designate additional routes to the trail if—

(i) the additional routes were included in the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, but were not recommended for designation as a national historic trail; and

(ii) the Secretary determines that the additional routes were used for trade and commerce between 1829 and 1848.

(24) El Camino Real De Los Tejas National Historic Trail

(A) IN GENERAL—El Camino Real de los Tejas (the Royal Road to the Tejas) National Historic Trail, a combination of historic routes (including the Old San Antonio Road) totaling approximately 2,580 miles, extending from the Rio Grande near Eagle Pass and Laredo, Texas, to Natchitoches, Louisiana, as generally depicted on the map entitled 'El Camino Real de los Tejas' contained in the report entitled 'National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment: El Camino Real de los Tejas, Texas-Louisiana', dated July 1998.

(B) MAP—A map generally depicting the trail shall be on file and available for public inspection in the appropriate offices of the National Park Service.

(C) ADMINISTRATION

(i) The Secretary of the Interior (referred to in this paragraph as 'the Secretary') shall administer the trail.

(ii) The Secretary shall administer those portions of the trail on non-Federal land only with the consent of the owner of such land and when such trail portion qualifies for certification as an officially established component of the trail, consistent with section

3(a)(3). An owner's approval of a certification agreement shall satisfy the consent requirement. A certification agreement may be terminated at any time.

(iii) The designation of the trail does not authorize any person to enter private property without the consent of the owner.

(D) CONSULTATION—The Secretary shall consult with appropriate State and local agencies in the planning and development of the trail.

(E) COORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES—The Secretary may coordinate with United States and Mexican public and nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions, and, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the Government of Mexico and its political subdivisions, for the purpose of exchanging trail information and research, fostering trail preservation and educational programs, providing technical assistance, and working to establish an international historic trail with complementary preservation and education programs in each nation.

(F) LAND ACQUISITION—The United States shall not acquire for the trail any land or interest in land outside the exterior boundary of any federally-administered area without the consent of the owner of the land or interest in land.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior, through the agency most likely to administer such trail, and the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, shall make such additional studies as are herein or may hereafter be authorized by the Congress for the purpose of determining the feasibility and desirability of designating other trails as national scenic or national historic trails. Such studies shall be made in consultation with the heads of other Federal agencies administering lands through which such additional proposed trails would pass and in cooperation with interested interstate, State, and local

governmental agencies, public and private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned. The feasibility of designating a trail shall be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether or not it is physically possible to develop a trail along a route being studied, and whether the development of a trail would be financially feasible. The studies listed in subsection (c) of this section shall be completed and submitted to the Congress, with recommendations as to the suitability of trail designation, not later than three complete fiscal years from the date of enactment of their addition to this subsection, or from the date of enactment of this sentence, whichever is later. Such studies, when submitted, shall be printed as a House or Senate document, and shall include, but not be limited to:

- (1) the proposed route of such trail (including maps and illustrations);
- (2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be utilized for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or developmental purposes;
- (3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or national historic trail; and in the case of national historic trails the report shall include the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461);
- (4) the current status of land ownership and current and potential use along the designated route;
- (5) the estimated cost of acquisition of lands or interest in lands, if any;
- (6) the plans for developing and maintaining the trail and the cost thereof;
- (7) the proposed Federal administering agency (which, in the case of a national scenic trail

wholly or substantially within a national forest, shall be the Department of Agriculture);

(8) the extent to which a State or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary lands and in the administration thereof;

(9) the relative uses of the lands involved, including: the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such trail; the number of months which such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision, and regulation of such trail;

(10) the anticipated impact of public outdoor recreation use on the preservation of a proposed national historic trail and its related historic and archeological features and settings, including the measures proposed to ensure evaluation and preservation of the values that contribute to their national historic significance; and

(11) To qualify for designation as a national historic trail, a trail must meet all three of the following criteria:

(A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variations offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer

possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.

(B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.

(C) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

(c) The following routes shall be studied in accordance with the objectives outlined in subsection (b) of this section.

(1) Continental Divide Trail, a three-thousand-one-hundred-mile trail extending from near the Mexican border in southwestern New Mexico northward generally along the Continental Divide to the Canadian border in Glacier National Park.

(2) Potomac Heritage Trail, an eight-hundred-and-twenty-five-mile trail extending generally from the mouth of the Potomac River to its sources in Pennsylvania and West Virginia including the one-hundred- and- seventy-mile Chesapeake and Ohio Canal towpath.

(3)—(40) [not shown]

(41) The Long Walk, a series of routes which the Navajo and Mescalero Apache Indian tribes were forced to walk beginning in the fall of 1863 as a result of their removal by the United

States Government from their ancestral lands, generally located within a corridor extending through portions of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, and Albuquerque, Canyon Blanco, Anton Chico, Canyon Piedra Pintado, and Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

(42) Metacomet-Monadnock-Mattabesett Trail – The Metacomet-Monadnock-Mattabesett Trail, a system of trails and potential trails extending southward approximately 180 miles through Massachusetts on the Metacomet-Monadnock Trail, across central Connecticut on the Metacomet Trail, and ending at Long Island Sound.

(43) (A) The Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Watertrail, a series of routes extending approximately 3,000 miles along the Chesapeake Bay and the tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay in the States of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware and the District of Columbia that traces Captain John Smith's voyages charting the land and waterways of the Chesapeake Bay and the tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay.

(B) The study shall be conducted in consultation with Federal, State, regional, and local agencies and representatives of the private sector, including the entities responsible for administering—(i) the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network authorized under the Chesapeake Bay Initiative Act of 1998 (16 U.S.C. 461 note; title V of Public Law 105-312); and (ii) the Chesapeake Bay Program authorized under section 117 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 1267).

(C) The study shall include an extensive analysis of the potential impacts the designation of the trail as a national historic watertrail is likely to have on land and water, including docks and piers, along the proposed route or bordering the study route that is privately owned at the time the study is conducted.

(d) The Secretary charged with the administration of each respective trail shall, within one

year of the date of the addition of any national scenic or national historic trail to the system, and within sixty days of the enactment of this sentence for the Appalachian and Pacific Crest National Scenic Trails, establish an advisory council for each such trail, each of which councils shall expire ten years from the date of its establishment, except that the Advisory Council established for the Iditarod Historic Trail shall expire twenty years from the date of its establishment. If the appropriate Secretary is unable to establish such an advisory council because of the lack of adequate public interest, the Secretary shall so advise the appropriate committees of the Congress. The appropriate Secretary shall consult with such council from time to time with respect to matters relating to the trail, including the selection of rights-of-way, standards for the erection and maintenance of markers along the trail, and the administration of the trail. The members of each advisory council, which shall not exceed thirty-five in number, shall serve for a term of two years and without compensation as such, but the Secretary may pay, upon vouchers signed by the chairman of the council, the expenses reasonably incurred by the council and its members in carrying out their responsibilities under this section. Members of each council shall be appointed by the appropriate Secretary as follows:

- (1) the head of each Federal department or independent agency administering lands through which the trail route passes, or his designee;
- (2) a member appointed to represent each State through which the trail passes, and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the Governors of such States;
- (3) one or more members appointed to represent private organizations, including corporate and individual landowners and land users, which in the opinion of the Secretary, have an established and recognized interest in the trail, and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the heads of such organiza-

tions: Provided, That the Appalachian Trail Conference shall be represented by a sufficient number of persons to represent the various sections of the country through which the Appalachian Trail passes; and

(4) the Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman and shall fill vacancies in the same manner as the original appointment.

(e) [subsection not shown]

(f) Within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of legislation designating a national historic trail or the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail or the North Country National Scenic Trail as part of the system, the responsible Secretary shall, after full consultation with affected Federal land managing agencies, the Governors of the affected States, and the relevant Advisory Council established pursuant to section 5(d) of this Act, submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate, a comprehensive plan for the management, and use of the trail, including but not limited to, the following items:

- (1) specific objectives and practices to be observed in the management of the trail, including the identification of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved, details of any anticipated cooperative agreements to be consummated with State and local government agencies or private interests, and for national scenic or national historic trails an identified carrying capacity of the trail and a plan for its implementation;
- (2) the process to be followed by the appropriate Secretary to implement the marking requirements established in section 7(c) of this Act;
- (3) a protection plan for any high potential historic sites or high potential route segments;

and

(4) general and site-specific development plans, including anticipated costs.

CONNECTING AND SIDE TRAILS

SEC. 6. [16USC1245] Connecting or side trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or Secretary of Agriculture may be established, designated, and marked by the appropriate Secretary as components of a national recreation, national scenic or national historic trail. When no Federal land acquisition is involved, connecting or side trails may be located across lands administered by interstate, State, or local governmental agencies with their consent, or, where the appropriate Secretary deems necessary or desirable, on privately owned lands with the consent of the landowners. Applications for approval and designation of connecting and side trails on non-Federal lands shall be submitted to the appropriate Secretary.

ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

SEC. 7. [16USC1246] (a) (1) (A) The Secretary charged with the overall administration of a trail pursuant to section 5(a) shall, in administering and managing the trail, consult with the heads of all other affected State and Federal agencies. Nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed to transfer among Federal agencies any management responsibilities established under any other law for federally administered lands which are components of the National Trails System. Any transfer of management responsibilities may be carried out between the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture only as provided under subparagraph (B).

(B) The Secretary charged with the overall administration of any trail pursuant to section 5(a) may transfer management of any specified

trail segment of such trail to the other appropriate Secretary pursuant to a joint memorandum of agreement containing such terms and conditions as the Secretaries consider most appropriate to accomplish the purposes of this Act. During any period in which management responsibilities for any trail segment are transferred under such an agreement, the management of any such segment shall be subject to the laws, rules, and regulations of the Secretary provided with the management authority under the agreement except to such extent as the agreement may otherwise expressly provide.

(2) Pursuant to section 5(a), the appropriate Secretary shall select the rights-of-way for national scenic and national historic trails and shall publish notice thereof of the availability of appropriate maps or descriptions in the Federal Register; Provided, That in selecting the rights-of-way full consideration shall be given to minimizing the adverse effects upon the adjacent landowner or user and his operation. Development and management of each segment of the National Trails System shall be designed to harmonize with and complement any established multiple-use plans for the specific area in order to insure continued maximum benefits from the land. The location and width of such rights-of-way across Federal lands under the jurisdiction of another Federal agency shall be by agreement between the head of that agency and the appropriate Secretary. In selecting rights-of-way for trail purposes, the Secretary shall obtain the advice and assistance of the States, local governments, private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned.

(b) After publication of notice of the availability of appropriate maps or descriptions in the Federal Register, the Secretary charged with the administration of a national scenic or national historic trail may relocate segments of a national scenic or national historic trail right-of-way with the concurrence of the head of the Federal agency having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon a determination that:

(I) Such a relocation is necessary to preserve the purposes for which the trail was established, or (ii) the relocation is necessary to promote a sound land management program in accordance with established multiple-use principles: Provided, That a substantial relocation of the rights-of-way for such trail shall be by Act of Congress.

(c) National scenic or national historic trails may contain campsites, shelters, and related-public-use facilities. Other uses along the trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, may be permitted by the Secretary charged with the administration of the trail. Reasonable efforts shall be made to provide sufficient access opportunities to such trails and, to the extent practicable, efforts be made to avoid activities incompatible with the purposes for which such trails were established. The use of motorized vehicles by the general public along any national scenic trail shall be prohibited and nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the use of motorized vehicles within the natural and historical areas of the national park system, the national wildlife refuge system, the national wilderness preservation system where they are presently prohibited or on other Federal lands where trails are designated as being closed to such use by the appropriate Secretary: Provided, That the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall establish regulations which shall authorize the use of motorized vehicles when, in his judgment, such vehicles are necessary to meet emergencies or to enable adjacent landowners or land users to have reasonable access to their lands or timber rights: Provided further, That private lands included in the national recreation, national scenic, or national historic trails by cooperative agreement of a landowner shall not preclude such owner from using motorized vehicles on or across such trails or adjacent lands from time to time in accordance with regulations to be established by the appropriate Secretary. Where a national historic trail follows existing public roads, developed rights-of-

way or waterways, and similar features of man's nonhistorically related development, approximating the original location of a historic route, such segments may be marked to facilitate retracement of the historic route, and where a national historic trail parallels an existing public road, such road may be marked to commemorate the historic route. Other uses along the historic trails and the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, and which, at the time of designation, are allowed by administrative regulations, including the use of motorized vehicles, shall be permitted by the Secretary charged with administration of the trail. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker, including thereon an appropriate and distinctive symbol for each national recreation, national scenic, and national historic trail. Where the trails cross lands administered by Federal agencies such markers shall be erected at appropriate points along the trails and maintained by the Federal agency administering the trail in accordance with standards established by the appropriate Secretary and where the trails cross non-Federal lands, in accordance with written cooperative agreements, the appropriate Secretary shall provide such uniform markers to cooperating agencies and shall require such agencies to erect and maintain them in accordance with the standards established. The appropriate Secretary may also provide for trail interpretation sites, which shall be located at historic sites along the route of any national scenic or national historic trail, in order to present information to the public about the trail, at the lowest possible cost, with emphasis on the portion of the trail passing through the State in which the site is located. Wherever possible, the sites shall be maintained by a State agency under a cooperative agreement between the appropriate Secretary and the State agency.

(d) Within the exterior boundaries of areas under their administration that are included in the right-of-way selected for a national recreation, national scenic, or national historic trail, the heads of Federal agencies may use lands for trail purposes and may acquire lands or interests in lands by written cooperative agreement, donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange.

(e) Where the lands included in a national scenic or national historic trail right-of-way are outside of the exterior boundaries of federally administered areas, the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall encourage the States or local governments involved (1) to enter into written cooperative agreements with landowners, private organizations, and individuals to provide the necessary trail right-of-way, or (2) to acquire such lands or interests therein to be utilized as segments of the national scenic or national historic trail: Provided, That if the State or local governments fail to enter into such written cooperative agreements or to acquire such lands or interests therein after notice of the selection of the right-of-way is published, the appropriate Secretary, may (i) enter into such agreements with landowners, States, local governments, private organizations, and individuals for the use of lands for trail purposes, or (ii) acquire private lands or interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange in accordance with the provisions of subsection (f) of this section: Provided further, That the appropriate Secretary may acquire lands or interests therein from local governments or governmental corporations with the consent of such entities. The lands involved in such rights-of-way should be acquired in fee, if other methods of public control are not sufficient to assure their use for the purpose for which they are acquired: Provided, That if the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail permanently relocates the right-of-way and disposes of all title or interest in the land, the original owner, or his heirs or assigns, shall be offered, by notice given at the former

owner's last known address, the right of first refusal at the fair market price.

(f) (1) The Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may accept title to any non-Federal property within the right-of-way and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which is located in the State wherein such property is located and which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require. The Secretary of Agriculture, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may utilize authorities and procedures available to him in connection with exchanges of national forest lands.

(2) In acquiring lands or interests therein for a National Scenic or Historic Trail, the appropriate Secretary may, with consent of a landowner, acquire whole tracts notwithstanding that parts of such tracts may lie outside the area of trail acquisition. In furtherance of the purposes of this act, lands so acquired outside the area of trail acquisition may be exchanged for any non-Federal lands or interests therein within the trail right-of-way, or disposed of in accordance with such procedures or regulations as the appropriate Secretary shall prescribe, including: (i) provisions for conveyance of such acquired lands or interests therein at not less than fair market value to the highest bidder, and (ii) provisions for allowing the last owners of record a right to purchase said acquired lands or interests therein upon payment or agreement to pay an amount equal to the highest bid price. For lands designated for exchange or disposal, the appropriate Secretary may convey these lands with any reservations or covenants deemed desirable to further the purposes of this Act. The proceeds from any disposal shall be credited to the appropriation bearing the costs of land acquisition for the affected trail.

(g) The appropriate Secretary may utilize condemnation proceedings without the consent of the owner to acquire private lands or interests, therein pursuant to this section only in cases where, in his judgment, all reasonable efforts to acquire such lands or interest therein by negotiation have failed, and in such cases he shall acquire only such title as, in his judgment, is reasonably necessary to provide passage across such lands: Provided, That condemnation proceedings may not be utilized to acquire fee title or lesser interests to more than an average of one hundred and twenty-five acres per mile. Money appropriated for Federal purposes from the land and water conservation fund shall, without prejudice to appropriations from other sources, be available to Federal departments for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands for the purposes of this Act. For national historic trails, direct Federal acquisition for trail purposes shall be limited to those areas indicated by the study report or by the comprehensive plan as high potential route segments or high potential historic sites. Except for designated protected components of the trail, no land or site located along a designated national historic trail or along the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail shall be subject to the provisions of section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act (49 U.S.C. 1653(f)) unless such land or site is deemed to be of historical significance under appropriate historical site criteria such as those for the National Register of Historic Places.

(h) (1) The Secretary charged with the administration of a national recreation, national scenic, or national historic trail shall provide for the development and maintenance of such trails within federally administered areas, and shall cooperate with and encourage the States to operate, develop, and maintain portions of such trails which are located outside the boundaries of federally administered areas. When deemed to be in the public interest, such Secretary may enter written cooperative agreements with the States or their political

subdivisions, landowners, private organizations, or individuals to operate, develop, and maintain any portion of such a trail either within or outside a federally administered area. Such agreements may include provisions for limited financial assistance to encourage participation in the acquisition, protection, operation, development, or maintenance of such trails, provisions providing volunteer in the park or volunteer in the forest status (in accordance with the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969 and the Volunteers in the Forests Act of 1972) to individuals, private organizations, or landowners participating in such activities, or provisions of both types. The appropriate Secretary shall also initiate consultations with affected States and their political subdivisions to encourage—

(A) the development and implementation by such entities of appropriate measures to protect private landowners from trespass resulting from trail use and from unreasonable personal liability and property damage caused by trail use, and

(B) the development and implementation by such entities of provisions for land practices compatible with the purposes of this Act, for property within or adjacent to trail rights-of-way. After consulting with States and their political subdivisions under the preceding sentence, the Secretary may provide assistance to such entities under appropriate cooperative agreements in the manner provided by this subsection.

(2) Whenever the Secretary of the Interior makes any conveyance of land under any of the public land laws, he may reserve a right-of-way for trails to the extent he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(i) The appropriate Secretary, with the concurrence of the heads of any other Federal agencies administering lands through which a national recreation, national scenic, or national historic trail passes, and after consultation with the States, local governments, and organiza-

tions concerned, may issue regulations, which may be revised from time to time, governing the use, protection, management, development, and administration of trails of the national trails system. In order to maintain good conduct on and along the trails located within federally administered areas and to provide for the proper government and protection of such trails, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe and publish such uniform regulations as they deem necessary and any person who violates such regulations shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be punished by a fine of not more \$500 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment. The Secretary responsible for the administration of any segment of any component of the National Trails System (as determined in a manner consistent with subsection (a)(1) of this section) may also utilize authorities related to units of the national park system or the national forest system, as the case may be, in carrying out his administrative responsibilities for such component.

(j) Potential trail uses allowed on designated components of the national trails system may include, but are not limited to, the following: bicycling, cross-country skiing, day hiking, equestrian activities, jogging or similar fitness activities, trail biking, overnight and long-distance backpacking, snowmobiling, and surface water and underwater activities. Vehicles which may be permitted on certain trails may include, but need not be limited to, motorcycles, bicycles, four-wheel drive or all-terrain off-road vehicles. In addition, trail access for handicapped individuals may be provided. The provisions of this subsection shall not supersede any other provisions of this Act or other Federal laws, or any State or local laws.

(k) For the conservation purpose of preserving or enhancing the recreational, scenic, natural, or historical values of components of the national trails system, and environs thereof as

determined by the appropriate Secretary, landowners are authorized to donate or otherwise convey qualified real property interests to qualified organizations consistent with section 170(h)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, including, but not limited to, right-of-way, open space, scenic, or conservation easements, without regard to any limitation on the nature of the estate or interest otherwise transferable within the jurisdiction where the land is located. The conveyance of any such interest in land in accordance with this subsection shall be deemed to further a Federal conservation policy and yield a significant public benefit for purposes of section 6 of Public Law 96-541.

STATE AND METROPOLITAN AREA TRAILS

SEC. 8. [16USC1247] [section not shown]

RIGHTS-OF-WAY AND OTHER PROPERTIES

SEC. 9. [16USC1248] (a) The Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture as the case may be, may grant easements and rights-of-way upon, over, under, across, or along any component of the national trails system in accordance with the laws applicable to the national park system and the national forest system, respectively: Provided, That any conditions contained in such easements and rights-of-way shall be related to the policy and purposes of this Act.

(b) The Department of Defense, the Department of Transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and other Federal agencies having jurisdiction or control over or information concerning the use, abandonment, or disposition of roadways, utility rights-of-way, or other properties which may be suitable for the purpose of improving or expanding the national trails system shall cooperate with the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture in order to assure, to the extent

practicable, that any such properties having values suitable for trail purposes may be made available for such use.

(c) Commencing upon the date of enactment of this subsection, any and all right, title, interest, and estate of the United States in all rights-of-way of the type described in the Act of March 8, 1922 (43 U.S.C. 912), shall remain in the United States upon the abandonment or forfeiture of such rights-of-way, or portions thereof, except to the extent that any such right-of-way, or portion thereof, is embraced within a public highway no later than one year after a determination of abandonment or forfeiture, as provided under such Act.

(d) (1) All rights-of-way, or portions thereof, retained by the United States pursuant to subsection (c) which are located within the boundaries of a conservation system unit or a National Forest shall be added to and incorporated within such unit or National Forest and managed in accordance with applicable provisions of law, including this Act.

(2) All such retained rights-of-way, or portions thereof, which are located outside the boundaries of a conservation system unit or a National Forest but adjacent to or contiguous with any portion of the public lands shall be managed pursuant to the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 and other applicable law, including this section.

(3) All such retained rights-of-way, or portions thereof, which are located outside the boundaries of a conservation system unit or National Forest which the Secretary of the Interior determines suitable for use as a public recreational trail or other recreational purposes shall be managed by the Secretary for such uses, as well as for such other uses as the Secretary determines to be appropriate pursuant to applicable laws, as long as such uses do not preclude trail use.

(e) (1) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized where appropriate to release and quitclaim to a unit of government or to another entity

meeting the requirements of this subsection any and all right, title, and interest in the surface estate of any portion of any right-of-way to the extent any such right, title, and interest was retained by the United States pursuant to subsection (c), if such portion is not located within the boundaries of any conservation system unit or National Forest. Such release and quitclaim shall be made only in response to an application therefor by a unit of State or local government or another entity which the Secretary of the Interior determines to be legally and financially qualified to manage the relevant portion for public recreational purposes. Upon receipt of such an application, the Secretary shall publish a notice concerning such application in a newspaper of general circulation in the area where the relevant portion is located. Such release and quitclaim shall be on the following conditions:

(A) If such unit or entity attempts to sell, convey, or otherwise transfer such right, title, or interest or attempts to permit the use of any part of such portion for any purpose incompatible with its use for public recreation, then any and all right, title, and interest released and quitclaimed by the Secretary pursuant to this subsection shall revert to the United States.

(B) Such unit or entity shall assume full responsibility and hold the United States harmless for any legal liability which might arise with respect to the transfer, possession, use, release, or quitclaim of such right-of-way.

(C) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the United States shall be under no duty to inspect such portion prior to such release and quitclaim, and shall incur no legal liability with respect to any hazard or any unsafe condition existing on such portion at the time of such release and quitclaim.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to sell any portion of a right-of-way retained by the United States pursuant to subsection (c) located outside the boundaries of a conservation system unit or National Forest if any such portion is—

(A) not adjacent to or contiguous with any portion of the public lands; or

(B) determined by the Secretary, pursuant to the disposal criteria established by section 203 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, to be suitable for sale.

Prior to conducting any such sale, the Secretary shall take appropriate steps to afford a unit of State or local government or any other entity an opportunity to seek to obtain such portion pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(3) All proceeds from sales of such retained rights of way shall be deposited into the Treasury of the United States and credited to the Land and Water Conservation Fund as provided in section 2 of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965.

(4) The Secretary of the Interior shall annually report to the Congress the total proceeds from sales under paragraph (2) during the preceding fiscal year. Such report shall be included in the President's annual budget submitted to the Congress.

(f) As used in this section—(1) The term "conservation system unit" has the same meaning given such term in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (Public Law 96-487; 94 Stat. 2371 et seq.), except that such term shall also include units outside Alaska.

(2) The term "public lands" has the same meaning given such term in the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 10. [16USC1249] (a) - (c)
[not shown]

(2) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, there is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to implement the provisions of this Act relating to the trails designated by section 5(a). Not more than \$500,000 may be appropriated for the purposes of acquisition of land and interests therein for the trail designated by section 5(a)(12) of this Act, and not more than \$2,000,000 may be appropriated for the purposes of the development of such trail. The administering agency for the trail shall encourage volunteer trail groups to participate in the development of the trail.

VOLUNTEER TRAILS ASSISTANCE

SEC. 11. [16USC1250] (a) (1) In addition to the cooperative agreement and other authorities contained in this Act, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the head of any Federal agency administering Federal lands, are authorized to encourage volunteers and volunteer organizations to plan, develop, maintain, and manage, where appropriate, trails throughout the Nation.

(2) Wherever appropriate in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the Secretaries are authorized and encouraged to utilize the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969, the Volunteers in the Forests Act of 1972, and section 6 of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (relating to the development of Statewide Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plans).

(b) Each Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency, may assist volunteers and volunteers organizations in planning, developing, maintaining, and managing trails. Volunteer work may include, but need not be limited to—

(1) planning, developing, maintaining, or

managing (A) trails which are components of the national trails system, or (B) trails which, if so developed and maintained, could qualify for designation as components of the national trails system; or

(2) operating programs to organize and supervise volunteer trail building efforts with respect to the trails referred to in paragraph (1), conducting trail-related research projects, or providing education and training to volunteers on methods of trails planning, construction, and maintenance.

(c) The appropriate Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency may utilize and to make available Federal facilities, equipment, tools, and technical assistance to volunteers and volunteer organizations, subject to such limitations and restrictions as the appropriate Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency deems necessary or desirable.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 12. [16USC1251] As used in this Act:

(1) The term "high potential historic sites" means those historic sites related to the route, or sites in close proximity thereto, which provide opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its

major use. Criteria for consideration as high potential sites include historic significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion.

(2) The term "high potential route segments" means those segments of a trail which would afford high quality recreation experience in a portion of the route having greater than average scenic values or affording an opportunity to vicariously share the experience of the original users of a historic route.

(3) The term "State" means each of the several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and any other territory or possession of the United States.

(4) The term "without expense to the United States" means that no funds may be expended by Federal agencies for the development of trail related facilities or for the acquisition of lands or interest in lands outside the exterior boundaries of Federal areas. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, amounts made available to any State or political subdivision under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 or any other provision of law shall not be treated as an expense to the United States.

APPENDIX B:

PUBLIC LAW 106-135—STUDY LEGISLATION

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH CHESAPEAKE NATIONAL HISTORIC WATERTRAIL STUDY

Authorization and Purpose

Public Law 109-54, making appropriations for the Department of the Interior, environment, and related agencies has authorized a study to determine the feasibility and desirability of designating the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail as a National Historic Trail.

Background

Conference Report 109-188 (making appropriate amendments to the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Watertrail Study)

SEC. 133. Section 5(c) of the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1244(c)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(43)(A) The Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Watertrail, a series of routes extending approximately 3,000 miles along the

Chesapeake Bay and the tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay in the States of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware and the District of Columbia that traces Captain John Smith's voyages charting the land and waterways of the Chesapeake Bay and the tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay.

“(B) The study shall be conducted in consultation with Federal, State, regional, and local agencies and representatives of the private sector, including the entities responsible for administering—

“(i) the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network authorized under the Chesapeake Bay Initiative Act of 1998 (16 U.S.C. 461 note; title V of Public Law 105-312); and

“(ii) the Chesapeake Bay Program authorized under section 117 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 1267).

“(C) The study shall include an extensive analysis of the potential impacts the designation of the trail as a national historic watertrail is likely to have on land and water, including docks and piers, along the proposed route or bordering the study route that is privately owned at the time the study is conducted.

APPENDIX C:

TRAIL-RELATED SOURCES

In the table on the following pages, the blue-shaded rows list John Smith's 1608 voyage stops as they are described in the draft book "John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages 1607-1609", by Helen C. Rountree, Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford (draft February 1, 2005). The 1608 date is shown in the leftmost column and the place name in the second column.

- Note that according to the book, the meaning of the term "stop" varies considerably. At some stops, the boat landed and the crew disembarked to walk and explore the land, or to meet with native people living there, or to camp for the night. Some stops were merely an anchoring in a sheltered bay for one or more nights, without touching land. Some stops were not stops in the usual sense but merely a water-based exploration of a particular bay or creek before moving on.
- Note also that the naming of stops varies; some are modern-day place names; some are names of Smith's time, either names he assigned or tribal names. When known, 1608 names are italicized, unless the name has remained the same to the present time.
- Note also that information on Smith's Potomac River exploration is much sketchier and no dates are known.

Therefore the "stops" are labeled according to geography rather than the date, and the "Map ID Number" is merely a number preceded by the letter "P" for Potomac.

Under each stop name, the white rows (indented) list any nearby federal, state or local public lands (as well as a few privately owned sites that may be open to public use). This includes National Parks, National Wildlife Refuges, National Wildlife Management Areas, state and local parks, municipal boat ramps, etc. These are considered potential resources to support the proposed trail.

The columns to the right of each of these indicate whether the resource provides restrooms, parking, public access to the water, and whether the site offers potential to provide information about and interpretation of the proposed John Smith trail.

The federal and state lands are shown on the inset maps, Maps 3 through 7. The boat ramps are shown on Map 11.

The final four pages of the table provide a list of Chesapeake Bay Gateway sites in proximity to the proposed trail routes, Voyage 1 and Voyage 2, with information about facilities and interpretation potential. These sites are listed not shown relative to voyage stops, but this may be seen on Maps 3 through 7.

Map ID Number (Stop Date)	Stop Name (blue rows) and Nearby Public Lands / Potential Trail Resources (white rows)	Location (County)	Interpretation Potential	Public or Private Ownership	Public Boat Access	Restrooms	Parking	NPS site, NHL, Nat'l Reg., FWS	Overlaps Existing/Proposed Water Trails
JOHN SMITH VOYAGE I: JUNE 2 -- JULY 21, 1608									
6.2:1	Cape Henry (left supply ship for barge) First Landing State Park	Virginia Beach, VA	✓	public	✓				
6.3:1	Cape Charles								
6.3:2	Lower barrier islands Smith Island Mockhorn? WMA	Northampton, VA Northampton, VA		private public	trails				
6.3:3	Fisherman's Island Fisherman's Island? NWR	Northampton, VA		public				FWS	
6.3:4	Accomack	Northampton?, VA							
6.4:1	Cherrystone Inlet								
	Cape Charles Public Beach	Northampton, VA	✓	public	swim, bank fish				
6.4:2	"either Nassawaddox [modern name] or Occohannock Creek"	Northampton?, VA		private					
6.4:3	Chesconnessex Creek near Parkers March Natural Area	Accomack, VA	✓	public			✓		
6.5:1	Watts and Tangier Islands (<i>Russel's Isle</i>)			public / private	✓	✓	✓		SSBT
6.5:2	Beasley Bay Saxis WMA	Accomack, VA	✓	public	✓		✓		SSBT
6.5:3	First downriver town on the Pocomoke, <i>Wighcocomoco</i> Shelldown Boat Ramp Pitts Creek Landing	Somerset Accomack, VA	✓ ✓	public public	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		
6.5:4	Pocomoke City Laurel Street Boat Ramp	Worcester, MD	✓	public	✓		✓		

* Italics indicates place name as recorded by John Smith

Map ID Number (Stop Date)	Stop Name (blue rows) and Nearby Public Lands / Potential Trail Resources (white rows)	Location (County)	Interpretation Potential	Public or Private Ownership	Public Boat Access	Restrooms	Parking	NPS site, NHL, Nat'l Reg., FWS	Overlaps Existing/Proposed Water Trails
6.10:2	Up the Nanticoke, past the village <i>Nantaquack</i> , near modern Rabbit Town [this text & the next may be changed in Delaware revision]								
6.10:3	Chief's town of <i>Cuskarawaok</i> [Kuskarawaok on map] near present-day Federalsburg								
6.11:1	Nancy Point (<i>Momsfords Point</i>) on Lower Hooper Island (private island) (text goes on but doesn't mention landing)								
6.11:2	Between Fishing Creek and Randle Cliff near town of Chesapeake Beach, Calvert County -- look up								
6.12:1	Herring Bay	Anne Arundel	all private land						
6.12:2	the mouth of the South River								
	Mayo Beach Park					✓	✓		
	Thomas Point Park	Anne Arundel	✓	public		✓	✓		
6.12:3	the Magothy River at least to Sillery Bay		private land around bay						
6.12:4	the mouth of the Patapsco River at Old Road Bay								
	Fort Smallwood	Anne Arundel, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓	SSBT	
	Fort Howard	Baltimore County, MD	✓	public		✓	✓	SSBT	
6.13:1	the modern port town of Elkridge								
	Patapsco Valley State Park	Anne Arundel, MD	✓	public			✓		
6.13:2	the first falls of the Patapsco near where I-95 crosses it today, a place he named ' <i>Downs Dale</i> '	Anne Arundel, MD	✓	public			✓		
6.14:1	mouth of Patapsco, the tidal basin in what is now Baltimore								

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Map ID Number (Stop Date)	Stop Name (blue rows) and Nearby Public Lands / Potential Trail Resources (white rows)	Location (County)	Interpretation Potential	Public or Private Ownership	Public Boat Access	Restrooms	Parking	NPS site, NHL, Nat'l Reg., FWS	Overlaps Existing/Proposed Water Trails
6.10:2	Up the Nanticoke, past the village <i>Nantaquack</i> , near modern Rabbit Town [this text & the next may be changed in Delaware revision]								
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6.11:1	Nancy Point (<i>Momsfords Point</i>) on Lower Hooper Island (private island) (text goes on but doesn't mention landing)								
6.11:2	Between Fishing Creek and Randle Cliff								
	near town of Chesapeake Beach, Calvert County -- look up								
6.12:1	Herring Bay	Anne Arundel	all private land						
6.12:2	the mouth of the South River								
	Mayo Beach Park								
	Thomas Point Park	Anne Arundel	✓	public		✓	✓		
6.12:3	the Magothy River at least to Sillery Bay		private land around bay						
6.12:4	the mouth of the Patapsco River at Old Road Bay	Anne Arundel, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT
	Fort Smallwood	Baltimore County, MD	✓	public		✓	✓		SSBT
	Fort Howard								
6.13:1	the modern port town of Elkridge								
	Patapsco Valley State Park	Anne Arundel, MD	✓	public			✓		
6.13:2	the first falls of the Patapsco near where I-95 crosses it today, a place he named ' <i>Downs Dale</i> '	Anne Arundel, MD	✓	public			✓		
6.14:1	mouth of Patapsco, the tidal basin in what is now Baltimore								

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Map ID Number (Stop Date)	Stop Name (blue rows) and Nearby Public Lands / Potential Trail Resources (white rows)	Location (County)	Interpretation Potential	Public or Private Ownership	Public Boat Access	Restrooms	Parking	NPS site, NHL, Nat'l Reg., FWS	Overlaps Existing/Proposed Water Trails
	Fort Howard Park	Baltimore County, MD	✓	public		✓	✓		
	North Point State Park	Baltimore County, MD	✓	public		✓	✓		
6.15:1	Herring Bay	Anne Arundel, MD	all private land						
6.16:1	Cornfield Harbor								
	Point Lookout State Park	St. Mary's, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
6.16:1	Nomini Creek	Westmoreland, VA	all private						
	LOWER POTOMAC, ascending the river. "It is more difficult to reconstruct John Smith's chronology after his stay in Nomini Bay, for he covers four weeks' explorations in a relatively few pages . . . without indicating times or sequences. Therefore at this point we shall switch from accounts of separate days to accounts of separate areas of the Potomac valley, and the map stops will be labeled according to geography rather than the date."								
P.1	the Yeocomico River and the chief's town of Cecomocomoco (Micomico River, MD)								Potomac River Water Trail, PHT, SSBT
	Bushwood Wharf Recreation Area	St. Mary's, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
P.2	the Potopacos on the Port Tobacco River								PRWT, PHT, SSBT
	Chapel Point State Park	Charles, MD	✓	public	✓		✓		
P.10	Pomacocack village, Nanjemoy Creek [a landing?]								

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Map ID Number (Stop Date)	Stop Name (blue rows) and Nearby Public Lands / Potential Trail Resources (white rows)	Location (County)	Interpretation Potential	Public or Private Ownership	Public Boat Access	Restrooms	Parking	NPS site, NHL, Nat'l Reg., FWS	Overlaps Existing/Proposed Water Trails
P.3	Friendship Landing the Nanjemoy (map says only <i>Nussamek</i> at P.3)	Charles, MD	✓	public	✓		✓		"
	near Purs State Park	Charles, MD	✓	public	✓		✓+ RR		"
P.4	"receiving a friendly welcome from the <i>Tauxenents</i> ('Toags,' or <i>Dogues</i>)" [landing] Occoquan National Wildlife Refuge Featherstone NWR Leesylvania State Park (Gateway) Mason Neck NWR Mason Neck State Park (Gateway)	Fairfax, VA Fairfax, VA Prince William, VA Fairfax, VA Fairfax, VA	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	public public public public public	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	FWS FWS FWS FWS FWS	" " " " "
P.5	<i>Moyaone</i> (Piscataway) [spelled <i>Mayaons</i> on map] Piscataway Park (Gateway) Fort Washington Park	 Prince Georges, MD Prince Georges, MD	 ✓ ✓	 public public	 ✓ ✓	 ✓ ✓	 ✓ ✓	 NPS NPS	PRWT, PHT, SSBT
P.6	Nacotchank -- into Anacostia River Anacostia Park Washington Navy Yard	Washington, DC Washington, DC Washington, DC						NPS	" "
P.7 (P.11 i	the Little Falls of the Potomac, a mile above the boundary of modern Washington, DC Chesapeake & Ohio Canal George Washington Parkway	VA / MD	✓	public		✓	✓	NPS/regional park NPS NPS	
P.11.2	Surrounding area of Aquia Creek or perhaps Beaverdam Creek, calling it <i>Sparks Valley</i> . (<i>Qwyough</i> on map) Aquia Landing Park (County Park)	Stafford, VA		public	✓	✓	✓		
P.12	the town of <i>Ozatawomen</i> on Upper Machodoc Creek" [spelled <i>Ozmawomen</i> on map]	King George, VA		private					

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	U.S. Naval Reservation, Dahlgren Weapons Laboratory	King George		restricted					
P.13	St. Clements Bay (P.12 in text, P.13 on map)								
P.15	the <i>Sekakawons</i> on the Coan River" [spelled <i>Cekamowen</i> on map]								
7.15:1	Wiccocomico on the Great Wicomico River (different spelling from map); appears to be on the Little Wicomico??				✓		✓		
7.15:2	the out-lying village of Conquack; appears to be on the Great Wicomico??								
7.16:1	Dividing Creek								
	Hughlett Point Natural Area	Northumberland, VA					✓		
7.16:2	Fleets Bay (south shore)	Northumberland, VA							
7.17:1	the mouth of the Rappahannock	Middlesex, VA		all private land					
	Windmill Point (across mouth of river from Stingray Point)	Lancaster, VA					✓		
7.18-19:1	(rounded Old Point Comfort and) put in at Kecoughtan								
	Fort Monroe	Hampton, VA (not a county?)		military					
7.20:1	Warraskoyack, near modern Smithfield (on Pagan River??)								
7.21	Jamestown (end of voyage)		private, no public access						

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JOHN SMITH VOYAGE 2: JULY 24 -- SEPTEMBER 7, 1608									
7.27:1	Stingray Point	Middlesex, VA	no public access; across river is Windmill Point, see 7.17						
7.28:1	Cove Point Calvert Cliffs State Park, nearby	Calvert, MD	✓			✓	✓		SSBT
7.29:1	Old Road Bay Fort Howard Park	Baltimore County, MD	✓			✓	✓		SSBT
7.30:1	past Turkey Point into the larger opening of the Northeast River Elk Neck State Park Charlestown Pier	Cecil, MD Cecil, MD	✓ ✓		✓	✓	✓ ✓		
7.31:2	along the high cliffs east of Howell Point "Pisings Point" or just past the cliffs, in the lower ground near Betterton Betterton Beach Waterfront Park	Kent, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
8.1:1	the Sassafras (<i>Toghwogh</i>) River, village of the Tockwoghs (probably on the headland jutting out the farthest on the south side) Sassafras River Natural Resource Mgmt Area	Kent, MD	✓	public, state owned			✓		
8.2:1	up the Susquehannock River to the head of tide at "Smith's Falls" Susquehanna State Park	Harford, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
8.2:2									
8.2:3	Susquehanna Flats								
8.3:1	the head of the Elk River		private land						

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JOHN SMITH VOYAGE 2: JULY 24 -- SEPTEMBER 7, 1608									
7.27:1	Stingray Point	Middlesex, VA	no public access; across river is Windmill Point, see 7.17						
7.28:1	Cove Point Calvert Cliffs State Park, nearby	Calvert, MD				✓	✓		SSBT
7.29:1	Old Road Bay Fort Howard Park	Baltimore County, MD	✓			✓	✓		SSBT
7.30:1	past Turkey Point into the larger opening of the Northeast River Elk Neck State Park Charlestown Pier	Cecil, MD Cecil, MD	✓ ✓		✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓		
7.31:2	along the high cliffs east of Howell Point "Pisings Point" or just past the cliffs, in the lower ground near Betterton Betterton Beach Waterfront Park	Kent, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
8.1:1	the Sassafras (<i>Toghwogh</i>) River, village of the Tockwoghs (probably on the headland jutting out the farthest on the south side) Sassafras River Natural Resource Mgmt Area	Kent, MD	✓	public, state owned			✓		
8.2:1	up the Susquehannock River to the head of tide at "Smith's Falls" Susquehanna State Park	Harford, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
8.2:2									
8.2:3	Susquehanna Flats								
8.3:1	the head of the Elk River		private land						

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	Elk Neck State Park is downstream; see 7:30.1								
8.8:1	Village of Ozinies, Swan Point, Rock Hall Bay Spring Cove Public Landing	Kent, MD	✓	public	✓		✓		SSBT
8.9:1	Cleared Love Point at the northern tip of Kent Island Terrapin Nature Park	Queen Anne's, MD	✓			✓	✓		SSBT
8.9:2	Point Patience Solomons Boat Ramp Calvert Marine Museum		✓ ✓		✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓		SSBT SSBT
8.11:1	On the Patuxent (<i>Pawtuxent</i>) River, to the tip of today's Merkle Wildlife Management Area, south of Kings Branch on the eastern shore Merkle Wildlife Management Area	Prince George's, MD	✓			✓	✓		SSBT
8.11:2	Village of Mattapanient (<i>Mattpament</i> on map) Patuxent River Park	Prince George's MD	✓						SSBT
8.12:1	village of <i>Acquintanacsuck</i>	private land							
8.12:2	the eastern-bank village of <i>Opanient</i>	private land							
8.13:1	St. Jerome Creek	private land							
8.14?	mouth of Rappahannock River near Windmill Point [which county?? Check]	Gloucester Cnty							
8.15-16:1	Moraughtiacund village on the Rappahannock Simonson Landing Belle Isle State Park	Richmond Cnty, VA Lancaster, VA	✓ ✓	public	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓		
8.17:1	the north shore of the Rappahannock, possibly nearer the mouth of Piscataway Creek Wares Wharf (Waves?)	Essex, VA	✓				✓		

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8.18:1	Beverley Marsh opposite Carters Wharf near Carters Wharf Landing	Essex, VA Richmond Cnty, VA	✓		✓		✓		
8.18:2	village of <i>Pissasec</i>	private land							
8.19:1	village of <i>Nandtaughtacund</i> , on the southeast side of the broad Port Tobacco Bay	private land							
8.20:1	village of <i>Cuttatawomen</i> , near modern Hopyard Landing	private land							
8.21:1	Fetherstone's Bay' -- may have been on the northeast side of Moss Neck	private land							
8.22:1	shallow stretch of the river just below modern Fredericksburg, in the area of today's Chatham Bridge (State Route 2)								
	George Washingtons Ferry Farm (owned by private foundation)	Kings, VA	✓	private		✓	✓		
8.23:1	the downstream end of Hollywood Bar	private land							
8.23:2	Cuttatawomen	private land							
8.24:1	"They may have stopped at <i>Nandtaughtacund</i> " [may have been a landing]	private land							
8.24:2	village of <i>Pissasec</i>	private land							
8.31:1	the Piankatank River by nightfall, probably at Fishing Bay Hallie Ford Landing	Mathews, VA	✓	private			✓		
9.1:1	werowance's village of Piankatank								
	Deep Point Landing	Gloucester, VA	✓				✓		
9.2:1	up the Piankatank as far as Dragon Run, possibly as far as the straight section past the bends								
	Deep Point Landing	Gloucester, VA	✓				✓		

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9.3:1	the mouth of the Poquoson River ("Gosnold's Bay" -- not clear if this is current name or name at the time, need to see if it's in italics on map; no enlargement available as of 4/21/06) Plum Tree Island National Wildlife Refuge	York, VA		closed to public				FWS	
9.4:1	Old Point Comfort Fort Monroe	Hampton, VA		military					
9.7:1	arrived at Jamestown (end of voyage)								
	CHESAPEAKE BAY GATEWAYS in proximity to Voyage 1	Location (Town)							
	Annapolis Maritime Museum (formerly Barge House Museum)	Annapolis, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Hoffer Creek Wildlife Preserve	Portsmouth, VA	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Annacostia Community Park	Washington, DC	✓	public					
	The Mariners' Museums	Newport News, VA	✓			✓	✓		
	Piscataway Park	Accokeek, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Fort McHenry National Monument & Historic Shrine	Baltimore, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Mason Neck State Park	Loudon, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Chesapeake Bay Center	Grasonville, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	First Landing State Park	Virginia Beach, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Historic Annapolis Seaport	Annapolis, MD							
	Cape Charles Historic District	Cape Charles, VA	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Pride of Baltimore II	Baltimore, MD	✓	private					
	Lightship Chesapeake & 7 Foot Knoll Lighthouse	Baltimore, MD	✓		✓				
	Norfolk Water Trail System	Norfolk, VA	✓		✓				
	Elizabeth River Trail -- Atlantic City Spur								
	Potomac River Water Trail	VA, MD	✓		✓				
	Mathews Blueways Water Trails	VA	✓		✓				
	Jamestown Island	Jamestown, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓	NPS	
	Reedville Fishermen's Museum	Reedville, VA	✓		✓				

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	Leesylvania State Park	Woodbridge, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		PRWT, SSBT
	Point Lookout State Park	Scotland, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		PRWT, SSBT
	James Island State Park	Crisfield, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		PRWT
	Potomac Gateway Welcome Center	King George, VA	✓			✓	✓		
	St. Clement's Island -- Potomac River Museum	Colton's Point, MD	✓	public	✓				
	Smith Island Center	Ewell, MD	✓		✓				SSBT
	Historic St. Mary's City	St. Mary's City, MD	✓			✓	✓		
	Piney Point Lighthouse Museum and Park	Piney Point, MD	✓		✓				PRWT, SSBT
	Kiptopeke State Park	Cape Charles, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Chippokes Plantation State Park	Surry, VA	✓	public		✓	✓		
	Westmoreland State Park	Montrose, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Historic Shrine	Washington Birthplace, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓	NPS	
	Annapolis & Anne Arundel County Visitor Information Center	Annapolis, MD	✓			✓	✓		
	North Point State Park	Edgemere, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT
	Sandy Point State Park	MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT
	Historic London Town and Garden	Edgewater, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Captain Salem Avery House	Shady Side, MD	✓						SSBT
	Mason Neck National Wildlife Refuge	Lorton, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓	FWS	SSBT, Potomac River
	Chesapeake Beach Railway Museum	Chesapeake Beach, MD	✓						SSBT
	Flag Ponds Nature Park	Lusby, MD				✓	✓		
	Smallwood State Park	Marbury, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT, Potomac River
	Eastern Shore of Virginia National Wildlife Refuge	Northampton, VA	✓	public		✓	✓	FWS	
	Norfolk Water Trail System	Norfolk, VA	✓		✓				
	Gwynns Falls Trail and Greenway								

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	Fort Washington Park	Fort Washington, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓	NPS	
	Stratford Hall Plantation	Westmoreland, VA		private		✓	✓		PRWT
	Powhatan Creek Blueway	Williamsburg, VA	✓		✓				
	J. Millard Tawes Historical Museum & Ward Brothers Workshop	Crisfield, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Nauticus National Maritime Center	Norfolk, VA	✓	public		✓	✓		
	Virginia Living Museum	Newport News, VA	✓			✓	✓		
	Caledon Natural Area	King George, VA	✓	public		✓	✓		SSBT, Potomac River
	Ocoquan Bay National Wildlife Refuge	Woodbridge, VA	✓	public		✓	✓	FWS	
	Calvert Cliffs State Park	Lusby, MD	✓	public		✓	✓		SSBT
	Parker's Creek Watershed Nature Preserve								
	Galesville Heritage Society Museum								
	Baltimore Visitor's Center	Baltimore, MD							
	Virginia -- Eastern Shore Water Trails	Accomac / Port Hampton	✓	private/public	✓				
	C&O Canal National Historical Park	Washington, DC	✓	public		✓	✓	NPS	Potomac River
	CHESAPEAKE BAY GATEWAYS in proximity to Voyage 2	Location (town)							
	Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum	St. Leonard, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT, Patuxent
	Solomons Visitor Information Center	Solomons, MD	✓						SSBT, Patuxent
	Susquehanna State Park	Jarrettsville, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Susquehanna River Trail -- Lower	MD	✓		✓				
	Chesapeake Biological Laboratory (UMCES)	Solomons, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		
	Terrapin Park	Staensville, MD	✓			✓	✓		
	James Mills Scottish Factory Store	Urbanna, VA	✓			✓	✓		

* Italics indicates place name as recorded by John Smith

Map ID Number (Stop Date)	Stop Name (blue rows) and Nearby Public Lands / Potential Trail Resources (white rows)	Location (County)	Interpretation Potential	Public or Private Ownership	Public Boat Access	Restrooms	Parking	NPS site, NHL, Nat'l Reg., FWS	Overlaps Existing/Proposed Water Trails
	Belle Isle State Park	Lancaster, VA	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Calvert Marine Museum	Solomons, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT, Patuxent
	Havre de Grace Decoy Museum	Havre de Grace, MD	✓			✓	✓		
	Elk Neck State Park	North East, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	King's Landing Park	Huntingtown, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		SSBT, Patuxent
	Battle Creek Cypress Swaamp	Prince Frederick, MD	✓		✓	✓	✓		SSBT, Patuxent
	Sotterley Plantation	Hollywood, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Susquehanna Museum of Havre de Grace	Havre de Grace, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		
	Concord Point Lighthouse	Havre de Grace, MD	✓			✓	✓		
	Greenwell State Park	Hollywood, MD	✓	public	✓	✓	✓		SSBT, Patuxent
	Merkle Wildlife Sanctuary	Upper Marlboro, MD	✓	public		✓	✓		SSBT, Patuxent
	Jug Bay Natural Area								
	Dundee & Saltwater Creeks County Park								
	Sassafras NRMA & Turner's Creek Park								

* Italics indicates place name as recorded by John Smith

APPENDIX D:

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH CHESAPEAKE NATIONAL HISTORIC WATER TRAIL STATEMENT OF NATIONAL SIGNIFI- CANCE

John S. Salmon, Project Historian

The Statement of Significance was written by Dr. John Salmon, Historian, under contract with the National Historic Landmarks Survey, Washington Office, National Park Service. The Statement of Significance was drafted in accordance with the guidelines for evaluating national significance for National Historic Landmarks, in consultation with the staff of the National Historic Landmarks Survey and the study team for this report. The Statement of Significance was then examined by a group of peer reviewers (listed below) with specific knowledge of this field, and their comments were incorporated into the final document. As is customary with National Historic Trail studies, this Statement of Significance was presented to and approved by the National Park System Advisory Board in March 2006. The complete Statement of Significance follows.

Peer Review Committee

1. Dr. Thad Tate, *College of William and Mary (retired)*
2. Dr. Emory Evans, *University of Maryland (retired)*
3. Dr. Martin Sullivan, *Director, Historic Saint Mary's City Commission*
4. Dr. Stephen Potter, *National Capital Region, NPS*
5. Mr. Wayne Clark, *Maryland Historical Trust*
6. Ms. Martha McCartney, *independent consultant, Williamsburg, VA*
7. Dr. Warren Billings, *University of New Orleans*
8. Dr. E. Randolph Turner, *Virginia Department of Historic Resources*
9. Ms. Deanna Beacham, *Virginia Council on Indians*
10. Ms. Mervin Savoy, *Piscataway-Conoy Confederacy and Related Subtribes*

INTRODUCTION AND FINDINGS

This report evaluates the national significance of the trail known as the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail, which incorporates those parts of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries that Smith explored primarily on two voyages in 1608. The study area includes parts of four states—Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania—and the District of Columbia.

Two bills introduced in the United States Congress (entitled the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Watertrail Study Act of 2005) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to “carry out a study of the feasibility of designating the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Watertrail as a national historic trail.” Senator Paul S. Sarbanes (Maryland) introduced S.B. 336 on February 9, 2005, and Senators George Allen (Virginia), Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (Delaware), Barbara A. Mikulski (Maryland), and John Warner (Virginia) cosponsored it. The bill was referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee on National Parks on April 28. On May 24, 2005, Representative Jo Ann Davis (Virginia) introduced H.R. 2588 in the House of Representatives, and 19 other Representatives from the four relevant states signed on as cosponsors. The bill, which is identical to Senate Bill 336, was referred to the House Committee on Resources on May 24, and to the Subcommittee on National Parks on May 31. On August 2, 2005, President George W. Bush authorized the National Park Service to study the feasibility of establishing the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail as part of the FY 2006 Interior, Environment and Related Agencies Appropriations Act.

The study will apply the criteria of the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1241 et seq.) to determine the feasibility of designation. To qualify for designation as a National Historic

Trail, the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail must meet three criteria:

(A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variations offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.

(B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.

(C) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

This report focuses on Criterion B, national significance. Additional documentation will be prepared to evaluate the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail against the other criteria, pending review of this draft Statement of National Significance. Later phases of the study include developing management alternatives and preparing an Environmental Impact Statement as part of the final report. The ultimate objective of the study is to determine how best to promote the preservation of, public access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the outdoor areas and historic resources associated with the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The study team, composed of professional staff members of the National Park Service Northeast and National Capital Regions, with assistance from respected scholars and consultants, makes the following findings regarding national significance:

The Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail is of national significance for its association with the following themes:

(1) Ethnic Heritage (American Indians): Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because they accelerated the processes that destroyed the Powhatan polity and disrupted the native peoples' world throughout the region.

The Water Trail is significant as:

- a) the route that John Smith followed in his voyages to American Indian towns and territories
- b) a symbol of the independence of the English colonists from Powhatan's control
- c) a symbol of the impact on and eventual collapse of the Powhatan polity and the native peoples' world of the Chesapeake Bay and beyond

(2) Exploration and Settlement: Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of their impact on the exploration and settlement of North America.

The Water Trail is significant as:

- a) the route that John Smith followed in his program of exploration and discovery in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries
- b) a symbol of the spirit of adventure and wonder that were important components of Smith's voyages and English exploration
- c) the route by which Smith gathered information vital to the survival and growth of the English settlements in North America

(3) Commerce and Trade: Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of their impact on the commerce and trade of North America.

The Water Trail is significant as:

- a) the route by which John Smith surveyed the Bay and explored for gold, silver, copper, and the Northwest Passage, for the benefit of the commerce and trade of the colony and England
- b) the route by which Smith made contact with American Indian tribes, established trade agreements with them, and increased the chances that the English colony would survive
- c) a symbol of England's trading power, soon to be increased by the production of tobacco for export from the colony
- d) a symbol of the long-term impact on and cultural contact between the native peoples and European colonists

Subsequent chapters present the study's legislative background, a brief historical narrative of the water trail, a description of the significance themes in greater detail, a discussion of the historic use and development of the Chesapeake Bay, and a summary of the types of resources associated with the water trail. The report concludes with a bibliographical essay.

STUDY LEGISLATION, PURPOSE, AND TASKS

Legislation

On August 2, 2005, President George W. Bush authorized the National Park Service to study the feasibility of establishing the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail as part of the FY 2006 Interior, Environment and Related Agencies Appropriations Act. The Act also directed the Secretary to consult with federal, state, regional, and local agencies and representatives of the private sector, including the entities responsible for administering the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network (P.L. 105-312) and the Chesapeake Bay Program authorized by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 1267).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to determine whether the designation of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail as a national historic trail is feasible. Designation would serve as a reminder of the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown as well as the exploratory voyages of Smith on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries between 1607 and 1609. It would also recognize the American Indian towns and culture of the seventeenth century, call attention to the natural history of the Bay, "complement the Chesapeake Bay Gateways and Watertrails Network Initiative, and provide new opportunities for education, recreation, and heritage tourism in the Chesapeake Bay region."

Tasks

Historical research (historical narrative, bibliography, and resource inventory)
Draft determination of significance report

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Foreword

The truth about the first years of the Jamestown colony is difficult to establish. Almost every aspect of this era is a subject of debate among historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists, as well as a frequent source of confusion among members of the public. Much of the problem lies in the fact that all of the contemporary letters and books were written by one party to the story—the English—who came to America bearing a culture almost as unfathomable to the native peoples as their cultures were to the newcomers. Each side had expectations, suspicions, and fears about the other, which, when combined with cultural conflicts and the language barrier, produced misunderstandings that sometimes resulted in bloodshed. The colonists also suffered the consequences of internal conflicts, social divisions, and personal feuds. Historians therefore encounter books and letters written in antique English, whose authors, busily grinding their own axes, present parts of one side of the story and see the American Indian side as through a glass, darkly. The historian's challenge is thus made doubly difficult: to understand, interpret, and write clearly for the public about the worldviews and cultures of two societies that are vastly different from most people's experiences today. Historians must also persuade the public—the audience members who will eventually travel the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Water Trail—that almost everything they thought they knew about the period is wrong, or at least in need of serious reconsideration. The power of myth is difficult to overcome.

Telling the story of this early period in our nation's history, then, requires asking and debating the most basic questions of analysis and interpretation. The questions change and the debates intensify as forgotten documents are rediscovered, records thought familiar are read again, and marvelous artifacts are brought from under the ground up into the light. This study begins with the native peoples who lived

around the Chesapeake Bay, not only because they were there when the English arrived, but also because it appears that during much of the period under discussion the Powhatan dominated the English, not the other way around. The English survived at first at the sufferance and with the continual assistance of the native peoples, not because the newcomers were paragons of outstanding leadership, exemplary teamwork, effective social skills, judicious planning, and imaginative adaptability. This study also focuses primarily on the Virginia Indians because it was with them that the English had the most frequent interactions and about whom more is known through contemporary writings combined with recent archaeological investigations.

The three principal figures in the story are Powhatan, Opechancanough, and Captain John Smith. Powhatan was the charismatic leader of the people in whose land the English settled in 1607. Opechancanough, a skillful planner and war leader, engineered a devastating attack on the colonists in 1622. Both men dealt during the first years of the colony with John Smith, the soldier of fortune whose forceful personality attracted either devotion or hatred from his contemporaries. Much of the narrative that follows focuses on the Powhatan domain or polity because it was there that the English had their first and longest-lasting contacts with the native peoples, and because much was written about those contacts during John Smith's sojourn in America. The interactions between the English and the Powhatan became the model—for good and ill—for future interactions between the newcomers and the native peoples throughout North America.

John Smith remains a fascinating character today, because of the volumes of writings he left behind and the strong feelings for and against him evident in the writings of others. Historians still debate his veracity—we know he sometimes lied, because he told us so himself—but he was also frequently truthful. From his explorations of the Chesapeake Bay came a map so accurate that it remained useful

for most of the seventeenth century, and his books influenced the history of the settlement and commerce of North America. Both Smith and his journeys through the Bay are of national significance to the story of our country.

The Chesapeake Bay Region and Its People in 1607

The large body of relatively shallow water today called Chesapeake Bay was—about four centuries ago—the center of the world for the people who lived along its shores and tributaries. Large rivers and small streams flowed into the Bay from the east and the west, serving the inhabitants as liquid highways. The Bay itself teemed with aquatic life that also enriched the rivers and streams: sturgeon, striped bass, menhaden, white perch, eels, crabs, oysters, mussels, and clams were all found in great abundance. For thousands of years, the native peoples used the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries for transportation, migration, communication, and trade. Fish and shellfish not only provided food for the people, but shells served as valuable trade goods, especially those that could be worked into scarce “blue” beads.

A deep forest covered most of the land around the Bay. Some of it was ancient, with massive trees, scant undergrowth, and occasional meadows. Oaks, hickories, and chestnuts abounded, as well as pines, and deer, squirrels, rabbits, opossums, raccoons, bears, foxes, wolves, bobcats, and beavers were among the common mammals of the Chesapeake woods, fields, and watercourses.

The people who occupied the coastal plain in approximately the southern half of the Bay in present-day Virginia called their territory Tsenacomoco. Its boundaries extended, in modern parlance, roughly from somewhat below the south side of the mouth of the James River north to the south bank of the Potomac River, and from the Eastern Shore of Virginia west to approximately the fall line of the rivers, where the coastal plain meets the

central piedmont’s rolling terrain. The people of Tsenacomoco lived in towns, large and small, located along the principal waterways and their tributaries. Town sites offered advantages in arable land, fishing, hunting, and communication. A “typical” large town sprawled—by European standards—over many acres through fields and woods. Often, an entire town could not be seen all at once. It usually contained garden plots, dwellings, storehouses, and ceremonial and religious structures. The buildings were constructed of poles overlaid with bark or woven mats. Towns might be occupied or virtually deserted at various times of the year, depending on the demands of gardening, hunting, and fishing. The towns also “migrated” slowly along the rivers as the people reconstructed dwellings closer to fresh arable land. Sometimes the people packed up their towns and moved them to new locations. They also occupied temporary towns or camps during hunts. They periodically set parts of the woods afire to remove undergrowth and keep the forest open.

Tsenacomoco’s people—whom the English called the Powhatan—were Algonquian speakers residing in the southernmost range of linguistically related people who occupied the East Coast from coastal North Carolina into New England and who lived in similar towns. A small town named Powhatan, encircled by a palisade, stood at the lower end of the falls of the James River. It was the native town of the principal leader also named Powhatan (another of his names was Wahunsenacawh). Born perhaps about 1547, Powhatan had inherited a domain or polity encompassing a number of tribal districts and a large territory that he further enlarged by diplomacy as well as conquest. The tribal districts within the polity were led by werowances or chiefs answerable to Powhatan, the paramount chief. The Powhatan polity was most secure in the middle, near the town at the center of power called Werowocomoco. Less-committed tribes and allies lived along the fringes, and beyond them lived other tribes and other polities.

The principal Powhatan districts along the James River from the Chesapeake Bay upstream were the Chesapeake, Nansemond, Kecoughtan, Warraskoyack, Quiyoughcohannock, Paspahgh, Weyanock, Appomattoc, Arrohattoc, and Powhatan. The Chickahominy, located on the river named for them, successfully resisted becoming part of the Powhatan polity but remained allies. They also were governed by a council rather than a werowance. Up the Pamunkey (York) River were the Kiskiack, Werowocomoco, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Youghtanund. The Piankatank were on the river of the same name. On the Rappahannock River were the Opiscopank, Cuttatawomen, Moraughtachund, Rappahannock, Pissaseck, Nantaughtacund, and Upper Cuttatawomen. The allied Wicocomoco (Wighcocomoco), Chicacoan (Sekakawon), Onawmanient, and Patawomeck occupied the Potomac River. On the Eastern Shore, the Accomac and the Accohannock were part of the polity.

Outside the polity, the greatest threat to Powhatan came from the west, from the Monacan on the upper James River. The Mannahoac, who occupied the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River, also raided the western border. Both groups were Siouan speakers. Farther north, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, were the Susquehannock. And in the very far north, principally in present-day Ohio near the Great Lakes, lived the Massawomeck, who periodically raided as far south as the Shenandoah Valley and upper Tidewater Virginia and were much feared. An array of other tribes and polities occupied present-day northern Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania in the vicinity of the Chesapeake. Major polities included the Piscataway on the north shore of the Potomac River and the Nanticoke across the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland.

In the Powhatan world (and throughout the Chesapeake), men were warriors and hunters, while women were gardeners and gatherers. The English described the men, who ran and

walked extensively through the woods in pursuit of enemies or game, as tall and lean and possessed of handsome physiques. The women were shorter, and were strong because of the hours they spent tending crops, pounding corn into meal, gathering nuts, and performing other domestic chores. When the men undertook extended hunts, the women went ahead of them to construct hunting camps. The Powhatan domestic economy depended on the labor of both sexes.

The Power of Powhatan

Although Powhatan was an imposing and powerful leader, his power was not absolute. It was personal and religious or shamanic, as well as what the English regarded as political or executive. To a certain extent he ruled by consensus, advised by a council of sub-leaders and religious authorities ("priests"), but he also seemed to dominate the council and could act independently of it. Powhatan was the principal "official" leader, especially when it came to dealing with outsiders, but others such as his brother (or possibly his cousin) Opechancanough were principal war leaders at the time the English arrived.

Powhatan possessed extensive powers of punishment over his people, but he also bore responsibility for their welfare. Some of his power stemmed from the trust of the people: when times were good, when food was abundant, when the Powhatan people competed successfully with those outside the polity, then his personal and shamanic leadership was unquestionably "right" for the people. But in 1607, Tsenacomoco was deep in a drought that would last until 1612 and eventually affect not only crops such as corn and beans but also the wild produce and animals that depended on them. Difficult times lay ahead for the people, even without the arrival of hungry Englishmen.

In part as an assertion of his leadership and also as a hedge against famine, Powhatan received what the English called "tribute," mostly foodstuffs such as corn and beans,

which were placed in storehouses from which they could be drawn for feasts, for trade, for sacred rituals, and for feeding people in times of need. Even in times of relative abundance, seasonal shortages occurred, especially in the spring before wild and domestic crops had ripened. Food was never taken for granted.

The English Newcomers

A group of strangers from across the Atlantic Ocean to the east entered this world in 1607. They came from England, a country ruled by a king whose power was tempered by Parliament. These newcomers represented a private stock company, the Virginia Company of London, whose objective was to establish a colony in the Chesapeake Bay region and exploit the resources there for the benefit of the investors.

On April 26 (by the calendar then in use, ten days behind our calendar, as are all dates in this report), 1607, three ships sailed into Chesapeake Bay. Named Susan Constant, Godspeed, and Discovery, the vessels carried 144 English men and boys including ships' crews. A landing party came ashore at Point Comfort, rejoiced at touching land after four unpleasant months aboard ship, and reconnoitered the nearby terrain. As the party returned near nightfall, native inhabitants attacked and wounded two Englishmen. The others opened fire with muskets and the attackers vanished. This was the first contact between the newcomers and the people of Tsenacomoco.

It was not, however, the first experience that the Powhatan had had with Europeans. Indeed, the history of those encounters was lengthy and often bloody. Perhaps as early as 1524, Spaniards may have visited the Chesapeake Bay. Soon thereafter, European explorations of the Eastern Seaboard became more frequent. About 1561, the Spaniards came and sailed away with a young Virginia Indian named Paquinqueneo, whom they baptized and renamed Don Luis. After a decade of life among the Spanish, Don Luis returned to America and helped establish a

Jesuit mission on the York River in September 1570. Quickly, however, Don Luis became Paquinqueneo once more, and in February 1571 assisted his people in wiping out the Spanish mission except for one young survivor. A Spanish force arrived the next year and retaliated against the people for the loss of the missionaries. In 1584–1585, Englishmen established a settlement at Roanoke Island, in present-day North Carolina, and the next winter explored the Chesapeake Bay. They abandoned Roanoke Island in 1586–1587, then returned later in 1587 to create another settlement there—the so-called “Lost Colony”—and conflicts with the local people followed. The Spanish came back to explore the Bay in 1588, English mariners followed suit about 1603, and there were doubtless other, unrecorded explorations.

What drove these nations—as well as the Portuguese and the Dutch—to explore and settle the land west of Europe? In part it was a quest for a quicker and easier route to the riches of the Orient than was available overland from west to east, in part it was a desire to dominate the seas and protect their own trade routes and raid those of other nations, and in part it was a wish to increase national power on the world stage. This last was especially true of the English, and writers such as Richard Hakluyt and others pressed the adventurous among them to advance England's march toward empire and spread the Protestant Christian Gospel to the American Indians. There was also the desire to deny territory in the New World to other nations. Personal ambition and the hope of glory and wealth inspired many individual adventurers.

England's late entrance into the colonization race got off to a poor start. Some other nations, such as Spain and France, focused initially on exploration and the establishment of trading posts. England concentrated on using private investment to create colonies, but the first attempts in Newfoundland and Maine as well as on Roanoke Island ended badly. The

English consistently underestimated the desire of the native peoples to control their own country.

Powhatan and English Worldviews

The worldviews of the Powhatan and the English could scarcely have been more dissimilar. The Powhatan people saw the land, the flora and fauna, the people, and those who might be called Tsenacomoco's spiritual inhabitants (especially gods and deceased ancestors) as a unified, inseparable entity, each aspect of which was equally "real." This worldview has sometimes been oversimplified into the principle that the native peoples were "one with nature," a concept that only skims the surface of their reality.

The English worldview held that human beings were a special creation separate from nature, which existed to be conquered and put into man's service. The spiritual realm was someplace else entirely, like nature distinct from the everyday life of human beings. The English polity was organized into a rigid hierarchy—the "great chain of being"—and had introduced itself into the "New World" to occupy, subdue, and exploit it. Authority flowed from God to the king to the nobles and to Parliament. Any break in the chain, any disorder in the body politic, led to chaos, treason, and civil madness, as the history and tragedy plays of William Shakespeare amply demonstrated. The superiority and essential rightness of English religious, social, and political life to all others was simply assumed. The Indians of America were considered human, but perhaps not as fully human as the English.

Collisions and misunderstandings between the newcomers and the Powhatan peoples were inevitable. This was particularly true because the English generally regarded the native people as ignorant and savage devil-worshippers living in a "state of nature"—childlike, untrustworthy, and dangerous. The English admitted that the natives had souls that might be saved through conversion to Christianity, as well as information about the country that

might be useful and goods that were worth trading for or taking by force. In English eyes, however, they lacked sacred traditions worthy of respect, a social or political culture worth understanding, and an approach to living on the land worth adopting. That the country belonged to the Powhatan peoples and the English were uninvited "invaders" scarcely occurred to the newcomers. Some of the Englishmen who regularly interacted with the native peoples, however, developed a greater understanding of them than the stakeholders who remained in England.

Powhatan himself probably considered the Englishmen nuisances who might nonetheless prove helpful in countering hostile tribes and supplying useful trade goods, assuming that they survived or remained in his territory long enough to serve his purposes. The native peoples had seen other Europeans come and go, and Powhatan must have been puzzled as well as angered when this group began digging in without his permission on a swampy, unhealthy piece of land on the north side of the James River. Soon thereafter, they began to die like flies. When two of the English ships departed in June 1607, 104 men and boys remained in the colony; by the end of the winter, only 38 were left alive. Disease had killed most of them, and the survivors lived primarily because Powhatan fed them.

During that winter, Powhatan also had the opportunity to learn what the English were up to when a captured newcomer was brought before him at Werowocomoco. This prisoner, almost alone among the Englishmen, seemed to make an effort to comprehend the Powhatan view of the world. His name was John Smith.

Captain John Smith and the Virginia Company

John Smith was born at Willoughby, Lincolnshire, about a hundred and fifty miles north of London in eastern England, and was baptized on January 9, 1580. The son of a yeoman farmer, Smith spent his childhood just

a few miles from the sea, which may have helped inspire his desire for adventure. He received a basic education in area schools, and then his father apprenticed him to a merchant in King's Lynn, a port town about thirty miles southeast of Willoughby. After Smith's father died in 1596, however, the sixteen-year-old youth abandoned his apprenticeship and began soldiering in the Netherlands.

Thus began a military career that took him to France, Scotland, Italy, Greece, the Balkans, Austria, Poland, and Germany, among other places. He learned horsemanship during a brief interlude at home, then participated in a war between the Hungarians and the Turks. Smith was captured by the latter and sent to Constantinople and the Caucasus. He escaped, traveled through North Africa, and returned home in 1605. His military prowess earned him the rank of captain and the title of gentleman; his experiences sharpened his ambition and thirst for further adventure.

Smith soon joined a new enterprise. Bartholomew Gosnold and others secured a charter on April 10, 1606, that established two companies to explore and colonize the coast of North America. One, based in Plymouth, had present-day New England as its objective; the other, in London, looked to the Chesapeake Bay area. The "Counsell of Virginia," composed of investors in both companies, oversaw the activities of the two groups. Some of the investors and their supporters had earlier been involved in the Carolina colonization effort. Smith joined the investors in the company bound for the Chesapeake, and on December 20, 1606, the three ships of the expedition set sail. With them went a box, not to be opened until the vessels arrived in Virginia, containing a list of the men who would govern the group there.

Between about a third and a half of this group were considered gentlemen, and the gentry included former soldiers and privateers. The rest of the party were seamen, laborers, and boys, except for a dozen craftsmen and artisans, including a tailor, a surgeon, a blacksmith,

a mason, two bricklayers, four carpenters, and two barbers. Most of the "first Planters" hoped to find wealth and return home to England in a year or two. They were not interested in settling in Virginia permanently, or in farming, as they expected to be supplied with food and other necessities during their sojourn and then leave.

The voyage to America began badly and got worse, especially for Smith. First, contrary and stormy weather just off the English coast delayed the little fleet for six weeks and many on board became seasick. Next, close quarters, illness, and boredom inflamed the landsmen, who became fractious. Finally, on February 13, 1607, Smith was arrested for "mutiny" and confined. The undertaking seemed to be falling apart although it had scarcely begun.

Smith had run afoul of several of the company's principal leaders, most of whom were his social "betters" as well as his elders. Christopher Newport, an experienced seafarer who was about forty-one, commanded the fleet for the duration of the voyage. Edward Maria Wingfield, a soldier from a noble family who became the colony's first president, was about fifty-six. Bartholomew Gosnold, a founder of the company, was thirty-four and captained one of the ships. Newport and Wingfield especially disliked Smith, considering him an upstart and a social climber. Smith probably irritated them beyond endurance by questioning their decisions and offering unsolicited advice, as well as by merely being young, ambitious, and contentious. Gosnold eventually intervened and got Smith out from under arrest when the ships arrived in Virginia.

After the first landing and fight with the local inhabitants on April 26, Newport opened the box and read the list of councilmen: Newport, Wingfield, Gosnold, John Ratcliffe, Captain John Martin, Captain George Kendall, and—last—Captain John Smith. Probably at the instigation of Newport and Wingfield, the council refused to allow Smith to take his seat. On April 29, the company held a ceremony

including a cross raising at the landing site, which Newport named Cape Henry, and took formal possession of the country for King James and the Protestant faith. The newcomers then set off to explore the James River and find a location for their settlement.

For the next two weeks, the colonists “discovered” up and down the river, past the mouth of the Chickahominy River to the Appomattox River. Along the way, they encountered several Powhatan tribes, most of whom were friendly and hospitable, feasting and entertaining the newcomers. The Englishmen were impressed by the towns they visited, as well as by the cornfields they saw. They considered a point of land called Archer’s Hope for their settlement, but when they could not anchor near the shore they selected instead the peninsula they called Jamestown Island. There, the water near the shore was deep enough that the ships could be tied to trees on the bank. On May 13, the Englishmen arrived, and the next day they began to establish their settlement. The place they had selected lay on the eastern edge of Paspahegh territory.

A week later, Newport decided that sufficient progress had been made that he could follow the Virginia Council’s instructions and explore upriver in hopes of finding a way to the western sea, which was believed to lie just beyond a great lake or mountain. For the next few days, he led a party of twenty-three men, including Smith, up the James River to the falls just above the town of Powhatan. Again, the group was greeted by seemingly friendly inhabitants eager to trade. Newport erected another cross there to claim the area for England but told the native people that it signified the unending friendship between the English and the Powhatan. Disappointed that the falls impeded further navigation, Newport led the explorers back to Jamestown, where he learned that some Powhatan warriors had attacked the settlement and killed two Englishmen. He ordered a proper fort constructed, and soon a triangular, stockaded structure was erected

with two bastions facing up- and downstream to guard against attacks by the Spanish and a third facing inland to confront the Powhatan. The English installed a cannon in each bastion.

Newport departed for England on June 22, taking Susan Constant and Godspeed and leaving Wingfield in charge. Soon thereafter, conditions at Jamestown deteriorated and the men began to die of various diseases brought on by bad water and sanitation, most likely salt poisoning, typhoid, and dysentery. Gosnold, perhaps the most experienced and respected leader in the colony, was among the dead. On September 10, Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin deposed Wingfield and then tried him on various charges including atheism. Wingfield returned to England the next year and protested vehemently, but the Virginia Company hushed up the matter to avoid frightening away investors. Ratcliffe became president but the colonists fared no better until Smith (by his account) began trading with the native people for food, sometimes at the point of a gun. Throughout the fall, he and several companions went from one town to another in search of corn, frequently escorted by native guides.

In November and early in December, Smith made several forays for corn on the Chickahominy River. One day, he and two other Englishmen, accompanied by two Powhatan Indians, rowed upstream to find the river’s source. About twenty miles above the Chickahominy town of Appocant, the party separated, and Smith continued with one native guide while the other explorers remained together. Suddenly, about two hundred men surrounded Smith, captured him after a struggle, and brought him before Opechancanough (Smith’s companions had been killed). After impressing his captors with his compass, Smith was then marched from one town to another and displayed to the people before being presented to Powhatan at Werowocomoco. There, according to Smith’s famous account published in 1624, he was about to be executed when the ten-year-old Pocahontas—Powhatan’s favorite daughter—

intervened to save him and he was thereafter "adopted" as one of the people.

This episode has generated a vast amount of debate among historians, both in regard to the story of Smith's captivity as well as the meaning or meanings of what happened to him. There are numerous discrepancies between Smith's first account, written in 1608, and his retelling in 1624, as well as additional material and details in the later version. According to the 1608 account, Smith was captured, marched here and there, threatened with death, presented to Powhatan, feasted, and escorted back to Jamestown a few days later, after lengthy conversations with the native leader. The 1624 version adds other death threats and Pocahontas's rescue of Smith as well as various details, and also extends the period of captivity by about a month.

Assuming that Smith described what occurred as accurately as he could (Pocahontas aside), he clearly did not understand the implications of the marching to and fro, the repeated near-death experiences, and the ceremony before Powhatan—all seemed to him to be the impromptu actions of people who were unsure of what to do with him. Smith wrote that he was suspected of being a foreign captain who had killed some Powhatan people a few years earlier, and he was displayed to see if anyone could identify him as the killer, who supposedly was taller than Smith. He also thought that the ceremony before Powhatan was a "divination" ritual whereby the leader hoped to learn his intentions regarding the English settlement. Clearly, there was more to all of this than Smith thought, but what?

Several historians believe that the actions of Opechancanough and Powhatan were in fact purposeful, that the chiefs had been given reports on Smith's activities for some time and believed he was a "war chief" similar in authority to Opechancanough. Everything that Smith endured after his capture was an elaborate ritual designed to bring him and the other colonists under the authority of

Powhatan. Smith was ritually "killed" and "resurrected" to symbolize his change of station, to make him and the other Englishmen a part of the Powhatan polity. Through the ritual, the newcomers became a tributary part of the polity, another "tribe" within the overall organization led by Powhatan. This relationship obligated Powhatan to sustain the English, just as he did the other tribes within his domain, but it also obligated the English to recognize Powhatan's authority, obtain his permission before undertaking certain actions, assist him in conflicts with tribes outside the polity, and give him the respect due someone in his position. This interpretation of the Smith captivity has the virtue of making intelligible much of what followed in the sad history of English-Powhatan interactions.

And what of the Pocahontas story, the dramatic rescue? Here again, there is not universal agreement among historians, although the consensus seems to be that it never happened, and that Pocahontas probably would not have been present at such a ritual. Most modern scholars agree that Smith added the rescue tale to his 1624 *Generall Historie* because she had been briefly famous in England not long before, and invoking her memory and her glamour might boost interest in his book.

Regardless of the truth or accuracy of Smith's accounts of his captivity, once it ended and he had been escorted back to Jamestown on January 2, 1608, Powhatan people soon began to appear there regularly bearing food. Smith found the colony in a state of near-chaos. The company had been reduced to fewer than forty because of disease and starvation, Ratcliffe charged Smith with responsibility for the deaths of his companions when he was captured, and the leaders of the colony were making preparations to abandon Jamestown. That evening, however, Christopher Newport returned from England with more than a hundred men and ample supplies, and in the general celebration that followed the leadership

dropped the charges against Smith.

The “first supply,” as it is known, brought more artisans to Virginia, including goldsmiths and refiners as well as a gunsmith and a blacksmith. The search for precious minerals was about to begin in earnest, as soon as the new men were settled. They unloaded most of the supplies; then, disaster struck when the whole place burned, including the supplies. Mere survival replaced mining as Newport’s first objective, and Smith, because of his new association with Powhatan, became the key to survival.

Smith soon arranged a meeting between Newport and Powhatan at Werowocomoco, and there Powhatan reiterated the arrangement between himself and the English. Smith, since he wrote about the meeting later, probably understood the implications; it is unclear whether Newport did, but he had no intention of being subservient to anyone else. Each side exchanged youths to learn the other’s language and customs, and, perhaps, to serve as spies. Trading took place, and by being overly generous, Newport temporarily wrecked the rate of exchange (so many beads for so much corn) that Smith had established. The meeting ended amicably and from Newport’s viewpoint was a complete success. A food supply was guaranteed, and his men were now free to search for gold. They soon discovered a “mine” upriver on the Pamunkey and packed barrels with supposedly gold-laden earth. Newport sailed for England on April 10, to be disappointed when the “ore” was analyzed there and deemed worthless.

For Powhatan, however, the meeting was less than successful because the English deceived him. Smith, during his captivity, had lied to Powhatan about why the English were in Virginia in the first place, claiming that they had merely come to escape the Spanish. In fact, of course, the English intended to colonize the country and take up residence wherever they pleased as soon as they could identify good sites for mines and trading posts.

They were not about to take direction from Powhatan, ask his permission before exploring and settling, or otherwise kowtow to him.

Smith explored the Nansemond River after Newport departed, and then returned to Jamestown to help work on the new buildings and cornfields. Smith had been urging the settlers to plant their own crops rather than to rely on supplies from England or corn from the Powhatan, but with limited success. He also tried to organize them to work on various construction projects, such as repairing the fort, again with little success.

The ship *Phoenix* (it had been in Newport’s fleet but was blown off course by a storm), commanded by Captain Francis Nelson, soon arrived with more colonists and provisions. Ratcliffe wanted to employ Nelson and his vessel in the search for precious metals, but Nelson refused and planned instead to sail for England. Smith, meanwhile, had decided to lead his own expedition using a barge or shallop with a few other men. This enterprise also would keep him away from Ratcliffe (the two men despised each other).

On June 2, 1608, Smith, his crew, and his vessel accompanied Nelson and *Phoenix* to present-day Cape Charles. Nelson sailed for England, while Smith directed the shallop into the Chesapeake Bay on his first voyage of exploration. Before they parted, Smith gave Nelson a sketch map of part of the Bay and its river system, as well as a letter to a friend, published later that year as *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath happened in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony*. A copy of part of Smith’s map soon arrived in Spain, sent from London in a diplomatic dispatch in September 1608 by the Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Zuñiga. The dispatch and map constituted one of Zuñiga’s several attempts to interest King Philip III in eliminating the Virginia colony. The map would have made it relatively easy to do so, for the triangular James fort was clearly noted on the north side of the carefully drawn

James River. Only a few months after Smith drew his first map, then, it had become an element in an international intrigue that threatened the English settlement's existence.

Smith's First Chesapeake Bay Voyage

In exploring the Chesapeake Bay, Smith was following Company instructions to seek valuable minerals, identify fish and wildlife, study the forests for useful timber, locate good ports, and learn about the native people's towns and numbers of warriors. Although Smith later wrote extensively about both of his Chesapeake Bay voyages, there are gaps in the narrative that must be filled with calculations and assumptions based on our understanding of tides and wind directions, the places that Smith did or did not record on his map, and the customary sailing procedures of the early seventeenth century. Smith based some of what appears on his great map, for instance, on information from the native people rather than his own observation. Many of the place-names he assigned are still in use.

Smith selected fourteen companions for his first voyage, probably for their skills. Six of them—James Bourne, William Cantrill, Richard Featherstone, Thomas Momford, Ralph Morton, and Michael Sicklemore—were gentlemen familiar with firearms. Walter Russell was a physician. Robert Small was a carpenter who could make any necessary repairs to the shallop. John Powell, a tailor, could sew sails as well as clothes. James Read was a blacksmith. Jonas Profit, a fisherman, was also a sailor, and Richard Keale, a fish merchant, could identify edible fish. James Watkins and Anas Todkill were soldiers. Smith also engaged the services of native people as guides and translators when necessary throughout the voyage.

On June 3, Smith and his party explored Fisherman's Island just off the tip of Cape Charles and Monkhorn Island on the Atlantic shore. Returning to the Bay, they saw native men fishing with bone-headed spears. They directed Smith north along the western side of

the Eastern Shore to Accomack Town, near Elliotts Creek, where the Englishmen got a friendly reception. Smith conversed with the chief there, who told him that canoes could harbor easily for a considerable distance up the peninsula. The Englishmen probably spent the night at Accomack.

The next day, they explored the shore to the north, entering Cherrystone Inlet and either Nassawaddox or Occohannock Creek. The sight of an island in the distance (either Watts or Tangier) caused Smith to bypass other creeks, some of which had towns a short distance inland. That afternoon, as the group sailed for the island, a violent thunderstorm struck, causing Smith to turn toward the mainland and anchor perhaps in Chesconnessex Creek, near present-day Onley.

Smith spent the morning of June 5 exploring Watts and Tangier Islands, which he named the Russells Isles in honor of the doctor. Then he turned back east and entered Beasley Bay, sailed or rowed around the marsh to the north, and took the boat into the mouth of the Pocomoke River, which he called the Wicocomoco (Wighcocomoco) after the native people whose town he soon encountered. At first the English got a hostile reception but soon made peace. The Wicocomoco were outside the Powhatan polity and spoke a different Algonquian dialect, so communication was difficult. One or more of them guided Smith upstream (either in a canoe or overland) as far as the site of present-day Pocomoke City, Maryland. The party then returned to the town, where the men feasted and rested for the night. The Englishmen were disappointed with the quality of the fresh water.

On June 6, Smith explored Tangier Sound. He sailed north along the shore and noted Marumsco, East, and Ape Hole Creeks, then rowed through Cedar Straits, observing Clump and Great Fox Islands and finally entering the sound. He next visited the Annamessex and Manokin Rivers and Deal Island. When he reached Bloodsworth Island, another storm

tore away the mast and sail, and the crew had to bail to keep from being swamped.

For the next day and a half, Smith explored Bloodsworth Island, which he named Limbo, while Powell the tailor repaired the sail. On the afternoon of June 8, the company got underway again, returning to the Eastern Shore and sailing up the Wicomoco River to Monie Bay. Encountering salt marshes, Smith sailed north into the Kuskarawaok (Nanticoke) River, where the inhabitants shot arrows at the boat from the shore. Anxious to find fresh water, Smith anchored the vessel out of range in midstream for the night, near Ragged Point.

Smith maneuvered the shallop close to the shore the next morning, where the native people waited unarmed, bearing baskets of goods for trade. Suspecting an ambush, Smith had ordered a volley fired at the crowd and then backed off when he saw armed men hiding in the marsh on the point. Late in the day, he again approached the shore and fired into the marsh but saw no one. Observing smoke across the river, Smith sailed there to find some abandoned houses. He left a few trade goods, then went back down the river and into Fishing Bay, past Elliott Island and the Transquaking River, before returning to the Nanticoke River and anchoring near the abandoned houses.

On June 10, four Nanticoke men in a canoe approached the shallop from downstream. They had been away fishing and were unaware of the clash the previous day. Smith was friendly and generous, and they paddled away to tell their people. Soon, twenty Nanticoke appeared, then some hundreds came to trade furs and other goods, and the Englishmen went ashore, probably between present-day Bivalve and Tyaskin. Smith noted the high quality of the furs, which the Nanticoke obtained by trade with other tribes, using large quantities of shell beads that they made.

It is uncertain just how far up the Nanticoke River Smith and his men explored, given the frenzy of trading, the need to take on fresh

water, the hospitality he received, and the distance to the paramount chief's town of Cuskarawaok near present-day Vienna. Smith may instead have relied on information supplied by the local inhabitants (Powhatan and others sometimes drew maps for him in the earth) rather than passing into present-day Delaware himself. The Nanticoke told Smith that the Eastern Shore was only a peninsula separating the Chesapeake Bay from the Atlantic Ocean, and they also spoke of "a great nation called Massawomecks" who lived farther up the Bay. Because one of Smith's goals was to find a northwest passage, he was anxious to locate and interview the people of that nation, so he probably recorded the information and sailed back to the mouth of the river to spend the night.

On June 11, Smith and the men sailed west through Hooper Strait between the mainland and Bloodsworth Island, past the Honga River and Nancy Point on the south end of Hooper Island. In the distance, as he sailed across the Bay, Smith saw high cliffs just above the horizon—the eroding cliffs between Drum Point and Little Cove Point—and made for them. Once across, he sailed north past the mouth of the Patuxent River and Calvert Cliffs, noting Plum Point Creek at Breezy Point and Fishing Creek at Chesapeake Beach. He probably anchored for the night between Fishing Creek and Randle Cliff.

The next day, Smith continued north along the shore, sailing all the way to the mouth of the Patapsco River and recording Herring Bay, the South River, White Hall Creek, and the Magothy River. He found no towns, suggesting that attacks by Iroquoian tribes to the north and west had depopulated the area. Smith probably stopped for the night at the mouth of the Patapsco.

Smith explored up the Patapsco River past the site of present-day Baltimore on June 13. First the men rowed the shallop upstream as far as today's town of Elkridge, and then they went on foot past the first falls of the river near

the present Interstate 95 bridge to a point about half a mile beyond present-day Avalon. He and his men looked for minerals but found none. They placed a brass cross claiming the valley for England at the farthest point they explored. Since the river obviously was not a navigable route to the interior, Smith returned to the mouth, exploring Northwest Harbor and Middle Branch on the way.

Whatever spirit of adventure the men had possessed when the voyage began had by this time worn thin, and they wanted to go back to Jamestown. Storm water had wet their bread and caused it to rot, and the crew had been jammed into the shallop for almost two weeks. The sudden absence of towns also may have made them uneasy. Smith gave them an oration, observing that there was no more risk in sailing on to find the Massawomeck nation than in returning to Jamestown, and they agreed to go on.

Nature intervened, however. A storm blew in on June 14, probably a northeaster with cold wind and rain, preventing the shallop from leaving the Patapsco. Five men fell ill, and Smith decided to return to Jamestown. The next day the wind propelled them south to Herring Bay, an easy sail that probably lifted the men's spirits. They spent the night there, and then sailed south again to the mouth of the Potomac River. On June 17, they navigated up the river about twenty miles to Nomini Bay on the south (Virginia) side. There they saw two native men and accepted their invitation to come with them up Nomini Creek to Onawmanient town. It was an ambush, however, with several hundred men emerging from the woods to shoot arrows at the Englishmen, who responded with gunfire deliberately aimed low. The warriors, perhaps both Chicacoan (Sekakawon) and Wicocomoco, laid down their weapons and agreed to an exchange of hostages. Soldier James Watkins was given up to the native men, and a parley followed. The Onawmanient chief told Smith that Powhatan had ordered the attack, but Smith thought that malcontents at Jamestown had

put him up to it. It is possible that Powhatan ordered Smith punished or chastised for wandering through the Chesapeake Bay region, trading with some who might be Powhatan's enemies, without his permission. Powhatan may have heard about the expedition from the Accomac. Chastised or not, Smith spent the night either with the Onawmanient chief or aboard the shallop in Nomini Bay.

Smith's travels on the Potomac River over the next four weeks—June 18 to July 15—are difficult to reconstruct because he wrote of them briefly and did not indicate their sequence or the exact time for each stage. At some point early in his journey up the Potomac, Smith met a Wicocomoco man named Mosco, who had an unusually heavy beard that suggested some European ancestry via earlier explorers. He assumed the position of guide and coordinator for Smith and his men, both on this and on Smith's second voyage of exploration. Mosco took the Englishmen mostly along the north bank of the river upstream as far as Patawomeck, where he remained while they went on. His plan may have been to keep them out of Powhatan's polity, where they were likely to encounter more chastisement (as apparently also occurred at Patawomeck and elsewhere on the south bank).

Smith, his men, and Mosco sailed to Saint Clement Bay due north across the river from Nomini Bay, then upriver to the Yeocomico (Wicomico) River, and next to Cecomocomoco back on the Potomac River. They visited the Potopaco people on the Port Tobacco River; this was part of the Piscataway polity, outside Powhatan's realm. Next came the Nanjemoy, followed by Patawomeck, where Mosco remained behind while the Englishmen continued upriver. They received hospitality from a number of people en route, including the Tauxenent (Dogues), supposedly on the edge of Powhatan's polity, the Pamacocack, Moyaone (Piscataway), and Nacotchtank. Eventually Smith reached the

Little Falls of the Potomac, a mile upstream from present-day Washington, D.C., and traveled overland to the Great Falls, where the party examined the rocks and studied the sediments that glittered with yellow dust (mica). He traded for furs with native people he encountered in canoes there and then worked his way back downstream to Patawomeck on Potomac Creek.

There he found that Mosco had persuaded the chief to allow Smith to visit a valuable mine. Located far up Aquia Creek, the mine produced an "ore" with silvery glitter (perhaps specular hematite) that was washed out, bagged, and traded over considerable distances. The silver specks were mixed with grease and paint to decorate faces and were highly esteemed. Several Patawomeck men led Smith and six of his party up the creek in the shallop about thirteen miles, and then they walked the rest of the way, about eight miles. Smith was vague about the mine's exact location, which seems to have been on a tributary of Aquia Creek. The group dug some of the ore, but when it was assayed in England later it was found to contain no silver.

Smith and his men returned downstream to the mouth of the Potomac River, probably visiting Ozatawomen town on Upper Machodoc Creek and perhaps Chicacoan on the Coan River. Eager to explore the Rappahannock River, Smith headed south along the shore of the Northern Neck on July 15, examining the creeks along the way and visiting Wicocomoco on the Great Wicomico River and the town of Conquack. From Ingram Bay, the next day Smith and his men sailed and rowed to Fleets Bay. On July 17, at low tide the shallop ran aground at the mouth of the Rappahannock River, where shoals extend for some distance into the Chesapeake Bay. Smith and his men decided to fish while they waited for the tide to float the boat, and employed their swords to impale the fish that swam through the shoals in abundance. Smith had the misfortune to spear a cow-nose ray, which sank its tail spine into his wrist as he tried to remove the fish.

His arm, shoulder, and chest swelled from the toxin, but Dr. Russell applied oil from his medical stores and by evening Smith was well enough to eat the ray for supper. He called the place Stingray Point, a name it bears to this day.

That night, Smith—still feeling the effects of the ray's sting—decided to postpone his exploration of the Rappahannock River and return to Jamestown. The incoming tide had floated the shallop off the shoal, and during the night the crew made enough progress to round Old Point Comfort and put in at Kecoughtan by the next evening. The Kecoughtan people, seeing the goods for which Smith had traded (including bows, arrows, warclubs shields, mantles, and furs), thought that the Englishmen had successfully fought the much-feared Massawomeck. Smith allowed them to believe this, and the night may have been spent feasting in celebration.

On July 20, the party made little progress up the James River, probably because of contrary winds. Smith landed for the night at Waraskoyack, only about fifteen miles upstream, but was consoled by additional celebrating, as word of his "victory" over the Massawomeck had reached at least that far. The next day, as the explorers approached Jamestown, they played a little joke on the inhabitants. Knowing that the colonists lived in dread of a Spanish attack and to test their responsiveness, Smith and his men decorated the shallop with painted streamers that looked Spanish rather than English, so that the Jamestown residents would think the vessel was a scouting boat in advance of a Spanish frigate. It is doubtful that Ratcliffe and the others were amused, because the situation at Jamestown had gone from bad to worse in Smith's absence.

According to Smith, Ratcliffe's role as president had turned him into a tyrant. He had plundered the stores and forced the workers to build him a "pallace in the woods." The men—perhaps as impressed with Smith's

apparent military success as the native people had been—begged him to overthrow Ratcliffe, and Smith agreed. In short order, he somehow deposed Ratcliffe, installed his friend Matthew Scrivener as acting president, and decided to continue his exploration of the Chesapeake Bay. This time he would concentrate first on the upper reaches of the Bay and then the Rappahannock River.

Smith's Second Chesapeake Bay Voyage

For his second voyage, Smith reduced the number of men from fourteen to twelve, keeping most of the same crew but replacing a few of them who were needed at Jamestown. He took five gentlemen instead of six, retaining James Bourne, Richard Featherstone, Thomas Momford, and Michael Sicklemore, adding Nathaniel Powell, and dropping William Cantrill and Ralph Morton. Anthony Bagnall replaced Walter Russell as physician. Edward Pising took Robert Small's place as carpenter, William Ward replaced John Powell as tailor, and blacksmith James Read remained behind. Fisherman Jonas Profit, fish merchant Richard Keale, and soldiers James Watkins and Anas Todkill, all members of the first expedition, also joined the second.

The first voyage had taught Smith that the Northwest Passage probably could not be found by sailing up the rivers that flowed into the Bay. He knew that the navigability of the James, the Potomac, and several other rivers terminated in rocky falls, and none of the native people he interviewed thought that a great sea was accessible by sailing farther west. On his second voyage, Smith would test the head of the Bay and the Rappahannock River, but he probably knew that any such passage lay elsewhere, if it existed.

Smith and his crew left Jamestown on July 24 and stopped that night at Kecoughtan, where the winds then shifted and delayed them for the next couple of days. The Kecoughtan people, convinced that Smith was on his way north to thrash the Massawomeck again, hosted him and his men. On July 27, the

wind turned favorable, and the expedition sailed into the Bay, headed north, and made Stingray Point that evening—a distance of about forty-five miles. The next day, the wind may have carried Smith and his men past the mouth of the Potomac River to Cove Point.

On July 29, the shallop sailed all the way to the mouth of the Patapsco River. A problem had developed, however. Half of the men, mostly those who had arrived in the "first supply" in January and were not yet "seasoned" by surviving a full year in the colony, had become very ill. Only six, including Smith, remained physically fit, which meant that rowing the heavy boat was virtually impossible and the smaller tributaries would have to remain unexplored. Under sail, the next day the vessel reached Turkey Point, where Smith saw that the Bay divided itself into four main rivers: the Susquehanna, the North East, the Elk, and the Tockwogh or Sassafras. He sailed the shallop into the North East River and anchored for the night.

Several crewmen walked six miles up Little North East Creek along the bank the next day, July 31, and placed a cross where the stream divided to claim the head of the Bay for England. They then returned to the shallop and sailed out into the Bay and west to the Susquehanna River. Contrary winds and the river current kept them from entering the mouth that day, so they sailed instead back across the Bay to the Sassafras River. As they approached the mouth, they saw seven or eight birch-bark canoes coming out, loaded with Massawomeck men. Smith hid his sick men—half the crew—under a tarpaulin, placed sticks with their hats along the gunwales with two muskets between each hat, and hoped that the warriors would think he had more armed men than he actually had. The ruse seemed to work. The Massawomeck turned and landed on one riverbank while Smith anchored opposite them, and both sides stared at each other for a while. Finally, two canoe loads of Massawomeck ventured out, and Smith gave them metal bells that broke the tension.

Everyone soon got down to business, and Smith traded into the evening for venison, bear meat, bearskins, fish, weapons, and shields. The Massawomeck told him that they had just come from a fight with the Tockwogh and showed him their wounds. The next morning, the Englishmen awoke to find them gone (across the Bay and up the Bush River, as Smith later learned).

On August 1, Smith slowly explored up the Sassafras River. Word of the strange craft quickly spread, and soon Tockwogh men arrived in canoes to surround and attack the Englishmen. Smith tried to persuade them of his friendly intentions in the Powhatan language but the Tockwogh spoke a different Algonquian language. Fortunately, one of them proved bilingual and he conveyed Smith's words to the others. When the Tockwogh spotted the Massawomeck weapons and shields, they (like the Kecoughtan) assumed that Smith had taken them by force. Smith said nothing to disabuse them of the notion. They escorted the Englishmen seven miles upriver to their palisaded town, where Smith noticed that they had tools of iron and brass and asked where they had come from. Told they were from the Susquehannock, who lived two days' journey above the falls of the Susquehanna River, Smith asked the bilingual Tockwogh to take another Tockwogh who spoke Susquehannock and invite representatives to a meeting at the town for trade.

The next day, the Englishmen and the Tockwogh men sailed across the Bay to the mouth of the Susquehanna River, then up to the falls. The native men departed, telling Smith that they would need three days to reach Susquesahanough, the principal town (located in present-day Pennsylvania near Washington Boro, southeast of Lancaster), and return—roughly forty miles each way from the river's mouth. After they left, Smith had his men plant a cross, and then they sailed back down the river and explored islands along the way, spending the night in the Susquehanna Flats just outside the river's mouth. The

Tockwogh men got into Pennsylvania before bivouacking.

On August 3, Smith sailed east across the Bay and spent the night at the mouth of the Elk River. The Tockwogh men reached Susquesahanough, where they rested for a day and answered questions about the Englishmen. The able-bodied from among Smith's crewmen, meanwhile, explored about eight miles up Big Elk Creek. At the stream's fork, they climbed a hill from which they may have been able to see Delaware Bay to the east, and planted another cross to claim the river for England. They then returned to the shallop for the night. On August 5, the Englishmen sailed back across the Bay and up the Susquehanna to the falls to wait for the Tockwogh men. At Susquesahanough, the Susquehannock leaders agreed to meet with Smith, organized a trading party, packed trade goods into canoes, and got ready for the quick half-day trip downstream.

The next day, the canoe fleet arrived at the falls with about sixty men and many gifts and trade goods. While most of the canoes remained in the river because of wind and chop on the Bay, intending to follow after the weather calmed, Smith took the five Susquehannock leaders and two interpreters aboard the shallop and sailed across to the Sassafras River and Tockwogh. Dancing and feasting took place there during the night. In the morning, Smith conducted an Anglican prayer service, which included a chanted psalm. The Susquehannock leaders reciprocated with a song, then embraced Smith and gave him a large number of presents. The Susquehannock may have intended the exchange to mark an alliance with the English, as they like the Tockwogh believed that Smith had defeated their mutual enemy, the Massawomeck. The remaining Susquehannock men probably arrived soon thereafter, and more feasting and trading followed. On August 8, Smith departed Tockwogh, heading south to explore other rivers including the Rappahannock on the way back to Jamestown. He and the native people proba-

bly saw this week of close contact as mutually beneficial: the Susquehannock and Tockwogh had a new trading partner and ally against the Massawomeck, while Smith had learned of other tribes with whom the Susquehannock traded—a network that reached into Canada. He had also learned, from the local inhabitants as well as from his own observations, that the head of the Chesapeake Bay did not lead to the Northwest Passage. It was not what he had hoped to find, but it was useful information nonetheless. His men, by this time, probably were feeling better, too. Before the end of the day, driven by good winds, the shallop got at least as far as Rock Hall on the Eastern Shore, and perhaps all the way to Sandy Point at the mouth of the Chester River.

Smith sailed south and west across the Bay to the Patuxent River on August 9, and the next day sailed and rowed upstream past two towns on the eastern bank to the principal town of Pawtuxunt on Battle Creek. After a night of rest and feasting there, Smith and his men, probably accompanied by a Pawtuxunt guide, sailed upriver and noted two more towns on the eastern side. They then entered a hunting area between the Pawtuxunt and the upriver tribes, whose leader resided at Mattpanient. Smith probably stopped there for a courtesy call, and reached the vicinity of today's Merkle Wildlife Management Area. On August 11, Smith halted downstream at Acquintanacsuck town for another courtesy call and a bit of trading. He and his men then continued to the town of Opanient near the mouth of the river, to drop off their guide and spend the night.

On August 13, the expedition sailed and rowed south toward the Rappahannock River, probably stopping for the night at Saint Jerome Creek. Smith reached the mouth of the Rappahannock the next day and then sailed upstream to Moraughtacund town on Lancaster Creek, where he had a reunion with Mosco. The bearded Wicocomoco man had heard his friends were exploring up the river, so he trekked to Moraughtacund to join them.

The leader there treated the Englishmen well, and they rested and feasted for a day or two.

Mosco guided Smith and his men upriver into the territory of the Rappahannock people on August 17, but with a warning. Because the Moraughtacund leader had recently appropriated three of the Rappahannock leader's wives, and because Smith had accepted Moraughtacund hospitality, the Rappahannock would consider him their enemy. Smith thought the Moraughtacund simply wanted all the trade for themselves, so he pressed on upstream and eventually approached the north bank, probably opposite Piscataway Creek just below present-day Tappahannock. There he saw a dozen Rappahannock men beckoning to him and displaying baskets of goods. Hostages were exchanged for good behavior, but suddenly the Rappahannock attacked. Smith and his men fought back with musket fire, set shields on their arms and rescued English hostage Anas Todkill, looted the Rappahannock dead (the survivors had fled), and departed in the shallop with Rappahannock canoes in tow. These Smith gave to Mosco, and then the party returned to Moraughtacund for feasting and celebration.

The next morning, Smith, his men, and Mosco departed upstream again, this time sailing past the Rappahannock towns and keeping close to the south bank. They had reached a point where the river narrows and turns left, not far from present-day Leedstown, when Rappahannock men hiding in the bushes let fly a volley of arrows. Smith replied with musket fire and passed safely out of range. When they were half a mile upriver, Smith looked back and saw the Rappahannock dancing and singing in derision. After another five miles, the party reached Pissaseck town, where the leader welcomed the Englishmen and they spent the night.

On August 19, Smith continued his expedition up the meandering Rappahannock and stopped at Nandtaughtacund at Portobago Bay to trade and spend the night. The next day the

Englishmen arrived at Cuttatawomen town at Skinkers Neck, where amid the feasting they were concerned about Richard Featherstone, one of the gentlemen among the crew, who had grown seriously ill, possibly with heat-stroke. On August 21, near Moss Neck, Featherstone died and was buried. The rest of the group probably spent the night nearby.

The next day, Smith and his men rowed to the vicinity of present-day Fredericksburg, just below the fall line. They went ashore, "digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs." Suddenly, after an hour, a group of warriors attacked; Smith and his crew fired back, and Mosco fought with them. When the attackers withdrew, leaving behind their dead, the Englishmen found one of them unconscious and carried him to the shallop, where Mosco questioned him for Smith after he regained consciousness. The man's name was Amorolect, and he was from a Mannahoac town, Hassinunga, on the upper Rappahannock River. The Mannahoac, like the Monacan, were Siouan speakers who lived outside the Powhatan polity. Amorolect knew that there were mountains west of his town, but nothing about what lay beyond them. He also said that his companions would return for their dead. Smith and his men, with Mosco and Amorolect, boarded the shallop, arranged their shield collection on the appropriate side of the vessel to help protect them, and anchored in mid-river. After dark, the Mannahoac returned with reinforcements and attacked, but their arrows fell short. Their war cries were so loud that Amorolect's cease-fire shouts could not be heard. Smith raised anchor and the boat drifted downstream, the Mannahoac following and shouting taunts, for about nine miles to Hollywood Bar.

On August 23, the next day, Smith and his crew had breakfast and took down the shields so that the Mannahoac men could see Amorolect safe and sound. He told his compatriots that the Englishmen were friends, and soon they were convinced. Some trading took place, Smith probably made further inquiries

about what lay over the mountains (the Hassinunga leaders did not know), and the explorers finally got underway, heading back downstream to Cuttatawomen. Smith had succeeded in establishing peaceful trading relations with the Mannahoac, Powhatan's enemies of interior Virginia.

The next day, Smith continued downriver. So that his great "victory" over the Mannahoac could be celebrated, he probably stopped at several towns including Pissaseck. There the leaders of that town and Nandtaughacund convinced Smith to make peace with the Rappahannock. Smith struck a hard bargain, however, since the Rappahannock had attacked him twice: they would have to come to the meeting unarmed, make peace with the Moraughtacund, present Smith with their leader's bow and arrows, and send the leader's son as a hostage in advance of the meeting. The Rappahannock, when they received the terms, agreed to all but one. The meeting took place on August 25 at Piscataway Creek, where the first ambush had occurred. The Rappahannock leader, three of whose wives had earlier been appropriated by the Moraughtacund leader, asked to make a present of his claim to them to Smith in lieu of his son, with whom he could not bear to part. Smith agreed, although he had no intention of keeping the women. Over the next three days, Smith got the Moraughtacund leader to surrender the women to him in the interest of peace.

On August 29, after the native men had scoured the woods for deer, a huge feast was laid on at Moraughtacund. Smith sealed his friendship with the leaders by distributing the women among them. First he gave each of the women beads, next he had the Rappahannock choose his favorite wife, then he had the Moraughtacund make his selection, and finally he gave the third woman to Mosco. The guide's importance and wealth had grown considerably not only because of his role in the expedition but also because of the booty he had received after the battles. Now he

changed his name to Uttasantscough—meaning stranger or Englishman—in honor of Smith and his crew. By the time Smith left, he later wrote, the people of the Rappahannock had promised to plant extra corn for the English the next year. Beside trading peacefully with the Mannahoac, Smith had also brokered a peace between adversaries within Powhatan's polity, breaking yet another rule.

The Englishmen bade farewell to their guide and new friends and departed about the last day of August, while the feasting continued. Smith had to return to Jamestown by September 10, when he was due to assume the presidency of the colony legitimately. He also had another river to explore, and at this time of year the winds were uncertain. By the evening of August 31, the shallop was anchored at the mouth of the Piankatank River. Over the next three days, Smith explored up and down the river, mapping it and visiting the Piankatank town, which like other towns along the river was virtually empty as the men were away hunting. As in other towns Smith had visited, he got those who remained in Piankatank town to promise him a share of the corn crop.

On the morning of September 3, a windless day, the crew began rowing down the Bay toward the James River. They made the mouth of the Poquoson River by dusk, but then a violent thunderstorm struck and they had to bail to keep from foundering. Smith hoisted sail in the dark to take advantage of the wind and steered the shallop to Old Point Comfort, its way illuminated by the lightning, and took shelter there. The next day was spent resting and drying clothes. On September 5, the group began sailing up the James River and explored the Elizabeth and Nansemond Rivers. Smith later wrote an account that claimed he had a running battle with the Nansemond, but this is questionable. On September 7, laden with notes, maps, war booty, gifts, and trade goods, the shallop docked at Jamestown.

John Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries had ended. He had failed to find gold, silver, or the Northwest Passage. But he had accomplished a great deal, for good and ill. He saw more with his own eyes (and wrote more about it) than any other Englishman then in Virginia. He gathered data for a map that would guide English explorers and settlers for decades to come. He journeyed a great distance for the time, in an open boat with crews that were often ill, and lost only one man. He faced storms and combat and brought his men and his vessel safely home. He formed alliances with a vast number of American Indian tribes, using courage and bluster and deception in the process, but he also violated the agreement with Powhatan and unwittingly endangered both Jamestown and the great chief. Smith's voyages brought out his best qualities—personal bravery, coolness in times of stress, canny negotiating skills, and a knack for leadership. They also illustrated his worst—deceit, manipulation, and the ability to wreak havoc among the native peoples through ignorance and stereotypical English arrogance. Regardless of the outcomes, however, Smith and his companions had survived a grand adventure, and the voyages were a great accomplishment.

The End of Smith's Sojourn in Virginia

One benefit of the voyage for Smith's men was that they had avoided the worst of the sickly season at Jamestown, where disease and poor sanitation had taken its usual toll. When Smith was elected president on September 10, 1608, he instituted a campaign of cleanup and repair. He had the fort rebuilt and enlarged, and also ordered the construction of another fort on the south side of the James River. Earthen remnants of that stronghold—the oldest-surviving English structure in Virginia—are located in present-day Surry County, on a site open to the public called Smith's Fort Plantation.

The settlers anticipated the imminent arrival of the "second supply." The fleet, led by

Christopher Newport, appeared in mid-October with seventy more colonists and provisions that Smith considered inadequate. In addition, Newport proposed to the council that he lead an expedition up the James River to look for mines in the land of the Monacans. Smith thought the time would be better spent in preparing for winter by gathering food stores and also in producing commodities for export to England. The council overruled Smith.

Newport also informed the council that the London Company had decided to stage a "coronation" ceremony for Powhatan at Jamestown, and had sent a large number of gifts for the chief in the name of the king. The purpose of the coronation was to recognize Powhatan's leadership of his own people as well as to symbolize his submission to King James I. Smith led a band of men to Werowocomoco to issue the invitation.

Smith found Powhatan absent, but the town's inhabitants entertained him and his party while they waited. When Powhatan arrived the next day, he scoffed at the invitation. According to Smith, Powhatan said, "If your king have sent me presents, I also am a king, and this my land, 8 daies I will stay [at Werowocomoco] to receive them. Your father [Newport] is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort." Powhatan then dismissed Smith.

Newport agreed to Powhatan's demands, and the gifts were carried to Werowocomoco. The ceremony proved a fiasco for the English. After presenting Powhatan with the gifts (copper, a basin and pitcher, and a bed and bedclothes), Newport attempted to get the chief to kneel to receive his crown. Powhatan refused, despite pleadings and demonstrations, but finally, with men "leaning hard" on his shoulders to bend him slightly, Newport got the crown on his head. In return, Powhatan gave Newport a pair of his old shoes and a cloak. He refused, however, to assist Newport in his expedition into Monacan country beyond sending a guide with him.

In this episode, Powhatan clearly showed his awareness of English strategy. He had made the English come to him, he had accepted the crown largely on his own terms, and he had accepted gifts as the tribute of the English. He had demonstrated that he was indeed the "king" in his own land.

Newport's journey to the interior proved as frustrating as the coronation. He took a hundred and twenty men with him, leaving eighty with Smith at the fort. Newport marched some forty or fifty miles beyond the falls and visited a couple of Monacan towns, but he had no better luck at finding gold mines or the Northwest Passage than had Smith. When Newport returned, his men were out of food; Newport had not been able to trade for corn, either.

Meanwhile, Smith busied himself organizing the remaining men to produce export goods. A "Glasse House" had been constructed about a mile from Jamestown, where German and Polish artisans made samples of glass. Other men produced pitch, tar, soap ashes, wainscot, and clapboard. Smith also organized his own expedition to the land of the independent Chickahominy to trade for corn. The native people refused to trade until Smith threatened them with military force. Smith eventually obtained several hundred bushels of corn and returned to the fort.

Factional divisions had intensified since Newport's arrival, and Smith gave his side of the story in a long letter that he sent to the London Company. According to him, Newport's sailors were hoarding supplies intended for the colonists as well as carrying on private trade with the Powhatan. Newport and Ratcliffe were promoting dissention and undermining his presidency. The Company's plans, too, were unrealistic. Although gold and other valuables might be discovered eventually, the colony needed to be seen as a long-term investment rather than as a get-rich-quick scheme. What was needed was large numbers of colonists to farm, build

houses and towns, and secure territory from the native peoples. His voyages had proven to his satisfaction, he wrote, that Virginia had the advantage "over the most pleasant places of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, for large and pleasant navigable rivers; heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by an industrious people." He also described the superabundance of natural resources and useful flora and fauna available for industrious settlers. Only a few thousand native people, he wrote, would have to share the resources. Commerce in goods other than gold or silver would be the salvation of the colony.

To accompany his letter, Smith enclosed the map he had been laboring over for months, which distilled the information he had gathered on his voyages from both his own observations and the descriptions given by local inhabitants. The map showed, as he wrote, the "way of the mountaines and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like." Smith's map would be published in 1612 and form the basis for his 1624 map as well. It established beyond challenge that the English had explored and "claimed" the Bay. It served the immigrants to come, helping them establish new colonies such as William Claiborne's 1632 settlement on Kent Island and Lord Baltimore's Maryland colony in 1634.

Once Newport departed, Smith faced in December 1608 the problem of provisioning the colony for the winter. First, he took two boats to the Nansemond, but they agreed to trade for corn only when he threatened force. Next, he tried the upstream James River towns all the way to the Appomattox River, but found the towns virtually deserted and the people willing to trade only for small quantities of corn. Obviously, Smith concluded, Powhatan was trying to starve the colony and would have to be confronted. Powhatan sent

word that he would provision the English if Smith would agree to build him an "English house" at Werowocomoco and visit him there, bringing a cannon, copper, beads, and swords and a grindstone as presents. Having no intention of arming Powhatan, Smith dispatched Richard Savage and four of the Germans overland to begin work on the house, and then followed with forty-six well-armed men, the shallop, and two barges on December 29.

By December 30, the party "lodged at Kecoughtan," as Smith later recounted in *The Generall Historie*. Because a storm kept him and his men there for the next six or seven days, the English celebrated Christmas amid the hospitality of the native people, "where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of good oysters, fish, flesh, wildfowl, and good bread, nor ever had better fires in England than in the dry, warm, smoky houses of Kecoughtan." Thus Smith wrote in the first description of Christmas in English America.

The weather was bitterly cold, almost as chilly as the reception Smith received on January 12, 1609, at Werowocomoco after a two-week voyage down the James River and up the Pamunkey (York). Powhatan denied having sent for him and asked when he would leave. He looked with disdain on the trade goods Smith had brought and said that although he had no corn to spare, he would part with some at the exorbitant rate of one bushel per sword. Years later, when Smith reported the conversation between the two men, it was clear that Powhatan had finally discovered the truth: that the Englishmen intended to stay and take over his country. Smith, he said, had failed to acknowledge his authority even though the English had been incorporated into the Powhatan polity, and although they only survived because the Powhatan people fed them. He had treated Smith better than any of his other chiefs, and yet Smith refused to obey him, would not give him the arms he asked for, and had come to meet him with a party of armed men, not as a friend. Smith, who would hardly even obey Newport, told Powhatan that

he could only subordinate himself to King James I. He could not be Powhatan's subject but could be his friend—not that he needed to do so for food, for the English could always take what they wanted by force—but because he desired to live in peace. He said that as a sign of trust he would put his arms aside the next day and continue negotiations. Powhatan rose and left, and the two men never saw each other again.

Smith had been warned at Warraskoyack, where he and his men stopped en route to Werowocomoco, that Powhatan intended to kill him. He now concluded that the report was true. He decided to kidnap Powhatan the next day and escape with as much corn as he could carry. First, however, he had to force his way through a crowd that had formed around Powhatan's residence (probably not the English-style house; it is not known whether it was ever completed). He then had to wait for the tide to turn. In the meantime, the people feasted him, gave him presents including some corn, and generally attempted to delay him. Smith had his men stay armed and alert until the time was right, and then the English departed.

Instead of returning immediately to Jamestown, Smith sailed upstream to Pamunkey territory, where Opechancanough, Powhatan's kinsman, was the leader. By the time he arrived, Opechancanough of course had heard all about what had transpired at Werowocomoco and had formulated a plan of his own. While trading with Smith for corn, he had several hundred men quietly surround the English. Smith responded first by challenging Opechancanough to single combat, then by grabbing his hairlock and holding a pistol to his chest while the Englishmen escaped to their boats. Once all were aboard, Smith released Opechancanough. Now all was clear: the alliance was dissolved and the English were at war with the Powhatan in the first of several bloody conflicts (this one continued until 1614).

Smith arrived at Jamestown with enough corn to sustain the colony for a while, but found that his friend Matthew Scrivener and several others had drowned when their boat overturned. The settlers were hungry, frightened, depressed, and on the verge of mutiny. Some had already mutinied. Two of the Germans assigned to build Powhatan's English house had gone over to the native people, relieving the fort of arms and other supplies in Smith's absence and encouraging several other colonists to join them. Smith tried to put everyone to work, declaring that "he that will not worke shall not eate," but some of the men refused to cooperate because planting and fishing were beneath their social status. They also knew that any surplus or profit from their labors would go to the investors in England.

Smith dispersed the settlers in the spring, sending almost half of them to various locations up- and downstream. This move reduced the mortality rate that summer, although it exposed more colonists to attack by the Powhatan warriors. But the situation remained desperate, with the colony riddled with factions, with hunger still a problem, and with the native people uncooperative or hostile.

In England, meanwhile, the Virginia Company had absorbed Smith's letter as well as other reports and had arrived at a new, harsh policy regarding the native people. Seeing them as devil worshipers in thrall to their "priests" and as the downtrodden subjects of a despotic Powhatan, the Company decided that the religious leaders should be killed or imprisoned, the people converted to Christianity and transformed into farmers, and Powhatan overthrown and replaced with English rule. The native inhabitants would pay tribute to the English, and trade with the Powhatan and other polities was to be strictly regulated. In addition, the English settlers were to move inland as soon as possible.

On July 13, the Virginia colonists received some relief when Captain Samuel Argall arrived with a few supplies. Immediately behind him,

however, came a Spanish scouting vessel. Its captain had sailed from Florida to determine whether the English had established a foothold in Spanish Virginia. Stopping at a native town on the Santee River in present-day South Carolina, at least three hundred miles south of Jamestown, the captain learned a great deal of accurate information about the colony. He was told of its location, that the colonists had allied with native people for food, that they spent more time on fortifying their island than on planting, and that vessels (probably the shallow and barges) went to and from the island frequently. When the Spaniard arrived in the Chesapeake Bay and spotted Argall's vessel at the mouth of the James River, he hesitated at first and then approached. After he saw smoke signals rising from various places along the shore, however, he knew he had lost the element of surprise and turned back for Florida. For the moment, the English colony was safe from Spanish attack.

Early in June, a large resupply fleet under Christopher Newport had departed Plymouth harbor for Virginia. Besides Newport, it also carried Sir Thomas Gates, the colony's interim governor pending the arrival of Governor Thomas West, baron De La Warr, later in the year. Sir George Somers, appointed admiral of Virginia, and other gentlemen who would play important roles in the colony, including John Rolfe, came as well. On July 24, about a week out from Cape Henry, the fleet encountered a ferocious hurricane that dispersed the ships hither and yon. The *Sea Venture*, carrying Newport, Gates, and Somers, almost sank but miraculously stayed afloat. It then struck rocks but remained upright just off one of the Bermuda islands—an adventure later transformed and immortalized in Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*. The rest of the fleet straggled into Jamestown beginning August 11.

Although Smith welcomed the supplies and the new colonists, the problems of infighting, jealousies, and wild charges of disloyalty threatened to rend the colony asunder again. Smith dispersed large numbers of colonists, both to

break up the cabals and to save the rapidly dwindling food supply. He wanted the dispersed settlers to share dwellings and food with friendly inhabitants. Francis West led a hundred and twenty men to Powhatan town at the falls of the James River, while John Martin and George Percy took sixty to Nansemond. Martin and Percy tried to purchase land from the Nansemond chief but, when he refused to sell, burned the town and desecrated the temples where the remains of dead chiefs lay in honor. Soon their settlement was virtually under siege by the outraged Nansemond people.

Upriver, meanwhile, West began constructing a fort near the bank, which Smith thought liable to flooding; he ordered West to occupy the palisaded town instead. West and his men refused with such vehemence that Smith withdrew out of concern for his own safety. Later, he made another unsuccessful attempt to persuade them. When native men killed several of West's men in the woods, however, the remainder reconsidered. Smith arrived at the falls in West's absence and got them into the town after negotiating with Parahunt, Powhatan's son who was the chief there. When West returned—irate at what he considered Smith's interference—they all went back to the fort. Some of the men suspected that Smith had conspired with the Powhatan people to kill West and set himself up as a sort of king. Smith perhaps had wanted them to live in the town with the Powhatan to avoid the appearance of establishing a permanent settlement.

Smith gave up and departed for Jamestown. As he slept in his boat, a lighted match "accidentally" ignited his gunpowder bag, which exploded, setting his clothes afire and burning his leg especially badly. Smith leapt into the river to extinguish the flames, and his crew returned him to Jamestown half-mad with pain. Smith later claimed that Martin, Ratcliffe, and Gabriel Archer plotted to murder him in his bed there, but instead they packed him off to England. They also sent a letter to the

Company detailing several charges against Smith: ruling alone without the aid of the council, plotting with Powhatan to make himself a “king” and starving the men in order to force them to work. They also accused him of being too harsh in his treatment of the native people, an ironical assertion given what happened later. Smith arrived in London, slowly recovering from his injuries, late in November. Although the Company declined to pursue the charges against him, it never again sent him to the colony. John Smith’s Virginia adventure had ended.

Smith the Writer

While Smith continued to seek employment, he also set about turning his earlier work, *A True Relation*, and his notes and sketch maps from his Chesapeake Bay voyages, into a book. The result, *A Map of Virginia*, appeared in 1612. It consists of a book in two parts, and the map, which was reissued in many “states” between then and 1632. The first part of the book is Smith’s “Description of the Country,” which details the fauna and flora of the Chesapeake region, as well as the American Indians who lived there. The second part describes the history of the colony and has a separate title page: *The Proceedings of the English Colonie In Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612*. Although Smith contributed to this section, other authors’ names are on the title page. Interestingly, three of them—Anas Todkill, Walter Russell, and Nathaniel Powell—accompanied Smith on one or both of his Chesapeake Bay voyages.

Smith returned to America in 1614, when he explored present-day Maine and the Massachusetts coast, and then sailed back to England. Attempting to return the next year in the employment of the Plymouth Company, he was captured by pirates but escaped to France, then England. There he wrote *A Description of New England*, published in 1616. Although he advanced several schemes for colonization and other endeavors in

America, he remained in England the rest of his life. In 1624, he published his magnum opus, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. It is in part a compilation of others’ writings as well as his own efforts. It also reflected his frustration over not recovering a leadership role in the colonization movement, and his anger with the Powhatan over the attack of March 22, 1622. Nonetheless, despite his personal disappointments, Smith continued to promote colonization for the rest of his life.

He wrote several other books as well as poems, but it is for the *True Relation*, the *Map of Virginia*, and the *Generall Historie* that he is best remembered. They are self-promoting, of course, but also readable and exciting firsthand accounts of the wonders that he saw, especially in the Chesapeake Bay region. Smith viewed himself as the father of England-in-America, as he explained in one of his books: “that the most of those fair plantations did spring from the fruits of my adventures and discoveries is evident.” He died on June 21, 1631. His epitaph was his last act of self-evaluation, delightfully ironic given the skepticism with which his writings often have been read:

*Here lies one conquered that hath conquered kings,
Subdu’d large territories, and done things
Which to the world impossible would seem
But that the truth is held in more esteem.*

If Smith’s claim to be the father of Virginia and New England seems farfetched, it is also difficult to imagine who might have a better claim to the title. He was not the prime mover of the colonies’ settlement, but through his maps and writings he enticed many thousands of adventurous souls to follow in his wake. He helped establish English primacy on America’s East Coast. He understood early that the colonies would not be successful without allowing the settlers to work for themselves instead of for a faceless company across the sea. He knew that the corporate model had to change or else it would fail.

The London Company did collapse, and the Virginia colony was taken over by the Crown, but not before his vision of small private landholdings had been adopted. This, and his understanding that the wealth of America lay in its natural resources, not merely in precious metals or as an imagined trade route to the East, make him as much a father to colonial success as anyone might have a right to claim.

Smith remains for Americans today a fascinating, contradictory character, perhaps because he seems to personify so many traits that have come to be regarded as quintessentially American. He was bold and brave and blustery; he was certain of his own rectitude; he was not reluctant to lead; he was not the best of followers; he was cool in times of crisis; he was opportunistic, pragmatic, and ambitious. He rose from modest means to become a figure of heroic proportions—according to his account—largely through his own wit and skill. His relentless self-promotion was typical of his time (and ours), not an aberration. And it was largely based on real accomplishments, most notably his voyages of exploration and “discovery” on the Chesapeake Bay. With crews of sometimes ill and frightened amateurs, in the heat of the summer, he sailed and rowed hundreds of miles, seeing and recording new things every day. The maps and books he produced from these and other adventures bore consequences for the native peoples as well as for new settlers for many years to come. His voyages were magnificent achievements not surpassed, perhaps, until the Lewis and Clark expedition almost two centuries later.

The Survival of the Virginia Colony

Powhatan had abandoned Werowocomoco soon after his last meeting there with John Smith in January 1609. He moved his capital first to Orapacks, on the Chickahominy River near present-day Bottoms Bridge, and then by 1614 at the latest to Matchut on the upper Pamunkey River. This town, located about fifty miles from Jamestown, was as far away from the English as Powhatan could get and

still govern his polity. It was also very close—just across the river—from Youghatanund, Opechancanough’s capital. Powhatan remained well informed about the Englishmen and their activities, and no doubt watched with interest as the foreign settlements seemed to collapse.

During the winter of 1609–1610, conditions in the colony deteriorated to perhaps their lowest point. This was the infamous “starving time” that made the hardships of previous years pale in comparison. Desperate Englishmen attempted to flee to the native people and were killed. Others, such as those at the outpost in Nansemond territory, were wiped out. Their bodies were later found, in the words of George Percy, “their mowthes stopped full of Brede, beinge donn as it seamethe in Contempte and skorne thatt others might expecte the Lyke when they shold come to seeke for breade and reliefe amongste them.” Most of the survivors, except for a garrison at Point Comfort, fled to Jamestown, as did West’s men from Powhatan town at the falls.

Percy had been elected temporary president, and he acted to relieve the colonists’ suffering by sending two expeditions to the Virginia Indians to trade for food. Both failed miserably. One, invited to Orapacks by Powhatan, was ambushed; most of the men were killed and their leader, the unfortunate Ratcliffe, was captured and then honored with a warrior’s death by torture. The other group, under West, sailed up the Chesapeake Bay to trade with the Patawomeck. Although West succeeded in filling his boat with corn, he so ill-treated the Patawomeck, killing several, that he made enemies of them. Finally, when his men learned from the Point Comfort garrison of the increasingly grim conditions at Jamestown, they mutinied and sailed for England. Powhatan then waged a war of attrition against the survivors at the settlement, closing it off from the surrounding land, killing livestock foraging in the woods, and slaying settlers who strayed from the fort.

By the spring of 1610, the colonists had had enough. The Powhatan people had lifted the siege to attend to their own planting, but the Englishmen made plans to abandon Jamestown. Before Percy could act, however, two small vessels arrived. They contained Gates and Somers and their men, who had survived in Bermuda and constructed the ships. They found Jamestown almost in ruins, with almost three-fourths of the colonists there having either died or run off. The survivors looked like “anatomies,” as George Percy described them: walking corpses shriveled into skeletons. Gates decided to abandon Virginia altogether and sail to the English fishing colony in Newfoundland. As the colonists left on June 7, however, they encountered ships sailing upriver with the governor, Lord De La Warr, who ordered them all back to Jamestown. He had brought with him a large number of well-equipped men, including soldiers, as well as women and children—about five hundred people altogether—and enough food to last them all for some time. The fortunes of the colony had just been reversed.

The Virginia Company had reorganized the colony along military lines and secured a new charter in 1609 that greatly increased the area of “Virginia” to include most of what later became the United States. Whereas until then all the land had been under the Company’s control, now the concept of the private ownership of land was introduced into the colony, although it did not become a viable policy until the charter of 1618 was issued. The Company based its new plans and its instructions to the directors in Jamestown in part on John Smith’s *True Relation*, his letter, and the map he had drawn. It also ordered a new policy toward the native people that made the harsh behavior of which Smith was accused look like coddling.

De La Warr took charge at once. Chastising the colonists for their laziness and bickering, he instituted a military regime. He “drafted” the civilians into a quasi-military unit and trained them. He organized Jamestown’s day

by using bells to summon people to work, meals, and rest. He created a chain of command and expanded and strictly enforced the code of laws and regulations that Gates had already introduced. Realizing that Jamestown had to become self-sufficient to survive, especially given the vagaries of resupply from England and the embargo instituted by the Powhatan, he set some of the colonists to farming and others to fishing, while he dispatched Somers and Argall to Bermuda to retrieve hogs. He also set men to repairing the town itself including the palisade.

De La Warr then turned to the Virginia Indians. He sent a message to Powhatan: whereas he had accepted “upon his knees a Crowne . . . thereby obliging himselfe to Offices of dutie to his Majestie,” Powhatan must now return all escaped settlers, tools, and weapons to Jamestown. Powhatan retorted that the English could either “depart his Country, or confine themselves to James Towne only,” or he would order his people to kill them wherever they were found. He also told De La Warr not to send messengers again unless they brought him a coach and horses such as men of his station used in England. De La Warr replied that if Powhatan failed to comply with his demands, then the Englishmen would kill any native people they saw and burn their towns and crops.

De La Warr sent Gates and others on expeditions against the Powhatan. After one of his men was killed, Gates landed at Kecoughtan, whose inhabitants he blamed, had his drummer play to attract a crowd, and then opened fire. Twelve to fourteen were killed and the rest fled, leaving the town and cornfields to Gates. George Percy led an attack on Paspahugh on August 10, killing fifteen or more, decapitating the wounded, torching the town, and carrying off the corn. He took the chief’s wife and children prisoner; soldiers threw the children into the river and then shot “owtt their Braynes in the water,” and a short time later others led their mother into the woods and slaughtered her. Other expeditions were

launched against the Chickahominy and Warraskoyack. Believing that he had intimidated the Powhatan, De La Warr sent an expedition up the James River to Appomattoc to search for mines. The Englishmen accepted an invitation to a feast there, then were attacked; only one escaped. A second, military expedition burned the town.

Powhatan's retaliatory movements did not follow the English model, with armies marching to and fro and fighting pitched battles. His conflicts could scarcely be called wars at all, but were instead a series of raids. They were usually small in scale, often punitive in nature or conducted for the purpose of testing young men as well as protecting Powhatan territory from interlopers.

The obliteration or defeat of the enemy frequently was less important than delivering a message or exhibiting courage. The Powhatan people pursued this sort of war against the English, who had increased the stakes by massacring the Paspahegh chief's wife and children (according to the Powhatan rules of combat, only men were to be killed).

As the conflict continued, more Englishmen continued to die of disease. De La Warr himself fell ill and left Virginia at the end of March 1611, eventually reaching England and writing a rosy report on the colony's progress. Gates had come home before De La Warr, and his story of shipwreck and survival in the Bermudas caused a sensation. Just before De La Warr had left Virginia, the London Company dispatched yet another large fleet with three hundred settlers as well as cattle and a year's worth of provisions. Sir Thomas Dale was now in charge as deputy governor.

Dale continued De La Warr's military discipline, strictly enforcing the laws and putting everyone to work clearing land, planting corn, or rebuilding the ever-deteriorating Jamestown. He established other fortifications in addition to the one at Point Comfort (Fort Algernon). He also led large-scale military operations, such as one

against the Nansemond, in which English soldiers in full armor killed the people, burned their towns, and stripped their cornfields.

Most important for both the colonists and the Powhatan people, Dale pressed on with the Company's plans to establish a new capital farther inland, near the falls of the James River, as well as other new settlements. In August 1611, Gates arrived back in Virginia with another three hundred colonists, a hundred head of cattle, and more provisions and ammunition. The next month, Dale sent Captain Edward Brewster with three hundred and fifty men overland to the falls, while he followed by water with supplies, tools, and cut timber. Powhatan realized that the English were now invading the heart of his polity and attacked Brewster on his march. His people kept up the attacks while the new town, called Henrico, was under construction, but could not stop its progress. The Powhatan warriors were hampered not only by English armor, but also by the palisade with watchtowers built across the neck of land to protect Henrico. In addition, Dale led attacks against Appomattoc towns, which he burned. This type of warfare continued for the next two years.

In the spring of 1613, however, matters took a dramatic turn. Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter, was visiting friends among the Patowomeck when Captain Samuel Argall, who was on a trading mission nearby, learned of it. He used his influence as well as threats against a Patowomeck chief to set a kidnapping plot in motion. The chief and his wife came aboard Argall's ship with Pocahontas for dinner and to spend the night, and the next morning they slipped off, leaving Pocahontas in Argall's custody. He sailed away with her and sent a message to her father that if he ever wanted to see his daughter again he must return all English captives, with their weapons and tools, as well as a large quantity of corn. Powhatan eventually complied, but only in part, for he could not allow his people to see him as weak. His polity, however, was disintegrating

nonetheless as individual tribes, weary of fighting and having their towns destroyed, sued for peace with the English.

In March 1614, Dale forced the issue to a climax by sailing up the Pamunkey (York) River with Pocahontas in tow to confront Powhatan at Matchut. After many threats by both sides, Powhatan not only agreed to Dale's demands but also surrendered Pocahontas to him and agreed to peace. On learning of this, Pocahontas agreed to baptism as a Christian and took the name Rebecca. She subsequently married John Rolfe early in April, and Powhatan sent representatives to the ceremony. A couple of weeks later, the Chickahominy also asked for peace with the English, and soon an accord was reached. Dale and the English may have thought that the Virginia Indians had largely been subjugated. To Powhatan, however, the peace agreement merely terminated the state of war and signified his grudging agreement to allow the Englishmen to occupy some of his land because he could not dislodge them. He remained no one's subject. On this uneasy note ended the first sustained conflict between the English and the Powhatan.

Two years later, in March 1616, Captain Samuel Argall sailed for England. Aboard his vessel were Dale, returning home for his health, John Rolfe with Pocahontas and their infant son, Thomas, and an assortment of Powhatan men and young women. During the next year, Pocahontas gained fame in London, met King James I, had a brief reunion with John Smith, and died as she prepared to return to Virginia in March 1617. John Rolfe came back alone, leaving his son to be reared as an Englishman.

Before he departed Virginia for England, Rolfe, the secretary of the colony, had drawn up a list of settlements. There were six: Henrico, Bermuda Hundred just below Henrico, West and Shirley Hundred downstream from Bermuda Hundred, Jamestown, Kecoughtan on the Hampton River, and on

the Eastern Shore near Cape Charles, Dale's Gift. The colony had spread out considerably under Dale's regime.

A decade after the first colonists arrived, they still had not found large quantities of precious metals or the Northwest Passage. Rolfe, however, had discovered something else that would put the colony on a relatively sound economic footing: tobacco worthy of export. The tobacco that the Powhatan people used was dark and bitter. Rolfe altered the course of tobacco history about 1612 by importing seeds from the Orinoco River valley, Spanish territory in what is now Venezuela. When planted in the relatively rich bottomland of the James River, the seeds produced a milder, yet still-dark leaf that soon became the standard in London. Although the Company discouraged the widespread growing of tobacco, its increasing popularity in England soon made it Virginia's money crop. Settlers who once neglected to plant corn so they could search for gold later neglected that crop so they could cultivate tobacco.

Samuel Argall assumed the position of deputy governor in May 1617, when he arrived back in Virginia. He brought with him a new policy from the London Company that expanded the private ownership of land to virtually every settler. This policy, the headright system that granted a hundred acres to "ancient planters" and fifty acres to each new settler, was confirmed in the Company's new charter issued on November 18, 1618. The Company had decided on this course to encourage immigration and promote self-sufficiency. Now groups of investors could join together to obtain large tracts and private plantations. The policy succeeded in its goal of attracting thousands of new settlers over the next few years. It also increased the pressure on the Powhatan people as those settlers arrived and spread out over the land. The colonists not only expanded agriculture into new parts of the polity, but also constructed an ironworks on Falling Creek, a tributary of the James River upstream from Henrico. As the demand for tobacco—

an infamously labor-intensive crop—increased, the demand for workers accelerated, too. A hint of the future arrived in August 1619, when “20. and Odd Negroes” disembarked in Virginia from a Dutch vessel. Slavery was not instantly established in the colony, it evolved slowly over the next thirty or forty years, and became institutionalized later in the century as the number of indentured servants from England declined.

In 1620, thirteen years after the first permanent English colony was established in Virginia, the second one was founded at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Among the ways in which the colonists aboard the ship *Mayflower* differed from the Jamestown pioneers was that women and girls, indeed entire families, were among them. English women first came to Virginia in significant numbers that same year, although some had arrived earlier either with their husbands or following them. The ninety unmarried women who came in 1620 were followed the next year by a smaller number of single girls and widows. Company policy encouraged the settlers to marry and found families now that, it was believed, the Virginia colony was more stable.

Perhaps stability was assumed because there had been peace for several years and because Powhatan had died in March 1618. His power and influence among his people probably dwindled slowly during his later years, as it became evident that the English were beyond his control. He might have been the “king” in his own country, but he was no longer the master of his own house. As Powhatan’s fortunes declined, Opechancanough’s rose, perhaps because he was more active throughout the polity in both domestic and military matters. He also developed a plan to confine the English to Jamestown, or perhaps even to drive them from his country.

On March 22, 1622, Opechancanough set his plan in motion. He had taken several years to design it. During the period of peace, the English had become accustomed to the

comings and goings of Powhatan people in their settlements. Acting on the Company’s instructions, many of the colonists embraced the native people, taking their children into their families with the idea of educating and converting them to Christianity. Other Indians worked on farms, or came around frequently to trade. But on the morning of March 22, the Powhatan suddenly attacked and killed an estimated 347 of the English, destroying the Falling Creek ironworks as well. Most of the onslaught occurred in outlying settlements. Some were wiped out entirely, while others were spared when native inhabitants who had become fond of specific English families warned them. The effect of the attack on the colony was devastating.

Opechancanough did not intend to kill every English man, woman, and child in Virginia, but to punish the families that had moved much beyond the bounds of Jamestown, the only part of his polity in which they had been given permission to live. He probably hoped to strike such a blow as would at least cause the settlers to limit severely the colony’s territory. He may have also hoped that they might leave altogether, as they had almost done on more than one occasion in the early years.

The attack failed to accomplish its goals. Not only did the Company refuse to limit, much less abandon, the colony, it sent even more settlers as well as armor and arms with which to attack the native people. It had a new goal: to wipe the Powhatan from Virginia’s face. For the next decade, until 1632, the colony’s leaders sent roving armies against the native inhabitants, destroying towns, crops, and fish weirs, in the hope that they would either agree to become the colonists’ laborers or leave. The English themselves endured another “starving time” during the winter of 1622–1623 but continued to inflict damage on the Powhatan. In April 1623, under the guise of a peace parley and feast, Captain William Tucker first poisoned and then shot a large number of Kiskiack Indians. Opechancanough may have

been among them; he survived. The next year, in July, Governor Sir Francis Wyatt led a force against the Pamunkey and, in a pitched battle over two days, defeated them and destroyed their crops and town.

In the midst of the war, a major change occurred in the colony's governance. King James revoked the Company's charter on May 24, 1624, and the colony reverted to the Crown. Opechancanough's attack had revealed the inability of the Company to defend its interests sufficiently, and henceforth the English government would control the Virginia colony. When James died in March 1625, his son Charles I occupied the throne and confirmed the new arrangement.

The colony soon recovered from the effects of Opechancanough's attack of 1622. The Powhatan polity gradually declined in the colonial government's consideration as an entity, and peace arrangements were made with individual tribes as they gave up the fight. In 1632, for example, a peace treaty was concluded between the English and the Pamunkey, as well as the Chickahominy, that effectively ended the second major conflict between the English and the Powhatan.

Two colonists, Henry Fleet and William Claiborne, profited from the peace by establishing trading operations on the Potomac River and upper Chesapeake Bay respectively. Claiborne transported colonists to Kent Island in present-day Maryland, where he traded with the Susquehannock; they gave him Palmer Island at the mouth of the Susquehanna River for a trading post more convenient to their territory. Fleet, meanwhile, was frustrated by the Anacostian people, who had become allied with the Massawomeck up the Potomac River and served as trading middlemen. After Cecil Calvert—Lord Baltimore—obtained his Maryland charter from King Charles I and the first colonists arrived in 1634, they allied with Fleet. Conflicts soon erupted between Maryland governor Leonard Calvert and Claiborne and his Susquehannock allies.

They were not settled until 1652, when Claiborne's forces took over the colony.

As the English gradually dominated more of the coastal plain, with farms and families spreading over the land, the Virginia colony assumed the appearance of permanence. The General Assembly, the first legislative body in America, held its initial meeting in 1619, the same year that the colony was subdivided into four large corporations. During the 1620s, local courts were established, and by the mid-1630s the governmental subdivisions known as counties had been created.

The earliest surviving court records date to 1632. Other records for the period are scarce, however, and it is difficult to reconstruct accurately the relations between the native people and the English settlers.

Jamestown itself began to take on the appearance of an English port town early in the 1620s. Located east of the old fort, the capital had escaped the attack of 1622 unscathed. By the time Virginia became a royal colony, the growing community housed merchants, artisans, and government officials, and contained workshops and storehouses as well as dwellings. Jamestown had become a center of commerce and trade, from which tobacco was exported to England, and through which goods passed to the settlers. It was also the place where the small but growing number of African servants arrived in Virginia. There the settled commercial colony that John Smith and the other first adventurers had imagined was finally emerging as midcentury approached. Other towns emerged in the Chesapeake in Virginia and Maryland only much later in the century, primarily growing around tobacco inspection stations and warehouses.

Relations between the Maryland colonists and the native peoples there got off to a better start than in Virginia, except for the periodic conflicts between the Fleet and Claiborne factions and their native supporters. Fleet and Governor Calvert asked permission before

establishing settlements on native lands, cooperated with them in planting crops, and generally treated them with respect. Early in the 1640s, however, the situation changed when the English Civil War, which had begun with the deposition of Charles I in 1642, spilled over into the Chesapeake region. More internal strife occurred in both colonies. Stability returned to Maryland in 1646–1647 and the tide of immigration swelled, putting great pressure on the native peoples.

The Virginia colonists, meanwhile, continued to keep a wary eye on Opechancanough and the Powhatan Indians for many years. On April 18, 1644, however, he struck again, attacking outlying settlements and killing perhaps four to five hundred English.

The settlements on the south side of the James River and the upper reaches of the York River were especially hard hit. By this time, however, the English population stood at about ten thousand, so the effect of the attack was less severe than in 1622. The governor, Sir William Berkeley, mounted expeditions against various Powhatan districts including the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, constructed additional forts, and so harassed the people that the Weyanock and some of the Nansemond moved out of the area altogether.

In March or April 1646, Opechancanough himself was captured and brought to Jamestown. Estimated to be almost a hundred years old, shriveled and unable to open his eyes without someone lifting the lids, Opechancanough remained defiant. Crowds gathered to gawk at him, and when he heard the commotion and saw them, he “scornfully” told the governor that “had it been his fortune to take Sir William Berkeley prisoner, he should not meanly have exposed him as a show to the people.” Shortly thereafter, one of his English guards shot him in the back, and Opechancanough died.

On October 5, 1646, a new paramount chief—Necotowance—signed a peace treaty with the colony. The treaty divided the old

polity into English and Virginia Indian sections (the boundaries of which the colonists would soon enough ignore), and it also made clear in its very first article that the balance of power had shifted forever: “Necotowance do acknowledge to hold his kingdom from the king’s Majesty of England, and that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the king’s governors from time to time.” The colony of Virginia would henceforth survive and grow, and the native people of Tsenacomoco would have no say in the matter. In 1650, as settlement pushed north of the York River, Necotowance and two other tribal leaders asked the English to set aside acreage for their people; the Powhatan polity had disintegrated.

The year 1646 marked both an end and a beginning. The English colony’s survival was assured as early as the 1620s, despite the great attack of 1622, because the Powhatan could not stop the flood of new settlers encouraged by the headright system. Sheer numbers, technological superiority, self-sufficiency, and the determination to expand regardless of native opposition tilted the balance to the English long before 1646. It took Opechancanough’s last attack and defeat, however, for the native peoples to acknowledge that reality. In addition, Opechancanough’s death in that year cut the last link to the first years of the colony and especially to John Smith. Opechancanough was the sole surviving major player in that drama who had known Smith, spoken with him, and fought with him. Truly, an era had ended with the old man’s death.

The other colonies established in the Chesapeake Bay watershed—Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania—eventually followed the pattern of English-native relations in Virginia. Before long, many of the tribes that John Smith had encountered in his voyages had either disappeared from English records or had been vastly reduced in numbers from disease, intertribal and intercultural conflicts, and immigrations to other parts of the country. The last significant war against the

native people in seventeenth-century Virginia was Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. A few tribes survived on reservations, some lived quietly in self-contained communities, while others emigrated or lost their cohesion and were assimilated into the surrounding population of non-natives. In Virginia, even the surviving tribes were officially stripped of their identities as Virginia Indians by the "racial purity" laws of the early twentieth century. Only recently, in historical terms, have they emerged from the shadows to claim recognition by state and federal authorities, a struggle that is far from over.

John Smith's voyages on the Chesapeake Bay had far-reaching consequences. His "discoveries," recorded in his maps and books, helped to change Company policy toward private landholding and promoted the trans-

formation of the Bay's environment through farming and the settlers' exploitation of natural resources. The large-scale emigration from England that followed in Smith's wake increased the pressure on the native peoples and the Bay itself. Smith's model for settlement in the Bay region largely became the model for English America from New England to the Carolinas. His maps served settlers and colonial governments until late in the seventeenth century. And the stories of his exploits continue to intrigue Americans today.

The threats to the Chesapeake Bay ecosystem, with which the native peoples had lived for so many centuries, are well documented and beyond the scope of this study. Perhaps, as modern tourists follow the trail of exploration laid down by John Smith, they will come to revere the Bay as did those first Americans.

TIMELINE

Before 1607

- 1524 Spanish explorer may have visited Chesapeake Bay
- 1546 French vessel enters the Chesapeake Bay
- Ca. 1547 Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh) born
- Ca. 1561 Paquinquino ("Don Luis") sails away with Spanish under Pedro Menendez de Aviles
- Ca. 1570–1600 Powhatan inherits and expands polity
- 1570 September, Don Luis returns; Spanish establish Jesuit mission on York River
- 1571 February, Don Luis exterminates Spanish Jesuit mission
- 1572 Spanish retaliate against Virginia Indians for deaths of missionaries
- 1584–1585 English establish settlement at Roanoke Island (North Carolina)
- 1585–1586 winter, English from Roanoke Island explore Chesapeake Bay
- 1586–1587 English abandon Roanoke Island settlement
- 1587 Second English colony established on Roanoke Island (abandoned before 1590)
- 1588 Spanish return to explore Chesapeake Bay under Captain Vincente Gonzalez
- Ca. 1597 Pocahontas (Amonute; Matoaka; Rebecca) born
- Ca. 1603 English mariners explore Chesapeake Bay
- 1606 April 10, Plymouth Company and London Company chartered
- 1606 August, First Plymouth Company expedition to America captured by Spanish
- 1606, October, Second Plymouth Company expedition reconnoiters North American coast
- 1606 December 20, London Company colonizing expedition sails for Virginia
- 1607 April 26, English colonists enter Chesapeake Bay and land at Cape Henry
- 1607 May 13, Colonists arrive at Jamestown Island after exploring James River
- 1607, December, to 1608, January 2, Smith captured by Opechancanough, meets Powhatan at Werowocomoco, is adopted as a werowance, and returns to Jamestown

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay Voyages

- 1608 June 2–July 21, Smith leads 15 men on first exploration of Chesapeake Bay
- June 2–3, Smith's party sails from Jamestown to Cape Charles
- June 3, Cape Charles to Accomack Town
- June 4, Accomack Town to Chesconnessex Creek
- June 5, Chesconnessex Creek to Wicocomoco Town (Md.)

TIMELINE

- 1608
- June 6, Wicocomoco Town to Bloodworth Island
 - June 7–8, Bloodworth Island
 - June 8, Bloodworth Island to mouth of Nanticoke River
 - June 9, Mouth of Nanticoke River
 - June 10, Up Nanticoke River and back
 - June 11, Nanticoke River to Randle Cliff
 - June 12, Randle Cliff to Sillery Bay on Patapsco River
 - June 13, Sillery Bay to Elkridge and back, on Patapsco River
 - June 14, Patapsco River
 - June 15, Patapsco River to mouth of Herring Bay
 - June 16, Herring Bay to Cornfield Harbor
 - June 17, Cornfield Harbor to Nomini Creek (Va.)
 - June 18–July 15, Nomini Bay to Great Falls, return to mouth of Potomac River (Va. and Md.)
 - July 15, Mouth of Potomac River to Ingram Bay (Va.)
 - July 16, Ingram Bay to Fleets Bay
 - July 17, Fleets Bay to Stingray Point, Rappahannock River
 - July 18–19, Stingray Point to Kecoughtan on James River
 - July 20, Kecoughtan to Warraskoyack
 - July 21, Warraskoyack to Jamestown
 - July 24–September 7, Smith leads 12 men on second Chesapeake Bay exploration
 - July 24, Jamestown to Kecoughtan
 - July 25–25, Kecoughtan
 - July 27, Kecoughtan to Stingray Point
 - July 28, Rappahannock River to Cove Point (Md.)
 - July 29, Cove Point to mouth of Patapsco River
 - July 30, Patapsco River to head of Northeast River
 - July 31, Northeast River to Tockwogh (Sassafras) River
 - August 1, Up the Tockwogh River
 - August 2, Tockwogh River to Smith Falls on the Susquehanna River (Pa.)
 - August 3, Susquehanna River to head of Elk River (Md.)
 - August 4, Head of Elk River to Big Elk Creek
 - August 5, Elk Creek to Smith's Falls on the Susquehanna River (Pa.)
 - August 6, Susquehanna River to Tockwogh town (Md.)
 - August 7, Tockwogh town
 - August 8, Tockwogh River to Rock Hall Harbor, mouth of Chester River
 - August 9, Chester River to Patuxent River
 - August 10, Up Patuxent River to Pawtuxunt town on Battle Creek
 - August 11, Pawtuxunt town to Mattpanient town
 - August 12, Mattpanient town to Acquintanacsuck town
 - August 13, Patuxent River to St. Jerome Creek below Point No Point
 - August 14, Potomac River to Rappahannock River (Va.)
 - August 15–16, Up Rappahannock River to Moraughtacund town
 - August 17, Moraughtacund town to Rappahannock ambush at Cat Point Creek
 - August 18, Cat Point Creek to Pissaseck
 - August 19, Pissaseck to Nantaughtacund towns
 - August 20, Nantaughtacund to Upper Cuttatawomen towns
 - August 21, Cuttatawomen town to Fetherstone Bay
 - August 22, Fetherstone Bay to the fall line to Hollywood Bar
 - August 23, Hollywood Bar to Cuttatawomen
 - August 24, Cuttatawomen to Pissaseck towns
 - August 25, Pissaseck to Rappahannock ambushing place near Moraughtacund
 - August 26–29, Negotiations near Moraughtacund

TIMELINE

- August 30–31, Moraughtacund to Piankatank River
- September 1–3, Piankatank River exploration
- September 3–4, Piankatank River to Old Point Comfort
- September 5–7, Point Comfort to Jamestown with explorations of Elizabeth and Nansemond Rivers
- December, Smith sends “Mappe of the Bay and Rivers” and narrative to London Company
- 1609 May, Sir Thomas Gates sails to Virginia with instructions from London Company for expanding colony based on Smith’s map and narrative
- May 23, New charter issued to former London Company, now Virginia Company
- Later Significant Dates**
- 1609 September, Smith suffers gunpowder burns, sails for England
- November, Smith arrives in London
- 1610 June, Lord De La Warr begins to pursue war against Powhatan peoples
- 1612 March 22, Third charter issued to Virginia Company
- John Smith publishes *A Map of Virginia & The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia*
- John Rolfe successfully plants and cultivates tobacco crop
- Dutch establish colony on Manhattan Island, New York
- 1613 Sir Samuel Argall attacks French settlements in Maine
- Spring, Argall kidnaps Pocahontas at Patowomeck and takes her to Jamestown to be held for ransom
- 1614 April, Powhatan agrees to peace; Pocahontas converts to Christianity
- April, John Rolfe marries Pocahontas
- John Rolfe sends first tobacco cargo to England
- 1616 John Rolfe, Pocahontas, and others visit England
- 1617 March, Pocahontas dies and is buried in England
- 1618 April, Powhatan dies
- November 18, new Company charter establishes headright system, fueling settlement
- 1619 August, First Africans arrive in Virginia
- July 30–August 4, Virginia General Assembly first meets
- 1620–1621 Opechancanough plans attack on English settlements
- 1620 November 9, *Mayflower* reaches Cape Cod, Mass., with Puritans
- 1622 March 22, Opechancanough’s attack on English settlements
- 1622–1632 Era of warfare between English and Powhatan Indians
- 1623 English settlements sprout in Mass., New Hampshire, and Maine
- 1624 John Smith publishes *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*
- 1628–1629 Opechancanough becomes paramount chief
- 1632 Peace treaty between English and Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians
- June 30, Lord Baltimore receives charter for Maryland colony
- 1632–1644 English expand settlements; growing population crowds Powhatan people
- 1633 November 22, Gov. Leonard Calvert sails with two hundred settlers for Maryland
- 1634 February 27, Maryland colonists sail into Chesapeake Bay
- 1635 February 26, First Maryland assembly meets
- April 23, Naval skirmish occurs between vessels of Virginia fur trader William Claiborne and Maryland government
- 1642 Oliver Cromwell overthrows King Charles I and establishes Parliamentary rule
- 1644 March 24, Roger Williams receives charter for Rhode Island colony
- April 18, Opechancanough launches second attack on English settlements
- 1644–1646 English retaliate against Powhatan people, who begin to abandon eastern Virginia
- 1645–1647 Conflicts in Maryland between Catholic government and Protestant rebels
- 1646 between spring and fall, Opechancanough captured, taken to Jamestown, and shot and killed
- October 5, English colonists conclude peace treaty with Powhatan polity

SIGNIFICANCE THEMES

In reviewing the story of Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages and the context in which they occurred, several historical themes emerged. These themes relate to military history, the stories of women and African Americans, the role in the colony of craftsmen and artisans ranging from carpenters to glassblowers to goldsmiths, business and political history, international diplomacy, and the long-term transformation of the Chesapeake Bay environment. Three themes stand out, however, as most immediately related to Smith's expeditions and their effects: cultural conflicts between the American Indians and the English; the exploration and settlement of North America; and the establishment of commercial and trading ties between the colonists and the native people as well as the colony and England. Each of these three principal themes is discussed in more detail below.

Theme: Cultural Relations between American Indians and English Colonists
"We demanded [of Amorolect] why they [the Mannahoac] came in that manner to betray us that came to them in peace and to seek their loves. He answered they heard we were a people come from under the world to take their world from them."—John Smith,
The Generall Historie (1624)

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because they accelerated the processes that destroyed the Powhatan polity, disrupted the American Indian world, and established the primacy of English culture in the region and beyond.

When the English entered the Chesapeake Bay on April 26, 1607, they soon encountered a variety of native peoples whose politics, societies, economies, and religions had long been organized. A variety of politics throughout the region governed the peoples, social

structures and systems of etiquette guided their personal and intra-tribal interactions, a complicated web of trading networks spread their goods over hundreds of miles, and worldviews that joined the seen and the unseen in a seamless whole formed the foundation of their religions. The Bay had served the native societies for generations as a highway for settlement and trade, linking the coastal communities with other societies as far away as present-day Ohio and the Great Lakes.

The American Indians, particularly the Powhatan people, the Piscataway, and the Susquehannock, saw themselves first as the superiors and later as the equals of the English. The native peoples' cultures were ancient and their manner of living in their environment was long established. They outnumbered the newcomers in 1607: a native population in Tidewater Virginia of thirteen to fifteen thousand or more versus fewer than a hundred and fifty—a number that plummeted rapidly—for the English strangers. From the perspective of the paramount chief Powhatan, the English came to his country uninvited, sailed up and down his rivers, neglected at first to pay their respects to him or to the district chiefs, and occupied part of his land without asking permission. Powhatan must have watched in astonishment as the newcomers chose a swampy island for the settlement that would become Jamestown, planted crops or ate unfamiliar foods only when faced with starvation, and suffered the effects of infighting, paranoia, and the lack of effective leadership.

Instead of attacking the strangers, however, Powhatan followed the custom of his people and gave them hospitality. His people guided them through the woods and up rivers and streams. They answered the strangers' questions about mines and other tribes and what lay around the next river bend or over the next mountain. They drew maps for them in the sand of riverbanks. They gave them feasts when they visited their towns, laboring hard to fulfill their obligations as good hosts. They brought venison and corn to Jamestown,

depleting their own stocks of food so that the strangers would not starve. They even took some of them into their towns and homes to keep them warm and well fed during the winter.

The English, however, continued to go where they wished and occupied other people's land. They made their own alliances within and outside the polity and disrupted long-established networks of trade and politics. Their assumption of their own ethnic, religious, political, social, and economic superiority set them on a cultural collision course with Powhatan—indeed with the entire American Indian world of the Chesapeake.

Powhatan, having had some prior experience with Europeans, at first attempted to accommodate the English. After all, they had interesting weapons, they might prove useful in campaigns against the Monacan, and they displayed an active interest in trading that could benefit the Powhatan people. When Opechancanough captured John Smith, Powhatan offered to resettle the colonists away from their unhealthy river location, to Capahowasick downriver from Werowocomoco, where he might keep an eye on and control them. Finally, Powhatan incorporated the English, through the "induction ceremony" for Smith, into his polity. The English then came under his protection but also owed him certain obligations. Powhatan believed that an agreement had been reached.

Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages violated every article of the agreement. He explored without Powhatan's permission, traveled into and out of the polity with impunity, visited some towns but not others (violating the native etiquette of hospitality), negotiated trade agreements and alliances that were not his to negotiate, fought with some of the tribes (again, Powhatan's prerogative), and generally stirred up the entire Chesapeake Indian world. Smith demonstrated independence from Powhatan, to whom he owed obedience, rather than appropriate submission.

The situation deteriorated further, from Powhatan's perspective, after Smith returned from his voyages, assumed the presidency of the colony, and began dispersing the settlers. The dreadful "coronation" ceremony amply illustrated the cultural impasse that had been reached. Powhatan probably thought that he had demonstrated his superiority over the English, who had staged the coronation to make Powhatan a "prince" subject to King James I. It was a fatal misunderstanding for both sides. When the English continued their expansionist policies, further showing that they did not recognize Powhatan's authority much less consider him their equal, Powhatan held a final interview with Smith in January 1609. The two men finally understood that the situation was hopeless, the gulf too wide to bridge. Powhatan departed, withdrawing his and his people's support from the English. Perhaps he continued to hope that the settlers would either give up and go home or limit themselves to Jamestown, where they could be contained.

For Powhatan to have any hope of success, however, he would have had to maintain unity within his territory. This did not happen, and in part it was Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages that began the breakup by exposing weaknesses in the Powhatan polity. Those weaknesses included Powhatan's relative lack of authority over the tributary tribes at some distance from him, the willingness of several tribes to make their own trade agreements with the English, and Powhatan's reliance on advice from his priests; they soon became the special targets of attacks by the English, who knew that their destruction would weaken the native culture. Years later, the polity would fall apart under the brutal pressure of English-style warfare as individual tribes sued for peace rather than be obliterated.

Powhatan's personal decline as paramount chief took several years. Perhaps it began in January 1609 when he abandoned Werowocomoco, which had been a center and source of power for countless years. His with-

drawal may have been viewed in the polity as a sign of desperation, akin to the king of England abandoning London. If times of plenty and contentment were seen as indicators that Powhatan's leadership was "right" for the people, what did such a withdrawal in the midst of a drought signify? If Powhatan could not control these weak, self-destructive strangers—even this headstrong Smith—what did that say about his leadership? But the people also knew that Powhatan had led them successfully through other periods of difficulty. Perhaps this trial, too, would pass. The faith of the people in Powhatan was not easily shaken, because he maintained his position for years to come, but the decline of Powhatan and his polity likely began during John Smith's voyages.

That the English came to dominate the Chesapeake Bay region within a generation is due in large part to John Smith. His voyages revealed that although there were no Northwest Passage or large-scale mines of precious metals there, the Bay nonetheless offered a great deal of value, including fish, furs, timber, and farmland. His early vision of privately owned farms spread over the landscape came to pass before long, ensuring that the Bay region would be English instead of Spanish or Dutch. The English culture, governmental structure, and language followed him there along with the farming patterns of the old country. In addition, the cultural conflicts between the English and the Powhatan polity became the model for the treatment of the native peoples for the next two centuries. The English disdain of native worldviews, the assumption of English cultural superiority, the lack of respect for native religion, and the presumption that land used for hunting and gardening was available for English occupation—over the years that followed, that story was repeated with different players from one coast to the other. English culture in what became the United States eventually overwhelmed or absorbed the Dutch, French, and Spanish cultures as well.

The consequences of John Smith's voyages reached far into the future.

Theme: Exploration and Settlement

"The six and twentieth day of April, about four o'clock in the morning, we descried the land of Virginia; the same day we ent'red into the Bay of Chesupioc directly without any let or hindrance; there we landed and discovered a little way, but we could find nothing worth the speaking of but fair meadows and goodly tall trees, with such fresh waters running through the woods as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof."—George Percy

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of the impact of his subsequent maps and writings on English and colonial policy regarding the exploration and settlement of North America, as well as the transformation of the Bay's environment.

It is impossible to read the accounts written by Englishmen viewing their new home for the first time and not imagine them crowding the decks for a better look, pointing out the sights to each other, and shivering with a range of emotions. Relief: land at last, after long months jammed on tiny ships with bad food, bad water, and a mob of sick, bickering, smelly men. Wonder: everything was bright and new; the trees were tall and goodly, the meadows were fair, and the waters looked fresh and cool. Fear: they probably suspected that what lay ahead for most of them was death, far from home and loved ones, and each man no doubt prayed that he would survive and beat the odds. Pride: they were the vanguard of a new empire, defying prior Spanish claims and planting crosses for Protestant England. Ambition: they would make better men of themselves, if not morally then at least in terms of wealth, and return sometime to England more prosperous than when they left. Wonder and excitement soon gave way to the

realities of a life that was far from familiar to most of them. They quickly discovered that despite all the planning back in England, they lacked accurate information about their new home. The interior of Virginia was not the same as coastal North Carolina. Some of them had read the works of Hakluyt and others, but they soon found that reality trumped propaganda, as well as their own dreams. Being on land quickly lost its charm, especially after the first native attack and as the contentions that had erupted aboard ship continued. The trees concealed enemies, the meadows did not yield abundant game, and the waters were salt-poisoned. Their fears of death were soon realized, as more and more men fell ill and succumbed. Patriotism did not put meat in the pot, and the supposed riches of the land were not found immediately. Instead of accumulating wealth for themselves or investors in the Company, the colonists struggled simply to survive.

They also explored the rivers and, in 1608, John Smith led two well-organized voyages up the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. Smith already had led expeditions to Powhatan towns near Jamestown, learning more about the land and its inhabitants along the way. He made notes on his “discoveries” and began sketching maps. Just as he was about to depart on his first voyage on the Bay, he sent a letter and a map back to England. The letter soon formed the basis for the much-edited volume *A True Relation*. The Spanish ambassador in London, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, obtained a copy of part of Smith’s map and sent it to King Philip III to urge him to eliminate the English presence in territory claimed by Spain. Very quickly, then, Smith’s first map became a document of international significance.

Smith did not travel alone. He took fourteen Englishmen on the first trip and twelve on the next. He also utilized the services of many native people as scouts, guides, translators, and emissaries. Others remained in their towns but described to Smith what lay over the horizon or up the river, or drew maps for him in the

earth. He could not have accomplished his mission without the assistance of the native peoples.

During the voyages, Smith made extensive notes about the features of the Chesapeake Bay. He recorded its animals, fish, and birds, as well as the flora that lined its shores and riverbanks. He also wrote of the people he encountered, their customs, and the assistance they gave him. He noted distances between points, the shapes of rivers, the locations of marshes, the positions of towns, and where he and his men had placed crosses to claim land and waterways for England. After Smith returned to England himself late in 1609, he began to expand *A True Relation* and his Chesapeake Bay notes and maps into his 1612 book, *A Map of Virginia*. He included the writings of Anas Todkill, Walter Russell, and Nathaniel Powell, who had shared his adventures on the Bay. In 1624, Smith published his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*.

Smith did not find precious metals, he wrote, or anything else “to incourage us, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded”—in other words, the rich natural abundance of the land, the rivers, and the Chesapeake Bay. To exploit such resources, however, in Smith’s opinion would require not exploring parties or trading posts, but a primarily agrarian society composed of farmers, town dwellers, merchants, and support industries such as iron-works. To create that kind of economy, the land and its native inhabitants must first be occupied and subdued, which would require a massive influx of settlers. This gradually became the Company’s policy, but it needed the royal government to carry it into full effect.

Smith’s maps of the Chesapeake Bay were of vital importance to the Virginia Company and, with his writings, helped persuade the Company to make essential changes in policy that affected the future course of the colony. His model for settling the land, arising as it did

from his months of exploring the Bay and its tributaries and the books he wrote about his experiences, proved to be the right one for the North American colonies. He influenced their development for many years thereafter and contributed to the flood of immigration that populated the colonies during the next two centuries and forced the native peoples to immigrate to other localities. Thomas Jefferson, more than a century and a half later, quoted Smith's *Generall Historie* at length in his own *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787). So accurate were Smith's maps in their various editions or states that they remained the standard for the Chesapeake Bay and vicinity for most of the seventeenth century. They were used in boundary disputes between Virginia and Maryland, and were reprinted by Virginia in 1819.

Although Smith wrote extensively about the rich fishing grounds off the coast of New England, his words proved particularly applicable to the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The Bay's fish and shellfish—most notably oysters—long savored by the American Indians who lived in the region, also proved popular with early English colonists and succeeding generations of farmers and townspeople. Once food-preservation methods and transportation improved in the nineteenth century, the increasing demand for oysters nationwide resulted in the eventual depletion of the beds and the eruption of “oyster wars” between Virginia and Maryland oystermen. The growing American population, runoff from farms, roads, and parking lots, and other environmental factors have contributed for many years to the problems facing the Chesapeake Bay. To Smith, the Bay's resources must have seemed infinite; he could not know how fragile is the environment that sustains them. The very qualities that made the Bay so perfect for human habitation—its natural resources—eventually would contribute to the transformation of that environment as settlers lured by Smith's descriptions and guided by his maps

established farms and communities in Virginia and, in the 1630s, in Maryland.

Neither could Smith foresee the other fruits of his voyages, his books, and the evolution of the Chesapeake colonies: tobacco plantations supporting a system of chattel slavery and vice versa. He was not in Virginia when John Rolfe harvested the first successful tobacco crop in 1612, when the first Africans arrived in 1619, or when the institution of slavery began to grow as tobacco became the money crop in the Chesapeake Bay region during the next few decades. Yet his voyages, his maps, his writings, and his dispersal of the colonists as president, as well as the subsequent change in the landholding policies of the London Company, all played a role in laying the groundwork for the plantation economy that formed the foundation of Chesapeake society and eventually spread throughout the American South, with violent and tragic consequences.

Theme: Commerce and Trade

“And more over wee doe grannte and agree for us, our heires and successors, that the saide severall Counsellis of and for the saide severall Colonies shall and lawfully may by vertue hereof, from time to time, without interruption of us, our heires or successors, give and take order to digg, mine and searche for all manner of mines of goulde, silver and copper.”
—*First Virginia Charter, April 10, 1606*

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay voyages are nationally significant because of their impact on the commerce and trade of North America and the native peoples.

The promotion of commerce and trade was a major reason why the English Crown authorized the exploration and settlement of North America. To secure trade routes to the Orient, to deny resources and products to other nations, to achieve mastery of the seas, to enrich England, to establish an empire built on

commerce—these were the goals of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I, and the Virginia Companies of London and Portsmouth were the instruments by which the goals would be reached. The colonists who came to Virginia hoped they would make discoveries to that would bring wealth to the nation, the Company, and themselves through commerce and trade.

Before the colonists could begin trading with England, however, they first had to survive, and that meant dealing with the native peoples. The Powhatan and other peoples of the Chesapeake Bay region were old hands at trade and commerce. A vast network of rivers and footpaths connected the American Indians of the Eastern Seaboard with those of the Great Lakes and Canada. Items of value were dug from the earth, crafted from shells, and derived from plants, and then transported by canoe or on foot from one place to another. The haggling and sharp trading-practices common to every culture on the planet were part of the native peoples' economy as well. John Smith and other Englishmen quickly found that the Powhatan traders were as canny as their counterparts in Europe and elsewhere.

There were differences, however, in what the English and the Powhatan counted as wealth. Smith was amazed that he could obtain large quantities of corn—an item of immense value to the starving colonists—for a small number of cheap beads or a few pieces of ordinary copper. To Powhatan, though, the beads and copper were valuable for what they symbolized: religious values in the color of the sky and the earth. Individual wealth did not count for as much among the Powhatan people as it did among the English; it was not what one could purchase with the goods but what kind of power was associated with the item that was important. As Powhatan acquired items containing religious power, for example, his personal power increased, but his shamanic authority over the people grew even more. Gold, silver, and copper were valuable to the

English primarily as the means to the acquisition of other things (land, livestock, dwellings), or, when they were crafted into ornaments, as symbols of personal wealth and influence. Among the Powhatan people, however, these precious metals were of more value to the status of the tribe as a whole, or the status of its leaders and hence the tribe indirectly, although they could also promote individual status. Each side probably never fully understood these basic differences in their philosophies of wealth.

John Smith's voyages around the Chesapeake Bay opened up the world of trade with the native peoples to the English. Henceforth, the colonists would not be limited to the tribes near Jamestown—much to Powhatan's annoyance. Smith's journeys also informed him about the types of goods to be found in various places, from furs to silvery glitter for face paint to iron hatchets. His voyages also informed him about what was not to be easily discovered: gold, silver, and copper. The English thought that the metals they desired would be found in relative abundance, if not in Tidewater Virginia near Jamestown then perhaps above the falls or around the next bend in the river or over the next range of mountains or up the Bay. How soon did Smith begin to wonder, if the precious metals were supposed to be abundant, why did he not find any native peoples decked out in them?

Smith's pragmatism regarding the natural resources available to the colony for trade surfaced even before his Chesapeake Bay voyages, when he loaded Captain Francis Nelson's *Phoenix*, bound for England in June 1608, with fresh-cut Virginia cedar. That fall, as president, Smith watched Christopher Newport lead an expedition up the James River in search of mines again. Smith, however, set the men remaining in Jamestown to work making glass, soap ashes, pitch, and tar, and also led a gang into the forest to cut timber for wainscot and clapboards. These, he believed, were what the colony could produce

immediately for the benefit of the Company and England, whether gold was ever found or not.

Over the next hundred years, Virginia and the other colonies would become major trading partners with England and other nations. Most of that commerce would include not the precious metals the Company and early colonists dreamed of, but the natural resources of the woods and fields. Furs, timber, tar, and the products of thousands of farms and plantations—tobacco, sugar, and cotton especially—would comprise much of the wealth of colonial and antebellum America. John Smith was among the first to recognize where the future economic foundation of the country lay in terms of commerce and trade, and he promoted in his books the vast and seemingly limitless resources of America. He could not, however, foresee the consequences of his vision for the Chesapeake Bay: the deforestation that resulted from the spread of farms, the pollution of the Bay's waters by fertilizers and other compounds carried by runoffs, the depletion of the Bay's resources such as oysters and sturgeon from overharvesting as well as pollution, and the development of towns and cities that permanently altered the Bay's environment. The intensive exploitation of the Bay's natural resources became the model for the exploitation of the continent as the English and other settlers spread across North America. John Smith played a vital role in creating that model through his voyages, maps, and writings.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Much has been written over the years about John Smith, the Chesapeake Bay, the native peoples of the region, and the histories of the several English colonies established around the Bay. There are also a vast number of archaeological site reports on file in the state historic preservation offices of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, as well as soil surveys, environmental analyses, and other esoteric documentation.

For the purposes of this report—to describe the early history of the Virginia colony as it relates to John Smith's Chesapeake voyages—a few important works are discussed below, and some others are listed as well.

Captain John Smith's Chesapeake Bay Voyages

A detailed day-by-day itinerary of Smith's voyages has been put together by Helen C. Rountree, Wayne E. Clark, Kent Mountford, et al., in "John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607–1609," a draft report (2005) that is currently being revised for publication by the University of Virginia Press. The report discusses the Bay's seventeenth-century environment, the world of the native peoples who lived there then, the coming of the English, Smith's voyages, and the various rivers and drainages that feed the Bay. An epilogue brings the story of the Bay up to date, and a very detailed bibliography lists virtually everything ever published about the Bay, its history, and its environment.

Primary Sources

The principal sources for descriptions of Smith's voyages on the Chesapeake Bay and his other experiences in Virginia are three of his own works: *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony* (1608), *A Map of Virginia* (1612), and *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. The standard edition of Smith's writings is Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). Virtually everything the other colonists wrote during the period is in Edward Wright Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony: The First Decade: 1607–1617* (Champlain, Va.: RoundHouse, 1998), with modernized spelling. Among the "eyewitnesses" were Gabriel Archer, Samuel Argall, Thomas Dale, Thomas Gates, George Percy, and John Rolfe. For similar documentation of the Maryland colony, see Clayton C. Hall, ed.,

Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).

Secondary Sources

Helen C. Rountree, Professor Emerita of Anthropology at Old Dominion University, is one of the foremost authorities on the Powhatan Indians. Her books include *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989) and *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). With Thomas E. Davidson, she wrote *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997) and, with E. Randolph Turner III, *Before and After Jamestown: Virginia's Powhatans and Their Predecessors* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), in which she tells the story of the Powhatan, Jamestown, and John Smith through Indian eyes. Though necessarily speculative in nature, her study examines the era from a perspective with which the public has little familiarity.

Several other works were especially helpful in preparing this report. Frederic W. Gleach, lecturer and curator of anthropology at Cornell University, in *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), describes how these two cultures, with their very different worldviews, attempted to "civilize" and incorporate each into the other's polity. James Horn, O'Neill Director of the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library at The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, wrote *A Land as God Made It* (New York: Basic Books, 2005). In this more conventional study of the origins and history of the Jamestown colony, Horn suggests that John Smith's 1609 powder-bag "accident" was in fact a murder attempt by disgruntled colonists. Everett Emerson, the late Alumni

Distinguished Professor of English at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, examined Smith's writings as literature in *Captain John Smith, Revised Edition* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993). Camilla Townsend, associate professor of history at Colgate University, who wrote *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma: An American Portrait* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), places the story of Pocahontas within the context of the cultural conflict between the Powhatan and the English settlers.

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APPENDIX E:

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