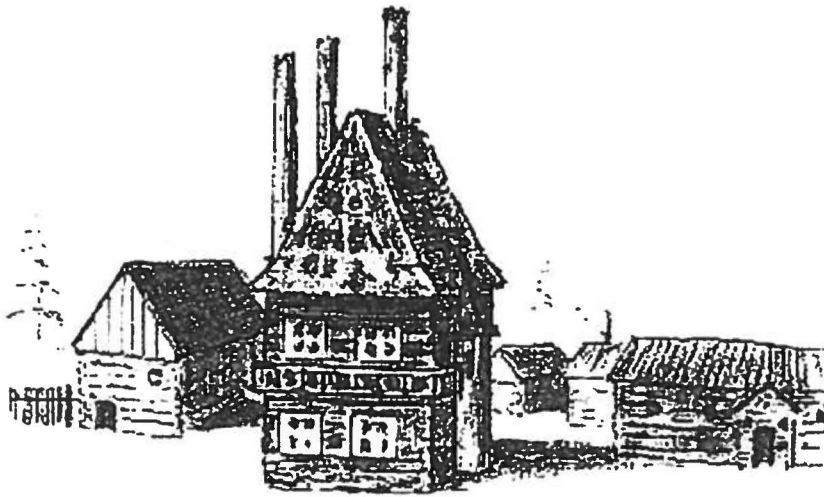


The Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware



ISSN 0003-8067

Number forty-three, new series

Fall 2006

THE PRINTZHOF (36DE3), A SWEDISH COLONIAL SITE THAT WAS THE FIRST EUROPEAN CENTER OF GOVERNMENT IN PRESENT PENNSYLVANIA

Marshall Joseph Becker, Ph. D.
Professor Emeritus, Anthropology
West Chester University

ABSTRACT

Johann Printz arrived in the Delaware Valley, in 1643, as the third colonial governor of the tiny Swedish colony. The initial Swedish settlement had been built five years earlier where Wilmington, Delaware now stands. Printz built a small log structure identified as the Printzhof and other structures, some 23 km (14 miles) upstream from modern Wilmington, on Great Tinicum Island. Printz's complex of buildings served as both a private residence and as an Indian trading station. The main house and possibly some outbuildings burned during the winter of 1644-1645 and were replaced immediately by a somewhat larger log structure that stood into the 19th century.

Oral tradition, modern deed searches, and extensive archaeological investigation have confirmed the precise location of the Printzhof. The various lines of evidence confirming the identification of this important historical building are here reviewed. Particular emphasis is placed on the evidence from the rich mid-17th century material culture recovered during excavations, and on the previously unrecorded palisaded fort that was found during the second field season. Modern political actions relating to this important historical site are also discussed. These involve denials by officials of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and others that this location represents the site of the Printzhof, often linked with claims that Johann Printz erected his house at another location, perhaps where the new Lazaretto (Philadelphia's post-1800 quarantine station) now stands.

INTRODUCTION

Seventeenth century archaeological sites remain relatively rare in the mid-Atlantic region despite the rapid expansion of European settlements throughout the region during that time. Printzhof remains the only identified colonial site dating from the period of the Swedish colony, which had begun in 1638 and was centered at Fortress Christina, now Wilmington, Delaware. The location of the Printzhof, erected in 1643, had been long recognized from oral tradition and from confirmatory archaeological excavations in the 1930s. In addition to its general importance as our only Swedish site, three historical elements render this site of particular importance. First, the Printzhof, built by the third Swedish colonial governor in 1643, became the *de facto* seat of government for the colony and thereby the first European capitol in Pennsylvania. Second, "America's first

international tribunal" (Furrow 2008: 9, citing Johnson 1930: 206, 243-247; Underhill 1934: 810) was convened here in 1643 by Printz in response to criticism of Printz's trial of the pelt trader George Lambertson of New Haven. The third important point is that the "special day of Thanksgiving" celebrated here in October of 1646 was the first to be held in this part of the New World (Johnson 1911: 36).

In 1638, the Swedish government established a small trading station and settlement on a promontory in the area now known as Wilmington, Delaware. Representatives of the then expanding Swedish empire at this small New World outpost probably purchased a small tract of land from the Brandywine band of Lenape, the group that foraged along this valley. Peter Minuit wished to secure this area near the mouth of the Brandywine River because it had been or was near a tract recently abandoned as the location of a warm weather fishing station used by this band (Kent 1979; Becker 2006, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1988a, 2006). The Brandywine band was one of the dozen or more Lenape bands that held territories incorporating streams feeding into the Delaware River from the west. The southernmost band used the drainage of Old Duck Creek (now the Leipzig River) in northern Delaware (Becker 1993c); the northernmost Lenape ranged along Tohickon Creek that is just south of the Lehigh River (Becker 1983; Forks 1980). The names used as modern identifiers of the Lenape band names derive from the rivers in their territory, or from specific geological features. Members of the Brandywine band sold the portion of the area that they called *Hopokehocking* to the Swedes, but continued to locate their "summer" fishing station nearby. Fortress Christina seems to have been built on the heights along the western side of the Christina River, directly facing the mouth of the Brandywine Rivers. A small Swedish settlement grew up behind the fort; inland from this protected point (Johnson 1911).

The principal goal of the Swedish venture was to tap into the rich pelt trade then being conducted between the Susquesahannock (later generally called Susquehannock, see Kent 1984), who operated from their home territory in central Pennsylvania, and the Dutch based on Manhattan Island (Weslager 1961). The Susquehannock were the principal Native American pelt merchants controlling the vast trading network that brought skins from as far away as the Mississippi Valley up through the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers and across Pennsylvania. These networks had developed into a major world trade system, adding to the range of valuable products that were available in the New World. In addition to exporting fish (Faulkner 1985), wood and botanical products used in "medicine," European entrepreneurs rapidly provided a link to a waste product that was abundant throughout the New World - hides with hair on them. These provided the raw materials to expanding tanneries and especially to felting mills then being established throughout Western Europe.

Prior to 1638, in the 'Pennsylvania' part of the Atlantic region, the lucrative pelt trade had been entirely absorbed by the Dutch, with the center of their activities based at Fort Amsterdam on the island now known as Manhattan. The year following the 1622 Indian uprising in the Virginias, the Dutch built a small outpost, perhaps only an earthwork, on the east side of the South (Delaware) River somewhere in the vicinity of modern Camden, New Jersey. This station, named Fort Nassau, was erected specifically to

accommodate the Susquehannock traders. After 1622 the Susquehannock had opened a new trade route through Lenape territory that took them to the Delaware River. This route avoided conflict with those nervous and quick to shoot English settlers in the Chesapeake region who had survived the Powhatan uprising of 1622. At first this tiny Fort Nassau appears to have been occupied only during the spring trading season, but a more permanent station and settlement may have been operating by the 1630s.

By the early 1600s the expanding Swedish state had conquered much of Denmark, all of Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and parts of Germany, Poland and Russia. Their small scale venture into the New World came at a time when their empire was involved in a series of conflicts that required considerable resources to sustain. The result was that the New World colony became a textbook example of an underfunded and overextended business venture. Yet the Swedes did have some limited successes in their Delaware River enterprise and this sparsely populated colony resisted being taken over by the Dutch until 1655.

Swedish attempts to enter the pelt trade were frustrated by a lack of supplies of the necessary European goods in demand by the natives and the unreliability of shipping arriving from Sweden. In addition, the Dutch offered better prices for pelts than the Swedes or even the English could afford. The colonists quickly adjusted by devoting their time and skills to the production of tobacco, a crop that was then of considerable value in the European market where the number of addicts was growing at a phenomenal pace (Becker 1995, 1999a). By 1640, the generally small holdings of Swedish settlers from this tiny Swedish colony were spread up and down the banks of the Delaware River. Despite restrictions regarding the direct purchase of land from the natives, many householders probably "purchased" a small plot of land from the Lenape band in whose territory they wished to farm (Becker 1989, 1992, 1993c). Early colonial farmers preferred to buy abandoned Lenape summer fishing stations, called "Indian fields," where the previous occupants had already cleared small patches in the forest (Becker 1980b). The rich soil along the Delaware River provided excellent land for growing crops of all kinds.

The lure of the very profitable fur trade continued to be of interest to these Swedish colonists. However, the various problems confronting the colony caused a considerable turnover in the appointed governors. When Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz, the third governor of the colony, arrived in the New World in 1643 he had to confront a situation that had hardly changed other than for the adaptation of the freeholders to the growing of tobacco for its very profitable trade. Printz decided to establish his own home, which could be used as a trading post as well, on Great Tinicum Island, which lies some 30 kilometers up the "South" river from Fortress Christina, now Wilmington (Johnson 1911; Becker 1979, 1987). Great Tinicum Island is located closer than Fortress Christina to the mouth of the Schuylkill River. After 1623, Tinicum Island was being used in the spring season by the Susquehannock to bring peltry from their home range around present Lancaster, Pennsylvania to the Dutch at Fort Nassau. The complex relationships between the various native nations in this region have only recently become relatively well known (Kent 1984; Becker 1986a, 1986b).

The Printzhof, as Printz's American home is generally identified, was erected on the southwestern part of Tinicum Island, the only portion of the island that remained above water at high tide (**Figure 1**). Watson (1852: 1) believed that in 1696, when the island sold for £500, the dry land was estimated at "but 500 acres." Du Ponceau (1834: 352, note) traces the name from the Swedish Tennakong to a possible Lenape *Tskennak* or black bird, and thus *Tsennakunk* or Black Bird's Island [place of the redwing blackbird?]. Swamps are the preferred habitat for redwing blackbirds. Those same swamps offered protection to the "rear" of Printz's fort. The swampy remainder of Tinicum Island has long since been filled in, and the eastern portion now is under the Philadelphia Airport. The small complex of buildings constructed at this location, often referred to by Printz as fort New Gothenburg, could be described as en *storgård*, Swedish for a large farm that would include a large residence, barns and other outbuildings (**Figure 2**). The following review provides an update on an earlier summary of what was known about this site (Becker 1999b).

By locating his fortified house complex on Tinicum Island, Printz not only placed himself closer to the major route of the Susquehannock pelt trade, but more significantly he was well positioned to achieve military control over the shipping on the river. Locating a fort on Tinicum Island provided Printz with an excellent field of fire down the river. Cannon within Printz's small palisaded fort, coordinated with cannon located in the small battery across the river, provided limited control over much of the river from Tinicum Island downstream as far as Fortress Christina (modern Wilmington). Larger cannon of the period had a maximum range of perhaps three miles (5km) but an effective range of under 300m. Printz was first and foremost a military officer, and the principal concern of these Swedish military governors was the defense of their people against Dutch and possibly English military threats (Linn and Egle 1890, Series 2, V: 799). The Dutch probably fortified their trading station on the South (Delaware) River in a similar manner, but details of its design and construction remain unknown. The strategic location of the Printzhof was critical to the military and governmental control over the shipping on the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. Much of Printz's activities in the New World involved the competition with the small and southernmost outpost of the Dutch North American holdings that extended down to present day Lewes, Delaware. The Dutch empire in the New World at that time extended from the South (Delaware) River up to present day Maine (Feister 1985). The competition for pelts was only the most immediate cause of friction along the Delaware. Competition among the mother countries was, in many ways, being played out in miniature in the Americas.

Printz's first log structure, built as a residence and trading post in 1643, burned during the winter of 1644-1645, together with many of the outbuildings. Only the barn is recorded as surviving (Johnson 1930:130-131), but the archaeological evidence demonstrates that the small palisaded fort also was untouched by fire, having later decayed away. The principal house was rebuilt at once, as a slightly larger log building. That the second building stood for 180 years was a testament to its solid construction. Additionally, the storehouse was repaired and a church built nearby. From other records we know that a separate brew house also formed part of this complex (Baron 1962). Magnusson (2003: 223-227, Fig. 2) suggests that the Printzhof complex probably

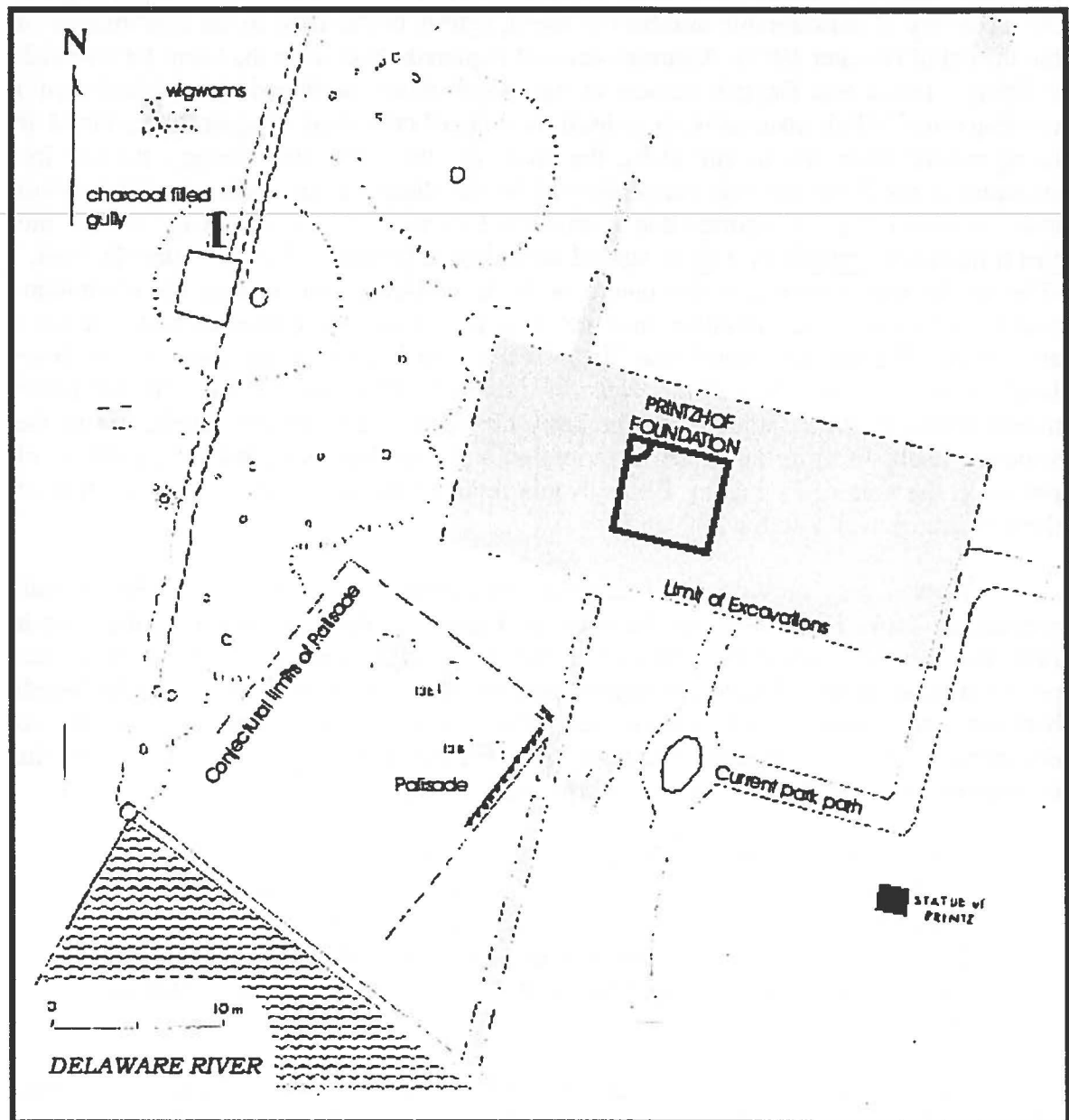


Figure 1: General Site Plan of the Printzhof Excavations, including the palisade.

resembled the Swedish manorial estate of Kunda in Estonia (ca. 1647) (**Figure 2**), with its log house and four log outbuildings. The two floors and tall attic of the Kunda house could be described as having a ground floor plus one and one-half floors above it. Of particular note are the three extremely tall chimneys on that house, which would explain the discovery of considerable numbers of small, yellow bricks used in the construction of the Printzhof (Becker 1977). Although dressed (squared) logs were the norm for Swedish buildings, Dutch and English settlers on the South River preferred board (clapboard?) constructions. Whole structures, or at least their board coverings, frequently are noted as being moved from site to site along the river. By the early 19th century the old log structure of the Printzhof was overshadowed by the Rosedale Inn, built on the landward side. Watson (1852: 2) reported that around 1822 the ruins of this cabin were burned and that it had been “rebuilt by a three storied white house (plastered brick) of double front.” Whether he was referring to the tavern or to the building that became the Corinthian Yacht Club I cannot say. In either case the log structure may have been burned to remove an eyesore. Watson then noted that “[t]he house stands close to the front of the River bank, some 3 or 400 feet south from the Lazaretto premises.” I take the estimated measurement as the distance to the property on which the Lazaretto stands, not to the structure itself. In turn, the tavern deteriorated and was destroyed, but oral tradition of people in the area of Essington, Pennsylvania retained the knowledge of the location of these buildings well into the 20th century.

Watson also provides an interesting first-person account of what Printz Hall supposedly looked like. As can be seen in **Figure 1**, the foundation of the rebuilt Printzhof measures about 6 meters on a side (18 feet). English constructions of the period commonly have foundation lengths in multiples of six feet (a fathom, or the length between the fingertips of outstretched arms). This modest structure, similar to descriptions of early Swedish structures on the Delaware, is quite different from the account provided by Watson and misinterpreted by many.

“Mrs. Morris, a widow of 76 years of age, living near there, who had seen the Printz Hall, described it as 1½ stories high, having a high double hipped roof, the house of brick, with a long piazza in front, & a ground floor of a big hall in the middle running through, with two good rooms on one side, and one room and the stair way on the other side.” (Watson 1852: 2)

Mrs. Morris, born ca. 1776, appears to be describing two buildings, or Watson edited the descriptions of the Printzhof with the newer building that he describes as “a three storied white house (plastered brick) of double front”; “the house of brick” described by Mrs. Morris. The clue is the redundant phrase “the house of brick” in which “the house” would be unnecessary if the entire description applied only to the Printzhof. Watson (1852: 2) then notes that in “front of this house was, as says tradition, a church, a grave yard & the fortress.” He appears to be referring to the large house, later the Rosedale Inn. The very brief published version of these 1852 observations reads as follows: “The house occupied by the governor [Printz] is said by tradition to be the same now standing on the upland [dry area] . . . much of it was burnt by fire in 1822” (Watson

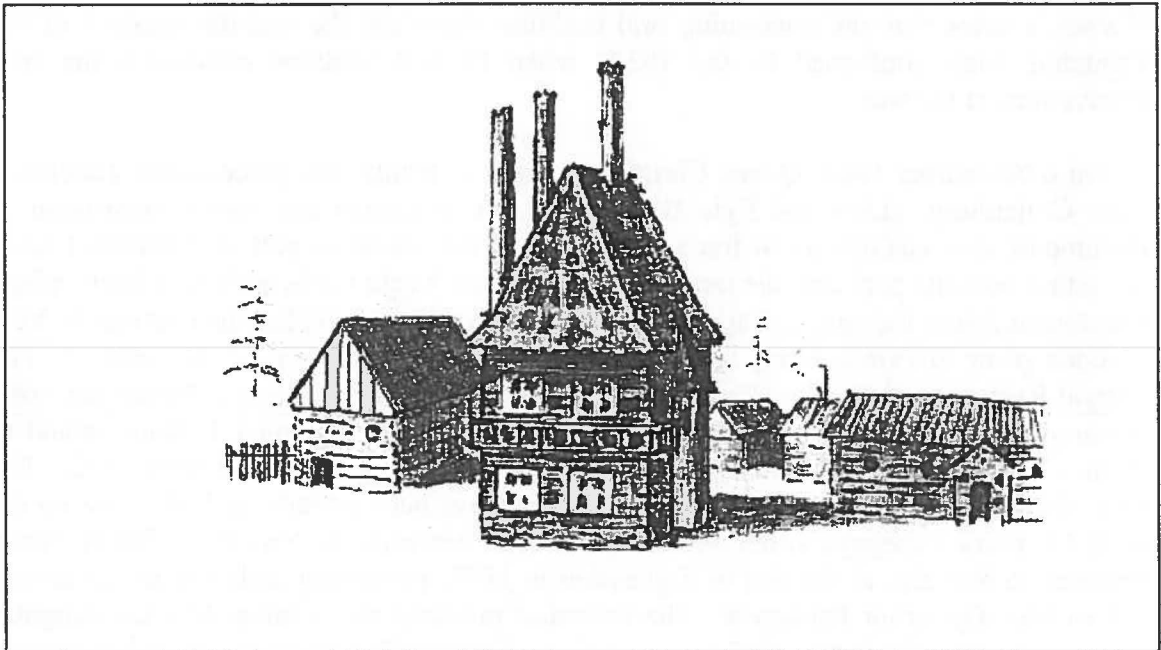


Figure 2: The Kunda Manor House in Estonia, drawn from an etching by Adam Olearius in 1647 (from Magnusson 2003: Fig. 2, taken from Jerker Rosen 1967, "De baltiska provincerna,"

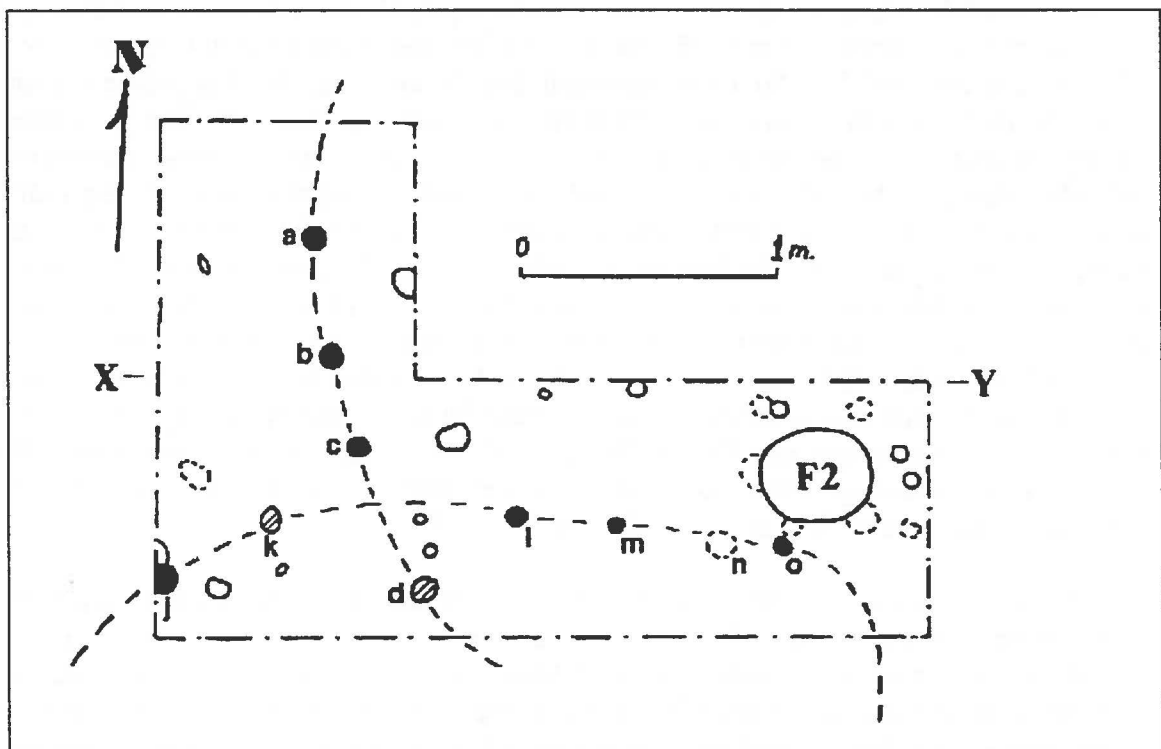


Figure 3: Plan view of units with post holes from wigwams.

1884, II: 251). The documents confirm that a church and a cemetery were in this area. Watson's notes plus the continuing oral tradition regarding the specific location of the Printzhof were confirmed in the 1930s when Donald Cadzow conducted the first excavations at the site.

On 6 November 1643, Queen Christina granted to Printz "the place called Teneko or New Gottenburg" (Linn and Egle 1890:808-9). An extensive and varied assortment of documents also enables us to trace ownership of the southern part of Tinicum Island, including both the park and the land of the Corinthian Yacht Club, back to Johann Printz. Lieutenant Johan Papegoya (Papegay, Pappegoyo, variously spelled) had served in New Sweden prior to Printz being appointed as the military governor of that outpost. The "Royal Recommendation" of Papegoya to serve under Printz is dated 2 November 1643 (Linn and Egle 1890: 808), only four days before the Queen granted Tinicum Island to Printz. Possibly Armegot Printz was being courted by Papagoya even before 1643. The date of their marriage remains unclear, but it may have been as early as 1643. During the next 11 years Papegoya often served as Printz's emissary to Sweden. When Printz returned to Sweden, at the end of September in 1653, governing authority in the colony fell to Vice Governor Papegoya. The Printzhof property was managed by his daughter Armegot, who sold it "in 1662 to Joost de la Grange (for the account of her father), repossessed it in 1675 and promptly sold it again" (P. S. Craig, personal communication 3 Dec. 1998; Craig 1997: 113-115).

The Swedish colony on the Delaware was "conquered" by a Dutch expedition sent down from Fort Amsterdam in 1655. Most of the Swedes swore an oath to become loyal "Dutch" citizens, and life for them remained largely unaltered by this political event. Over the next 20 years these once "Swedish" colonists continued to live in a mode largely unaltered by surrounding political activity. Only later English domination radically changed the local economy, and then mostly resulting from an expanding agrarian base. Some of the Swedes returned home. By April of 1656 the two sons of the Papegoya family had arrived in Sweden, but whether it was to continue their education or to change their fortunes is not clear. We know that Papegoya left Armegot widowed at an early age, but his death date is not certain. Her legal activities suggest that she was widowed by 1662, which was the year in which she arranged to sell Tinicum Island to Joost De La Grange and accepted partial payment for it. However, she apparently held title with her three sisters and De La Grange died before the sale was completed. The widow of De La Grange inherited his claim and brought it with her other property to a subsequent marriage to Andrew Carr (Gehring 1977: 243-247).

Armegot relocated from her isolated island home to the Printztorp, located on Upland, now Chester, Creek. Craig (1997) believes that she visited the "urban" center of New Castle only to pursue legal matters, as on 5 March 1671. At New Castle, only recently captured from the Dutch, Armegot laid claim in the new English court to "the chattles of Tinnechunck." that had been taken from her when Carr moved onto the property, perhaps before 1669 (Smith 1862: 520; MAAR 1991b: 7). The issuance of a patent for Tinicum Island to Andrew Carr and his wife Priscilla on 1 October 1669, by Governor Francis Lovelace in New York, suggests that Carr was resident at the Printzhof at that time. This

date is almost 70 years before I had previously suggested the first presence of an English occupant at the site, ca. 1740 (Becker 1978).

On 15 September 1669 "Jaff^e Papegay Armgart Prins" was involved in vaguely described legal matters that appear related to ownership of the lands of New Gothenburg. Shortly after "Jeuffro Armegart Prince l s Pappeguy" (Madam Armegot Printz alias Papegoya) was granted several dispensations, including one involving the operation of a distillery. On 20 February 1672 Carr and his wife were ordered to pay Madam Papegoya a significant sum for their use of, or perhaps full title to Tinicum Island, but three years later a warrant of 12 January 1675 was issued to execute this order (Linn and Egle 1890: 611-612, 652, 656-657, 696; Hazard 1850: 403; Myers 1955: 17; MAAR 1991b: 13) suggesting that the Carrs were still there. Even though Armegot had been awarded possession of the Island (Hazard 1850:404), she was probably not interested in taking up residence, but certainly wished to have payment.

Of interest in these dealings is the inventory of the Swedish goods at Tinicum provided in Armegot's 1671 claim, being "appraised in guilders, sewant value" (Gehring 1977: 51-53). At that time, when the cash economy was small and coins not plentiful, wampum (sewant) served as a common medium of exchange (Becker 1980a, 2002). As Gehring (1977: 53) notes, it was common not only to speak of money in terms of "Guilders Sewant" but also to abbreviate this as "G:st."

In 1675 the church associated with the habitation was still serving the "local" population, who came to services by boat, but as late as 1676 Armegot was still trying to get reimbursement for her losses (Gehring 1977: 78, 101). The order to pay compensation to "Mrs Pappegay," dated 1 December 1675 (same as above) seems to have been part of a typical bureaucratic procedure, with several copies of that order still surviving (Gehring 1977:118-119). Tracing the deeds and documents relating to the land on which the Printzhof stood, back to Armegot Printz Papegoya (King and Hancock 1970), clearly demonstrates original ownership of this specific piece of property by Governor Johan Printz and his heirs. Other researchers have been less certain regarding the chain of title (see Cotter et al. 1992:405-409 for a muddled account), but the archaeological evidence is in perfect accord with both oral tradition as well as the documentary evidence (Craig 1991b). In addition, the transition from Swedish to English ownership that is seen in the chain of titles is marked by interesting changes that have been documented through the archaeology. These include the alteration in door and fireplace locations within the house, and the placement outside the doorway of an English tradition witch bottle, a white magic protective charm. The bottle used as the container can be dated to about 1740, which is very close to the year when the first legal English purchaser of the tract had moved onto the Printzhof property (Becker 1978, 1980c).

The John Morton map (1770) of that corner of Tinicum Island northeast of the confluence of Darby Creek and the Delaware River shows that the entire area indicated, at least 200 acres, then was owned by John Taylor. The house and a barn located on this map are believed by some to be the original Printzhof.

In 1922, after several transactions, this area of Tinicum Island came to be owned by the Corinthian Yacht Club. A major portion of this historically important area, including the exact site on which the Printzhof had stood, was graciously donated in 1927 to the Swedish Colonial Society, which in 1938 donated it to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The State later transformed this relatively small tract into the extremely popular Governor Printz State Park. More recently, the care and upkeep of this tract has been turned over to Tinicum Township, Delaware County.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In 1937 Donald Cadzow was chosen by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to direct an "archaeological" excavation at the Printzhof as part of an extensive Works Project Administration (WPA) initiative. A complex series of foundations were revealed (Johnson 1938), and the associated artifacts recovered in this process include many clearly dating to the middle of the 17th century. Both the written and artifactual records of this dig, however, were never published and the data remain inaccessible to the public (see Craig 1992:3, for the Cadzow plan). In 1976 the William Penn Memorial Museum, now the State Museum of Pennsylvania, provided funding to re-excavate the area of the 1937 project in order to confirm earlier findings and to conclusively demonstrate which of the foundations belonged to the Printzhof as distinct from those of later structures or additions.

During the summer of 1976 excavations sponsored by The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Becker 1977) confirmed that the work of Donald Cadzow in the 1930s had indeed located the foundation of a Swedish cabin. Correspondence between features of the foundation and Printz's reports, plus the associated artifacts confirmed that this was the structure built by Governor Printz. Of particular note was the identification of evidence for the rebuilding of that structure in the manner that Printz had described in his 1645 report to Queen Christina of Sweden (Johnson 1911) and the discovery of the palisades of the fortification (**Figure 1**). Furthermore, artifacts recovered in these excavations duplicated those recovered by Cadzow that had been preserved in the former storage areas of the American Swedish Museum. In fact, some of those newly discovered pieces of European-made clay pipes could be mended together with pieces of the artifacts that had been found 40 years previously. Not only did we generate clear archaeological confirmation of the identity of the Printzhof, but all of the evidence is consistent with that produced by earlier work at the site.

The success of this research also included valuable clues to Native American activities at this location both before and after the arrival of Johan Printz. Numerous features reflecting a prehistoric occupation in this area attracted our interest, as well as clear evidence that natives were active at this colonial trading post, camping almost literally on Printz's doorstep (Becker 1993b). Since much of what we excavated that first season had been disturbed by the 1937 project, we were eager to examine some of the features that we revealed in our excavations.

The Palisade: The 1985 and 1986 Excavations

The success of our first season of modern excavation at the Printzhof led us to return in 1985 to explore a number of questions previously left unanswered. Other questions had been formulated during the course of review of the 1976 data and archival information. Excavations during the 1976 season had included a one meter wide test trench extending from the large excavation at the center of our principal area of interest, around the house, to the sea wall (**Figure 1**). This trench exposed a cluster of three features that we believed to be native burial pits of a pre-Contact date. Since Cadzow notes that he located some Native American burials in 1937, we were not surprised during the 1976 excavations to find that what seem to be these features had been stripped of any possible bones or artifacts. Cadzow did not indicate what he had discovered within these features, but some of the finds that survived in storage suggested to us that a pre-contact native cemetery might exist in this area near the Printzhof proper. After consultation with the appropriate Lenape representatives during 1983 and 1984, the following year we arranged to test the specific area to the south of the Printzhof where Cadzow had found what appeared to be at least two burials, and where we thought that a cemetery might exist (Becker Ms. A).

The 1985 season of excavations at the Printzhof began by relocating the three features that I believed might represent a cemetery and testing the westernmost of them. This feature had been only partially exposed in 1976. We had believed that all three features represented graves, but soon found that the westernmost did not represent a pit for a flexed burial. What appeared to be a corner of a grave, turned out to be that part of the exterior angle where a right-angle turn was made in a long ditch or trench for a historic fortification. More significantly, this very well-dug feature revealed that a series of posts had been set into it all along the western side of the north-south leg. After following the north-south leg for several meters to the north we found that it took a sharp turn to the west, where we followed it for about one meter. The posts in this east-west leg are set on the north side of the trench, but three particularly large poles are on the opposite side of the ditch.

The trench and the posts driven into its floor are clearly the remains of a palisade (Becker 1997). Wooden stake defensive walls are known from Dutch colonial sites along Delaware River and Bay both from excavations as well as from old drawings and maps (Bonine 1956: 14-15). These defenses were primarily meant to deter attacks by other Europeans, with whom colonists were continually at odds. The exact construction plan of the walls at Fortress Christina is not known, but several accounts suggest the presence of deteriorated posts which appear to have been the rotting timbers of a palisade or a plank lining of earthen embankments (Johnson 1930: 128). Most likely Fortress Christina was an earthen embankment fortification with a wooden plank wall supporting the internal face, a typical European type of earth and timber fortification with roots back to the medieval period (Becker in process A).

The excavations, to the south of the actual Printzhof residence, appear to have located one of the angles of a bastion at the riverside end of the palisaded defenses. Two bastion

fortifications, built in the shape of a diamond (or square), are known from contemporary accounts of Dutch colonial sites on Delaware Bay (Bonine 1956: Plates 1, 3; 1964). The larger posts seen here served either to support a small tower or possibly a protected entry. The palisade at the Printzhof is nowhere noted in the known early literature. This apparent omission may be because the construction of a palisaded defensive wall was an automatic part of establishing any encampment at that period, and as such, the basic features of these early outposts were not considered note worthy. As a consequence no thought was given to describing this process of establishing an outpost.

During our excavation of the palisade trench, each of the post moulds was mapped in place, and sections were made though many, to recover information about how they had been set and how this fortification had been constructed. The individual pales averaged only 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, with those few that were formed from trees greater than 20 cm. in diameter being split before being added to the palisade line (Becker 1997). This means that individuals or two-person teams could rapidly cut, strip and transport single pales for rapid construction. The ditch itself also is interesting since the construction began with the digging of a very regular trench, typical of European palisade construction but quite different from any known Native American examples. The walls of the trench dug for the palisade are still quite vertical; indicating that the earth packed into the ditch was tightly tamped into place to hold the posts securely upright. Over the past 350 years very little additional compression of this fill has occurred so that the walls of the sterile soil have not slumped to any noticeable degree into the surviving softer trench fill. The complete absence of historic artifacts anywhere in this trench, except for one brass button probably lost by a Swedish digger, demonstrates that this is the first European activity known on Tinicum Island.

This careful packing of the earth around the pales was absolutely essential since almost no stones were found around the bases of these posts in this trench. Great Tinicum Island is mostly a large sand bar with most of the covering soils largely devoid of stone. Pebble and stone layers underlie much of the island, but at a depth that makes their recovery unprofitable. The large, undressed stones that were used for the house foundations ranged in size from large cobbles to as large as 75 or more kg (50 lbs). These probably were gathered from some source along the shores of the Delaware, or more likely from along the middle reaches of one of the feeder streams such as the Schuylkill, and loaded on rafts to be floated down the river. Stone building materials for the house foundations were seen as essential, but the quickly-built palisade could stand in an earth-packed trench without the aid of stones. The Swedes do not appear to have used earth-fast constructions that were common among English colonists from Maine to Virginia.

Careful examination of the base of each post in the fortification palisade clearly show that the ends placed in the ground were pointed, and the depths of these pointed tips generally are lower than the bottom of the ditch. Quite clearly the poles were thrust into position in order to sink them still further into the ground than the bottom of the trench. The larger poles, of course, had greater mass and consequently penetrated further below the trench bottom than did the smaller ones. This palisade system is remarkably similar in form to those excavated at Jamestown (Kelso 1996: 28-29) and Martin's Hundred in

Virginia (Noël-Hume 1979: 150-152) and even as late as at Washington's Fort Necessity, erected more than one hundred years later (Harrington 1978: 113-120; Becker In process A).

A few years after our third season at this site, described below, confirmation of the predicted course of the palisade trench was achieved during an excavation by an unsupervised field crew working for a contract agency (Craig 1991). Unfortunately, that field crew failed to recognize the palisade feature when they saw it. The problematical field records of this inexperienced crew required interpretation and rewriting by another team of archaeologists under the direction of the late Ronald Thomas (MAAR Associates 1991a). An additional section of the palisade trench can be identified in the final report of the MAAR version. When their field records, in particular the section drawing of this trench feature, was compared with the detailed drawings of other sections of the palisade trench made by a highly trained crew, the evidence for the continuation of the palisade could be inferred. This information from this important aspect of the site has been added to the record (Becker In process A) and provides essential information for future archaeological work at this site.

The importance of the Printzhof palisade excavations lies in much more than allowing a better understanding of the processes by which this site was formed in 1643. The development of the residential complex "behind" the fort built by the Swedes helps us to recognize this early colonial defensive strategy and apply this information to our understanding sites elsewhere in the New World (Becker 2000). (*A seventeenth century map of the Swedish Fort Christina and a 1655 map of the Dutch siege of Fort Christina at the mouth of the Christina River clearly shows a settlement, which would become Wilmington, located behind the fort. Editor*) Although other archaeological excavations of Dutch or suspected Swedish outposts in this region often mention, by inference, the suspected presence of a palisade (Heite and Heite 1989: 46), not one example of a fortification has been identified at any other suspected early colonial site in the Delaware Valley. Since 1971, four archaeological investigations have been undertaken for the State of Delaware at their Robinson House (7NC-C-11) property located on Naaman's Road in Claymont, Delaware. These studies included a search for a "Swedish blockhouse" that appears to be a summer kitchen for a nineteenth century residence (Wise 1975; Catts and Tobias 2006). Catts (personal communication 2008) notes that the 2003 excavations and historical research confirmed the 1971 earlier conclusions (Wise 1975) that the site dates from the 18th century. Similarly, a site 2km (ca. 1.3 miles) southwest of Mullica Hill in New Jersey is often reported to me, verbally or in e-mails, as a Swedish colonial site. The excavator, R. Alan Mounier (personal communication 2010), notes that only a ca. 1650 Swedish copper coin can be securely dated to before 1700, while the other materials from the site are clearly much later in date and without any confirmed Swedish associations. No Swedish defensive works or any other Swedish activity can be archaeologically documented from any place beside the Printzhof anywhere in the former New Sweden colony (Becker 1988b).

The success of the 1985 excavations at the Printzhof also included further discoveries of undisturbed Native American artifacts, including a rare example of native chipping of

green bottle glass to make a tool. Significant finds of Native American artifacts *in situ* were recovered from the northeastern edge of our previous work, near the property line of the land owned by the Corinthian Yacht Club. This encouraged us to request support to conduct further excavations from The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of The University of Pennsylvania, and to petition for permission to excavate on the Corinthian Yacht Club property as well as in the State Park. Through the impressive efforts of Dr. Elin Danien, we were successful in both cases.

The 1986 Excavations: A Third Season

In 1986, with generous funding from The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the co-operation of the American Swedish Historical Society, excavations continued at the Printzhof. Building on previous discoveries, the pivotal 1986 excavation season, extended the search strategy through an improved resistivity survey, but it was through careful prediction of probabilities (and a great deal of luck), that our test pit pattern produced several incredibly important finds. Before turning to the results of our testing program note should be made of an extensive electrical resistivity survey that was conducted by the late Dr. Vernon Vernier. During our first season at this site, in 1976, a limited attempt was made to locate outbuildings or other features in the immediate area of the 1937 excavations through a resistivity survey (Aitken 1974: 267-286). The 1976 resistivity survey was not useful, largely due to the great extent of the 1937 disturbances and the burial of large quantities of metal in the area of the old tavern immediately to the north of the surviving Printzhof foundation.

In 1986, building on work done by Dr. Patrick McGovern (1983) and through the co-operation of Dr. McGovern and the Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (MASCA), Dr. Vernier initiated an enlarged resistivity survey at the Printzhof. The area selected was a level surface on the property of the Corinthian Yacht Club, to the north and west of the 1985 excavation zone. Our planned testing pattern was to extend into this region, with the possibility of altering our strategy should the resistivity results indicate the possibility of interesting sub-surface features.

Dr. Vernier's resistivity survey indicated that the level area in which the test was conducted was a relatively undisturbed zone. This finding was subsequently confirmed by archaeological testing. No structures were identified, nor any features such as pits or trenches. However, the tiny post holes of the *wigwam* noted below was found within this test zone, demonstrating the difficulties in identifying such small and ephemeral remains of Native American activities in this region using electroresistivity.

The general testing program of the 1986 season was far more productive. For Native American research in this region the most important discovery in 1986 was the evidence for two Native American *wigwams*, or simple shelters (Becker 1993b) (**Figure 1, 3**). These small structures, described so clearly by William Penn in 1683, were the normal residences of the foraging Lenape during their long stays at their principal fishing stations, where they spent most of the year (Becker 1993a). Penn (1683: 27) indicates:

"Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man;..."

Myers (1912, reprinted 1970) adds the note that in the original the words "Mostly Chestnut" were crossed off after the word "Trees." Far smaller than the well-known long houses of the Susquehannock and Five Nations (Iroquois), a *wigwam* leaves very few traces for archaeologists to recover. The few small post holes that are left from these shelters, which were used for only one season, also are easily obliterated by any kind of disturbance. The Corinthian yacht club wigwams include portions of two sequentially built structures, are some of the few examples of Native American shelters known and published (Becker 1993b, Custer *et al.* 1998: 16-18) from any location within the territory of the Lenape people (Becker 2006a). These circular structures are estimated to have been from four to 4.2 meters in diameter, with the many poles used in the construction averaging about four centimeters in diameter. These structures appear remarkably similar to an example reported from site 7NC-E-60 in nearby New Castle County, DE (Custer *et al.* 1998: 16-18). The Delaware site also lies within the realm of the historically known Lenape. Similarities are noted in the overall size of these structures, the intervals between posts and possible placements of fire pits close to the margins rather in the center as one might expect. Diagnostic artifacts from 7NC-E-60, including a Dutch tobacco pipe indicate contact period date. A sequence of superimposed *wigwam* patterns of oval shape, measuring 4 by 5 meters, from Pig Point in Maryland have been 14C dated to 210, 520 and 1200 C.E. (Roylance 2010).

The second important discovery during our third and last season of excavations at the Printzhof was a ditch filled with the undisturbed charred remains deposited there after the Printzhof fire during the winter of 1644-45 (**Figure 1**). Much of the modern landscape of urban America has been "flattened" by hundreds of years of activity during which stream beds and ditches are filled, watercourses are put into pipes that are then buried, and construction debris is used to fill in swamps and low spots. This process began as soon as Europeans began to settle in a forested land characterized by sharp changes in the terrain.

Not only were the depressions and gullies of the normal landscape a problem to colonists who were interested in house construction and farming, but these hidden spots provided cover for attackers. The filling of these low places was a constant concern in the management of the colonial landscape. The disastrous Printzhof fire, which took place during the winter of a year that was close to the maximum cold of the Little Ice Age, required that Printz use all his efforts to provide shelter for his people, beside that of the surviving barn. The charred remains of the earlier building were rapidly shoveled into a natural ditch or small gully a short distance to the west-northwest of the foundations of the house. This procedure of filling a ditch, that then became an invisible feature as the ground was leveled, was to get the debris out of the way as well as to put these charred materials to some use. The speed of this process is evident in the fact that these ashes were not even sifted to recover the metal spikes and nails that had been used

in the log construction, or to hold specific aspects of that construction in place. We recovered these iron artifacts along with burned sherds of European glazed pottery, clay tobacco pipes, drinking glasses, and bricks. The Swedish-made yellow bricks look very much like their Dutch counterparts (Becker 1977). Several fragments of elaborate drinking glasses were recovered. These also are known as "*römer*" (var. "*roemer*") and are of a form typical of the 1640-1650 period (Figure 4) (Theuerkauff 1968, 1969). Important examples of all these artifact types were recovered from this particularly well-sealed deposit.

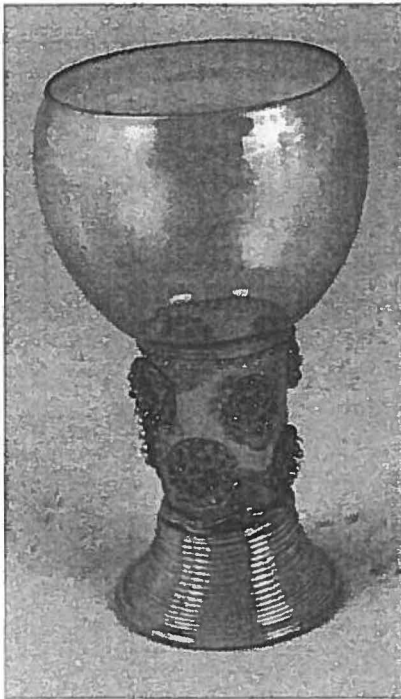


Figure 4:. A 17th century *römer* or *roemer*.

Fragments of similar *prunts* and rims were recovered during the 1986 excavations.

Of particular interest among the fragments of European material culture that were recovered were the glass rim fragments and prunts (decorative knobs) from one or more *römer*, typical of the early 17th century noted above (Figure 4). These clear or slightly tinted glass drinking goblets typically have a pedestal stem and walls that are decorated with a few small clusters of knob-like glass bosses generally of a dark color. *Römer* are the descendants of the ancient claw-beaker (identified as *Rüsselbecher*) evolving in northwestern Europe after 400 CE from the great Roman glass tradition. Claw-beakers commonly were made in Germany in the 5th-7th centuries (Evison 1982), and the tradition survived the early medieval period to become common in the 16th century. *Römer* commonly are

depicted in Dutch still life scenes of the 17th century, and variations of this type of goblet continue to be popular in Europe to this day. Note should be made that the extremely fine quality of the *römer* fragments from the Printzhof are in keeping with Printz's position as the military governor. For millennia military leaders have maintained relative levels of luxury that have left traces of their lifestyle that continue to impress archaeologists.

A Native Tool

Among the ashes of the great fire at the Printzhof that were deposited in a depression near the foundation was a single axe-like stone tool. This object is of particular note because it was found among the burned European goods from the Printzhof fire, and not among the prehistoric artifacts recovered from native contexts located during these excavations. The stone "axe" (perhaps an adze or celt) was likely the "head" of a native tool. While surface shaping is not evident, some ornamental pecking appear to have been added for decoration, and the context suggests that this is more than a random stone. The Printzhof conflagration had created fire-induced stresses along the natural cleavage

planes of the stone, but the tool appeared to be intact when found. Only when removed from its location of 350 years, did the splits become evident. The deteriorating stone was treated with Acroloid B-72 with Cabosil to prevent further separation.

This specific artifact provides archaeological evidence for a practice common to military governors of that period, and perhaps any period. Collecting "trophy" from the people native to places where these officers were stationed is documented throughout Europe (Becker 1990a, 1990b). These collections provide us with some of the best documented and finest examples of early native artifacts. For example, Skokloster Castle was built in Sweden during the early 17th century by another military officer, Gustav Wrangel. Wrangel, who was a close friend of Printz (Becker 1990a), like Printz, had no male heirs. On his death, Wrangel's fabulous castle and every item in it were entailed to the family. In 1710 an exceedingly detailed inventory was made of every item in Skokloster. The property eventually came under the control of the Swedish government. The eight spectacular Native American artifacts of perishable materials that are so carefully preserved in the Skokloster Museum near Bålsta, Sweden are now believed to be of Susquehannock origin (Becker 1980, 1990a, 1990b; Johnson 1930: 117, 140).

While exhaustive records from Wrangel's archives document many items, including names of makers and costs, not one word exists to indicate how the eight Native American artifacts came to be in this collection. These pieces were located in Wrangel's trophy room, where weapons of every type indicated the concerns of a military officer with trophies representing the places where he had served. Many of the items come from parts of that huge empire that Sweden had conquered in the 16th century, but Wrangel never served in the New World. These Susquehannock artifacts at Skokloster may have been presented as a gift to Wrangel by Johan Printz (Becker 1990b). The discovery of a native tool among the objects burned in the fire of 1644 suggests that Printz was collecting native curiosities soon after he settled on Tinicum Island. We also have documentary evidence regarding Printz's interest in native material culture. The documents reveal that Printz noted in a long letter to Sir Per Brahe, Lord High Chancellor of Sweden, dated 19 July 1644, that he was sending two native-made objects to Queen Christina and two for Brahe, both indicating native technological skills. The Queen was to receive a wampum belt used in treaties or formal meetings (*Kinteka*; Becker 2010b) as well as a stone pipe.

"I have often thought of my Royal Majesty, my most Gracious Queen, to present her with some strange gift, in highest humility, but could not find anything special until now, except one of the foremost [principal wampum] bands which the Indian Chiefs use on their Kinteka and greatest glory[,] and is so highly esteemed among them as among us gold and silver. The black [is taken] as gold, the white as silver. [I] also [send] a tobacco pipe, which the Savages themselves have made of stone, from which H[er] R[oyal] Maj[est]y can graciously see what the best gifts and splendor of the Savages are, as well as how artistic they are, not only in wood, but also in stone and in other metals, to do and to work." (Johan Printz 19 July, 1644) (Johnson 1930: 166-167)

This letter, poorly transcribed by Weslager (1968: 41), continues with the note that “a Savage tobacco pipe of wood and an Indian [worked] otter [skin] for a muff” was included for Brahe. What became of these items is not known. Information on Printz’s own use of wampum (Becker 2010b), as indicated in various documents, plus the archaeological find of this stone tool, helps to confirm my belief that Johan Printz may have been the source of the Skokloster artifacts.

If the Susquehannock items went to Sweden via Printz, as I believe, he probably obtained them during his 11 years of service in the New World. Originally I had suggested that these items were made by the Lenape, since Printz lived among these people (Becker 1990a). Later finds of evidence suggested to me that these items were made by the Susquehannock (Becker 1990b). What is important is that native made items from this region were being collected by military governors as souvenirs of native life, rather than trophies. The discovery of this axe-like tool associated with the burned contents of the Printzhof fire of 1644 provides us with the direct archaeological evidence.

OTHER FINDS

A great number of the finds recovered during the 1937 “excavations” had disappeared by 1976. In storage at the American Swedish Historical Museum in 1976 was a large box that held a number of yellow bricks (Becker 1977), some rusted iron items that largely derived from 19th century boats, about 35 small pieces of native pottery and a small box of European kaolin smoking pipe fragments. All the artifacts have since been transferred to the State Museum of Pennsylvania. The excavations from 1976 and after doubled the number of kaolin pipe fragments that had survived from the 1937 project, providing one of the more important sets of data for this site (**Figure 5**). The generally non-smoking Quakers, who began to be a significant population in this area after 1660, left very few and very different assemblages of smoking pipes for the archaeologist. The dates of the pipe fragments from the Printzhof are strongly concentrated in the period 1640-1650. Several of the elaborate designs on the molded stems are known from no other colonial site in the Delaware Valley. Pipes with similar and identical fleur-de-lis patterns are known from sites along the Chesapeake Bay. The designs are identified as Dutch and dated to the period c. 1630-1650 (Davey and Pogue 1991), perhaps providing clues to the cultural origins and trading patterns of these colonists (cf. Bradley and De Angelo 1981: 119-121). Similar examples have been reported from sites in the Chesapeake Bay region. Only Fort Orange area excavations in Albany, New York (Huey 1985) have yielded numbers of similarly decorated pipe stems equal to those from the Printzhof. Since we have no other archaeological evidence for the Swedish occupation in North America, this small inventory of artifacts remains our only basis for understanding the flow of the European artifacts to this colony. This remains the basis for comparison with material culture of the contemporary and relatively nearby Dutch outposts and settlements (Huey 2005). The clay pipe fragments from the later excavation at the Printzhof (MAAR 1991a: Appendix), and from excavations at the old New Castle County courthouse, provide useful samples for comparative study for a future researcher.

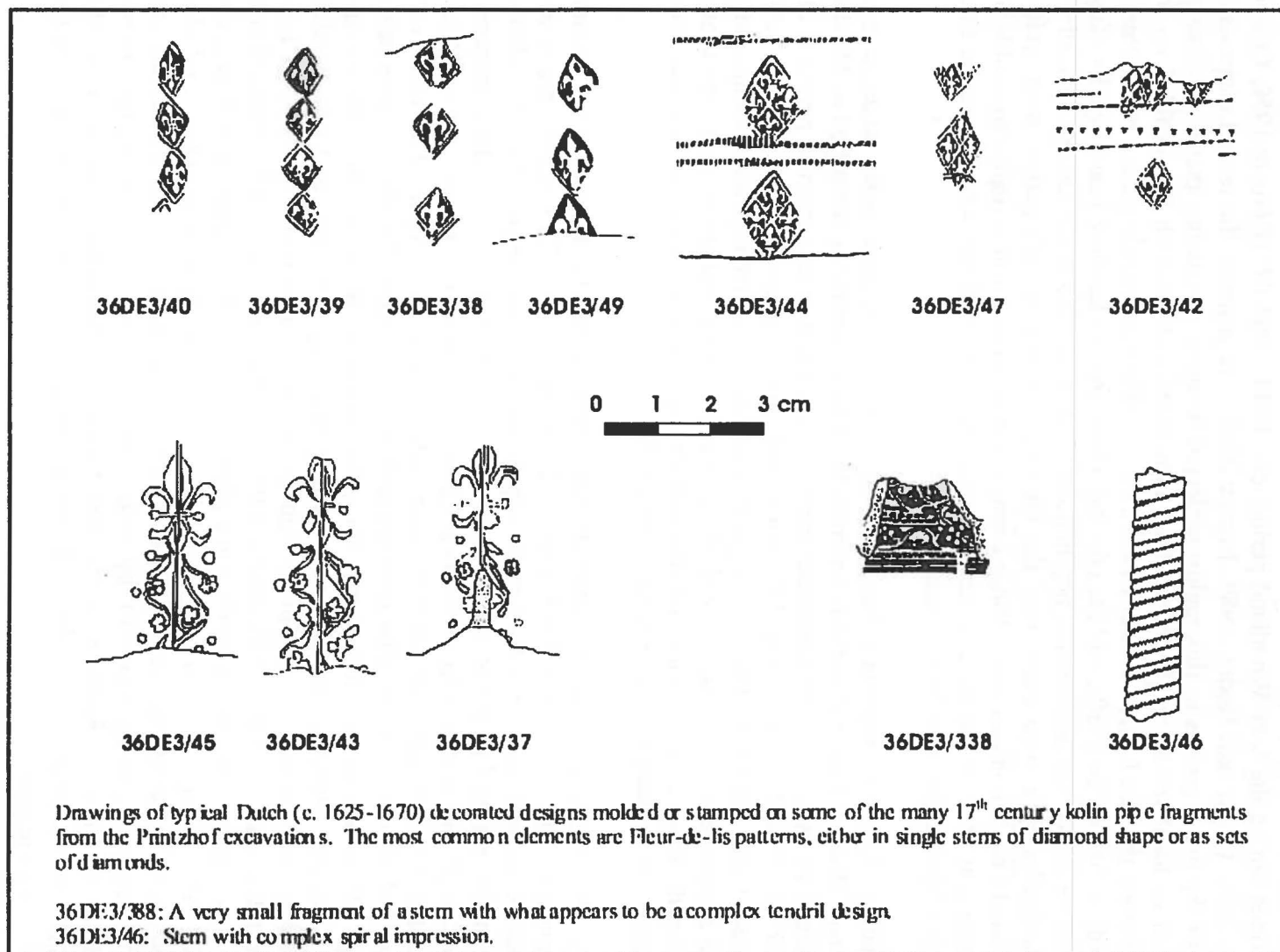


Figure 5

The Prehistoric and Native American Context

Prehistoric archaeological studies in the Delaware Valley have been taken to suggest several scenarios regarding how and when the historically known tribes of this area developed during the Late Woodland period, ca. 1000 -1200 CE (Herman 1950, Custer 1983, 1996; Custer and Hodny 1989; Becker 2005). In general, the local Lenape and each of the many groups in this region perfected foraging techniques that were closely adapted to local resources (Becker 2006). Ethnohistorical research has enabled us to demonstrate that the Lenape retained their Late Woodland economic pattern and cultural integrity as late as the 1730s, and then for more than another hundred years by relocating to areas removed from agricultural populations. Thus in the 1630s the Lenape, as well as the Susquehannock who came into the Delaware Valley to sell peltry, were living traditional Late Woodland lives. Those Lenape who remained in this region were able to continue that lifestyle for another century, although stone tool use was one of the first aspects of their material culture to undergo change.

Native American materials from the Printzhof site include both ceramics and debitage. Most of Native American ceramics have been tentatively identified as Middle Woodland in date, while the remainder cannot be assigned to any specific period (Tull 1993:27-32; Powell 2010:53, Fig. 18). Stone flakes are relatively common, but none can be dated (Hatch and Miller 1985). The general distribution of debitage and ceramics may reflect intermittent use of this dry end of the island over the millennia. Since the island provides direct access to riverine and abundant swamp resources, activities here may well predate the Woodland period, or before 1000 BCE.

The documents attesting to Swedish interactions with the local natives abound (Campanius 1696; Holm 1834; Lindeström 1925; Rising Ms. A). They usually depict the marginal economic position of the Lenape population, who had few pelts for sale, relative to the major pelt trading peoples such as the Susquehannock and Five Nations Iroquois. Printz complained that pelts taken by local Lenape were taken to the better paying Dutch merchants. Other records indicate that Lenape often took advance payment for peltry and later defaulted on these deals after they had sold their catch to the Dutch, who paid better prices. These documents also reveal the great variety of ways in which the Lenape secured valued European goods despite having relatively few pelts to trade, or after scamming the Swedes. In addition to their limited niche as vendors of maize, at least between the years 1640 and 1660 (Johnson 1911:117; Becker 1985, 1995, 1999a), Printz notes that these people often sold the same pieces of land to the Swedes as well as to the Dutch. The Lenape also ran an effective mail service to New Amsterdam, and also earned goods by bounty hunting – for crows, wolves, and humans. Thus the Lenape had several means of gaining access to the wide variety of goods available through various European merchants. Relative to the pelt trading Susquehannock, however, or the wampum producing peoples in the northerly coastal areas, the Lenape were seen by the Swedes as quite poor.

All this was to change rapidly after 1675. By 1655 the Swedish colony had officially become "Dutch" after a brief military action. The Dutch took this step in desperation,

since their hold in this part of America had been eroding for decades (Veit and Bello 1999). Even before the Pilgrims landed in New England, the Virginia colony put pressure on the southern flank of this Dutch trading sphere. After 1620 the pincers began to close, squeezing the Dutch ventures from both directions, and leading them to consolidate what they had by "capturing" the Swedish forts on the South River. But within 10 years, the Dutch had lost their grip on this entire region.

The changes in the colonial balance of power had parallel repercussions among their native trading partners. As the Dutch power was fading, the wars between the Five Nations and the Susquehannock were becoming increasingly lethal. One reason was the development of flintlocks and the increasing ability of the players to kill other participants in these wars. The smaller population of the Susquehannock attempted to attract allies, offering free lands and preferred trade to the Swedes just as the Swedes were losing all their power. The Lenape, who had formerly been abused as an inconsequential people by the Susquehannock, now became important potential allies with who they were willing to share the fur trade. As early as 1661 we have records of Lenape presence in the villages of the Susquehannock confederacy.

By 1664, with the Dutch defeated, power politics in the region shifted to English colony versus other English colonies. English New York held sway over the South River by virtue of the taking of all areas formerly under the Dutch, but the rich interior of Pennsylvania remained Susquehannock territory. This ended abruptly in 1674/5 when the Susquehannock were betrayed by their Maryland allies, and the Five Nations dispersed the various members of the Susquehannock confederacy. The Lenape remained in place and became the principal agents in the fur trade in the Delaware valley, and were in control when William Penn arrived.

Prior to 1675 the Susquehannock remained the principal purveyors of pelts in this region, and Printzhof had considerable interest in interacting with these people. The limitations of the Swedish ability to buy pelts may be reflected archaeologically in the near absence of trade goods recovered during three seasons of modern excavations, and none being noted from the WPA project. Only a single European trade bead was found, represented by a large fragment, that does not precisely fit any Kidd and Kidd type (1983), but is extremely close. The bead fragment recovered at the Printzhof is from a round, large (greater than 14mm diameter), opaque redwood-colored bead with a redwood core and four navy blue-on-white compound stripes. As Heather Lapham points out (personal communication 15 August 2010) this is similar, but not identical, to the Kidd and Kidd type *IVbb4* bead, described as a large, round, opaque redwood-colored bead with an opaque black core and three navy blue-on-white compound stripes. Lapham also notes that in the Kidd and Kidd "very large" refers to any bead more than 10 mm in diameter. The bead type was made in Amsterdam or Venice in the 1600's. The bead and the native-made large "axe" recovered from the fire debris are the only direct pieces of evidence that we have for the extensive trade relations that were so essential to the placement and intended function of this site, and the colony of which it is the only part that we now know through archaeology.

CONCLUSION

A series of well trained and extremely experienced field crews were involved in three seasons of research at this site, most of which is now within the boundaries of Tinicum Township Park (Essington, Pennsylvania). We were able to build on data derived from parallel archival research as well as from the limited surviving evidence from the 1937 excavations to generate a wealth of information specific to confirming this site as the Printzhof. All lines of evidence, oral tradition, archival and archaeological, clearly demonstrate that the location excavated on Tinicum Island has revealed the house that Johan Printz built and rebuilt in the 1640's. The findings, presented in a series of scholarly publications, uniformly support our conclusion that this structure was, beyond any doubt, the first seat of government within modern Pennsylvania that was built by Johan Printz in 1643.

AFTERWARD: MODERN POLITICS

The archaeological record from the Printzhof excavations offers clues to colonial and native lifestyles, and the interactions of the various groups in each of these "cultural" spheres, during the early period of regular contact (Becker 2006). What we are describing here took place in the earliest period of trade, before English colonial expansion and significant native migration had compounded the already complex social dynamics (Heckewelder 1819). This period covers a time when cultures were in contact along a fluid but very thin frontier directly along the Atlantic Ocean, and a few of the major waterways that flowed into it. We now have direct archaeological evidence to complement an abundant documentary record dating from the important 25 years of Dutch and Swedish activities that preceded the English takeover in 1664. The archaeological finds from the site on Tinicum Island identified as 36DE3 provide direct evidence for the Swedish presence on the Delaware River; a record that began nearly 50 years before William Penn arrived on the scene (Dunn and Dunn 1982; Myers 1970). These documents include a clear record of the first "special day of Thanksgiving" to be celebrated in this part of the New World, in October of 1646 (Johnson 1911:36).

Archaeologists and scholars in every discipline should take note of the curious and distant relationship that exists between scholarly research and public opinion. Political realities always trump what I call "academic realities." The "academic reality" in this case is derived from research relating to the Printzhof, based on an impressive numbers of documents relating to the Swedish colonial period and three seasons of excavation by a superlative field crew followed by some testing led by an architectural group. While the Swedish documents are far fewer than the numerous volumes that record activities in the Philadelphia area after 1681 (Hazard 1838, Hazard et al 1852-1949, plus all the William Penn papers and other documents in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to name only the larger collections), the Swedish records are still considerable. Records regarding the Swedish presence abound from the Penn period as well. Together these provide a mine that has barely begun to be excavated (Dunn and Dunn 1982).

Despite all the available evidence now available, two related and disturbing claims regarding the Printzhof have emerged in the past few years (Craig 1991a, 1991b, 1992). The impressive location of the Printzhof once included within the boundaries of a very small but very well utilized Pennsylvania State Park was declared by powers in Harrisburg to “not” be the site of the Printzhof. This decision, totally lacking in any supportive evidence, was made in Harrisburg (Lovata 2007). The park was turned over to the local Tinicum Township, which continues to provide the local people with an excellent facility, but without cost to the Commonwealth. The transfer took place prior to the 2008 closings of State Parks in New Jersey and in other states due to tightening budgets. In a fiscal sense, Pennsylvania was ahead of the curve.

Along with the claim made by representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that the Printzhof was “not” the Printzhof is a belief that the actual site of Printz’s home lies somewhat upstream. This is contradicted by four peer reviewed publications, the chain of title, documentary evidence, archaeological record, and military logic, all of which remain ignored by the deniers. A common suggestion is that the site of the Printzhof lies where the Lazaretto, the Philadelphia quarantine station, built in 1799 to 1800 to replace the old Lazaretto on Province Island, near Fort Mifflin (David Barnes, personal communication 25 Aug. 2008). I estimated that the location of the Lazaretto itself is some 150 m from the northeastern tip of the present Township Park, a distance similar to Watson’s estimate (see above). In recent years several individuals who are members of a group concerned with the preservation of the Lazaretto have claimed that the quarantine station site should be preserved because it “also” had been the site of the Printzhof; a claim repeated often in the local papers. The archaeological evidence that we work so hard to recover can be interpreted or ignored for many reasons. As professionals we not only need to continue to collect evidence from and about this extremely important colonial site, but to disseminate that information to the general public.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

This text is an updated version of an earlier paper on the archaeology of the Printzhof (Becker 1999b). Selected portions of this version were presented at the 2008 Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference Meetings in Ocean City, Maryland. Thanks are due the directors and staff of the American Swedish Museum, The State Museum of Pennsylvania, the University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, and the Corinthian Yacht Club for their kind co-operation in various phases of this research. The generous input of Prof. David Barnes (University of Pennsylvania), Charles A. Bello, Bill Bolger (National Park Service), Prof. Michael Coe (Yale University, ret.), the late Prof. John Cotter, Dr. Elin Danien and Conservator Virginia Greene, all of The University Museum (Philadelphia), Birgitta W. Davis (American Swedish Museum), Atty. David A. Furlow, Alice Guerrant, Neal Kenney (West Chester University Archives), Dr. Barry Kent (State Museum of Pennsylvania, ret.), Dr. Heather Lapham, Dr. Brian B. Magnusson, Prof. John L. Seidel (Washington College), Dr. Anne Bohlen (Library of Congress), Brenan Laverty, and Thomas Buckwalter, is most gratefully acknowledged.

Thanks also are due the late Peter S. Craig for important corrections to an earlier draft, and for providing copies of important letters and documents relating to the historical interpretation of the report (MAAR 1991) that has led to some controversy regarding the location of the Printzhof. Thanks also are due to Prof. Jeff Werner (Director of Research, Göteborg Museum of Art) for his encouragement of all research concerning the Swedish colony in North America.

Special thanks are due to Keith R. Doms for his important and helpful editorial work with this manuscript. Thanks also are due to Prof. Richard Veit (Monmouth University) for his encouragement to return to the data derived from these excavations and to place them into the larger cultural picture of early colonial life on the Delaware River. His careful reading of an earlier draft of this manuscript is very much appreciated. Thanks also are due to the several members of three outstanding field crews that excavated at this site, including Dr. Susan Johnston, Dr. Wendy Bacon, Dr. Vernon Vernier, Prof. Diane Chase, Dr. Arlen Chase, Dr. Jeanne Sweeney, and to all of the other scholars and students who participated in this project.

The figures were drawn by Mariko Ikkai, Robert Hazen, and Marshall Becker. The figures were edited by Keith Doms.

Final revisions to this text were made while I was a Fellow in Anthropology at The University of Pennsylvania. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Asif Agha for his encouragement of this and various other research projects while he was Chair of the Department. Funding for the completion of this study was provided through a generous grant from Dr. Joseph K. McLaughlin (International Epidemiology Institute). Thanks also are due to the members of the Congress of The United States of America for their support of tax laws that stimulate and encourage research in this and other areas of enquiry. The ideas presented here, as well as any errors of fact or interpretation, are solely my own responsibility.

References

Aitken, M.J.

1974 Electrical Resistivity Surveying. *Physics and Archaeology, Second edition*. Chapter 8 pp. 267-286. Clarendon Press. Oxford, England.

Baron, Stanley

1962 *Brewed in America: A history of beer and ale in the United States*. Little, Brown. Boston, Massachusetts.

Becker, Marshall Joseph

1977 "Swedish" Colonial Yellow Bricks: Notes on their uses and possible origins in 17th Century America. *Historical Archaeology* 11: 112-118.

- 1978 An Eighteenth Century Witch Bottle in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 48 (1-2): 1-11.
- 1979 Ethnohistory and Archaeology in search of the Printzhof: the 17th century residence of Swedish Colonial Governor Johan Printz. *Ethnohistory* 26 (1): 15-44.
- 1980a Wampum: The Development of an Early American Currency. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 36: 1-11.
- 1980b Lenape Archaeology: Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Considerations in light of recent excavations. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 50 (4): 19-30.
- 1980c An American Witch Bottle: "White Magic" among Pennsylvania Colonists. *Archaeology* 33: 18-23.
- 1983a The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of Delaware as a Buffer Zone. *Man in the Northeast* 26 (Fall): 1-20.
- 1983b *The Lenape Southern Boundary*. Paper presented at the 1983 Laurier Conference. London, Ontario.
- 1984a Lenape Land Sales, Treaties, and Wampum Belts. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 108: 351-356.
- 1984b The Lenape Bands Prior to 1740: The identification of boundaries and processes of change leading to the formation of the "Delawares." In, *The Lenape Indian: A Symposium*. Edited by H.C. Kraft. Archaeological Research Center, Seton Hall University, Publication No. 7: 19-32.
- 1985 *Cultural Continuity Among the Lenape: The Evidence from Mortuary Customs*. Paper presented to the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, 15 Nov. 1985.
- 1986a The Okehocking Band of Lenape as an Example of One Mode of Adjustment to Colonial Expansion: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations in Southeastern Pennsylvania. *Strategies for Survival*, edited by Frank W. Porter III. pp. 43-83 Greenwood Press. Westport, Connecticut.
- 1986b Cultural Diversity in the Lower Delaware River Valley: An Ethnohistorical Perspective. *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region*, edited by Jay Custer. pp. 90-101. University of Delaware Press. Newark, Delaware.
- 1987 *A Report on the 1986 Excavations at the Printzhof Site (36 DE 3): Operation 13*. Report on file, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (12 March).
- 1988a A Summary of Lenape Socio-Political Organization and Settlement Pattern at the Time of European Contact: The Evidence for Collecting Bands. *Journal of Middle*

- Atlantic Archaeology* 4: 79-83.
- 1988b Swedish Colonial Sites in New Jersey: Needle in a Haystack / Spoon in a Dune. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 43: 17-18.
- 1989 Lenape Population at the Time of European Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the Lower Delaware Valley. Symposium on the Demographic History of the Philadelphia Region, 1600-1860, edited by Susan E. Klepp. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (2): 112 - 122.
- 1990a A Wolf's Head Pouch: Lenape Material Culture in the Collections of the Skokloster Museum, Sweden. *Archeomaterials* 4 (1): 77-95.
- 1990b Two 17th Century Clubs in the Collections of the Skokloster Museum, Sweden. *European Review of Native American Studies* 4 (1): 19-28.
- 1992 The Historic Contact Period: The Lenape. Edited by M. J. Becker. *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia*. Edited by John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington. pp. 17-29. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- 1993b Lenape Shelters: Possible Examples from the Contact Period. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 63 (2): 64-76.
- 1993c The Lenape and Other "Delawarean" Peoples at the Time of European Contact: Population Estimates Derived from Archaeological and Historical Sources. *The Bulletin: Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association* 105: 16-25.
- 1995 Lenape Maize Sales to the Swedish Colonists: Cultural Stability during the Early Colonial Period. *New Sweden in America*. Edited by Carol E. Hoffeecker, Richard Waldron, Lorraine E. Williams, and Barbara E. Benson. pp. 121-136. University of Delaware Press. Newark, Delaware.
- 1997 "The Palisade at the Printzhof: A Swedish Fort of 1643 on the Delaware River." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Council for Northeast Historic Archaeology. Altoona, Pennsylvania.
- 1999a Cash Cropping by Lenape Foragers: Preliminary Notes on Native Maize Sales to Swedish Colonists and Cultural Stability During the Early Colonial Period. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 54: 45-68.
- 1999b Archaeology at the Printzhof (36DE3), The Only Documented Early 17th Century Swedish Site in the Delaware Valley. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 15: 77-94.
- 2000 European Trade and Colonization in the Territory of the Lenape During the 17th

- Century: A "Modern" Historical Model for Greek Colonization in Italy and Elsewhere in Magna Graecia. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 55: 33-43.
- 2002 A Wampum Belt Chronology: Origins to Modern Times. *Northeast Anthropology* 63: 49-70.
- 2005 Late Woodland Period in Delaware: Observations on a Career Related to Archaeology; or, Who Speaks for the Indians, and Why? *North American Archaeologist* 26 (1): 37-50.
-
- 2006 Anadromous Fish and the Lenape. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 76 (2): 28-40.
- 2010a "Late Woodland" (CA. 1000-1740 CE) Foraging Patterns of the Lenape and Their Neighbors in the Delaware Valley. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 80 (1): 17-31.
- 2010b Wampum Use in Southern New England: The Paradox of Bead Production without the Use of Political Belts. *Nantucket and Other Native Places: The Legacy of Elizabeth Alden Little*. edited by Elizabeth S. Chilton and Mary Lynne Rainey. pp. 137-158. SUNY Press with the Massachusetts Archaeological Society. Albany, New York.
- In process A "The Fortifications at the Printzhof." Monograph Series, CNEHA
- Ms. A The Montgomery Site (36CH60): The Cemetery area of the Brandywine Band of Lenape in Use from ca. 1720-1733.
- Bonine, C. A.
 1956 Archeological Investigation of the Dutch "Swanendael" Settlement Under Devries, 1631-1632. *The Archeolog* 8 (3): 1-17.
- 1964 The South Bastion of the Devries Palisade of 1631 (7S-D11) Lewes, Delaware. *The Archeolog* 16 (2): cover, 13-19.
- Bradley, James W. and Gordon De Angelo
 1981 European Clay Pipe Marks from 17th Century Onondaga Iroquois Sites. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 9: 109-133.
- Campanius, Johannes
 1696 Lutheri Catechismus, etc. Stockholm : Burchardi. (The facsimile edition, Martin Luther's Little Catechism; Translated into Algonquian Indian by Johannes Campanius, 1937. Ivar Haeggstom and Almqvist & Wiksell. Stockholm and Uppsala, Sweden.
- Catts, Wade P. and Mark A. Tobias
 2006 *Thomas Robinson House* (7NC-C-11), Brandywine Hundred, New Castle

County, Delaware: *Archaeological Investigations at the Summer Kitchen, Smokehouse, and East Yard*. Report prepared for Delaware Division of Historical & Cultural Affairs. Dover, Delaware.

Coe, Michael D.

1978 *The Line of Forts: Archaeology of the Mid-Eighteenth Century on the Massachusetts Frontier*. *New England Historical Archaeology*, edited by Peter Benes. pp. 44-55. Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife. Trustees of Boston University. Boston, Massachusetts.

2006 *The Line of Forts: Historical Archaeology on the Colonial Frontier of Massachusetts*. University Press of New England. Hanover, New Hampshire.

Craig, Peter S.

1991a Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Rewrites History: The \$500,000 Blunder at Printz Park and the Morton Homestead. *Swedish Colonial News* 1 (3): 2-3.

1991b Letter (16 pages) to Ronald A. Thomas of Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research, Inc. (MAAR). [Prototype of MAAR 1991b, q.v.].

1992 Historic Sites. "The Search for the Printzhof" Governor Printz's Mansion. *Swedish Colonial News* 1 (5): 2-3.

1997 New Sweden Settlers, 1638-1664: Part 4 (1644-1653). *Swedish American Genealogist* 1997 (3): 113-132.

Custer, Jay F.

1983 *Delaware Prehistoric Archaeology: An Ecological Approach*. University of Delaware Press. Newark, Delaware.

1996 *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Custer, Jay F. and Jay Hodny

1989 *Final Archaeological Investigations at the Hockessin Valley Site (7NC-A-17), New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 75.

Davey, Peter and Dennis Pogue, editors

1991 *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe XII. Chesapeake Bay*. BAR International Series 566. Oxford, England.

Dunn, Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn (editors)

1982 *The Papers of William Penn, Volume Two: 1680-1684*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Du Ponceau, Peter S. (Editor)

- 1834 "Names which the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, who once inhabited this country, had given to rivers, streams, places, &c. &c. within the now states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia : and also names of chieftains and distinguished men of that nation; with the significations of those names and biographical sketches of some of those men," by John G. E. Heckewelder. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 4: 351-396.

Evison, Vera I.

- 1982 Anglo-Saxon Glass Claw-beakers. *Archaeologia* 107: 43-76.

Faulkner, Alaric

- 1985 Archaeology of the Cod Fishery, Damariscove Island. *Historical Archaeology* 19: 57-86.

Feister, Lois M.

- 1985 Archaeology in Rensselaerswyck: Dutch 17th Century Domestic Sites. *New Netherlands Studies* 84 (2-3): 80-88.

Forks of the Delaware Chapter 14

- 1980 The Overpeck Site (36BU5). *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 50(3):1-46.

Furlow, David A.

- 2008 *The Enigmatic Isaac Allerton: A Mariner, Merchant, Burgher, Attorney, and Diplomat of New Netherland*. Paper presented May 10 at the Seventeenth Century Research Symposium. New Castle, Delaware.

Gehring, Charles (editor)

- 1977 New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch. Volumes XX-XXI. Delaware Papers (English Period). Genealogical Publishing: Baltimore, Maryland.

Hatch, James and Patricia E. Miller

- 1985 Procurement, Tool Production, and Sourcing Research at the Vera Cruz Jasper Quarry in Pennsylvania. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12: 219-230.

Harrington, J. C.

- 1978 New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity. *Historical Archaeology: A guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*. Edited by Robert Schuyler. Baywood Publishing. pp. 91-138.

Hazard, Samuel

- 1850 *Annals of Pennsylvania, from the Discovery of the Delaware, 1609-1682*. Reissued in 1970. Kennikat Press. Port Washington, New York.

Hazard, Samuel (editor)

- 1838-53 *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania....*(16 volumes)

Vols.11-16 entitled *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg and Philadelphia. (Vols. 1-3 reprinted in 1852 with different pagination.)

Hazard, Samuel, et al. (editors)

1852-1949 *Pennsylvania Archives*. Nine series, including 138 volumes. Philadelphia and Harrisburg [various presses].

Heckewelder, John

1819 *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*. Philadelphia. (Revised from the 1819 edition by William C. Reichel. *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 12. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Heite, Edward F. and Louise B. Heite

1987 Report of the Phase I archaeological and historical investigations at the site of Fort Casimir, New Castle, Delaware. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware* 25: 1-54.

Herman, Mary W.

1950 A Reconstruction of Aboriginal Delaware Culture from Contemporary Sources. *Kroeber Anthropology Society Papers* 1:45-77.

Holm, Thomas Campanius

1834 "A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden. Now called by the English Pennsylvania in America, 1702." Translated by Peter S. Du Ponceau. *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 3. Part 1:1-166.

Huey, Paul

1985 Archaeological excavations in the site of Fort Orange, a Dutch West India Company Trading Fort Built in 1624. *New Netherlands Studies* 84 (2-3): 68-79.

2005 An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Sources on the Archaeology of Old World Dutch Material Culture in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries. *Northeast Historic Archaeology* 34: 119-189.

Johnson, Amandus

1911 *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: Their History and Relation to the Indians, Dutch and English, 1638-1664*. (2 vols.) University of Pennsylvania. Reprinted 1969. Genealogical Publishing Co. Baltimore, Maryland.

1930 The Instruction for Johan Printz Governor of New Sweden. *The Swedish Colonial Society*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1938 *Stenarna Tala* [The Stones Speak]. From a translation by Benkt Wennberg, 1991. *Allsvensk Samling* 25 (Nos. 5-6).

- Kelso, William
1996 *Jamestown Rediscovery II*. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.
- Kent, Barry C.
1984 *Susquehanna's Indians*. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
- Kent, Donald H. (editor)
1979 *Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629-1737. Early American Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789 Volume 1*. University Publications of America. Washington, D. C.
- King, Robert E. and Mary Hancock
1970 *A Feasibility Study for Possible Future Excavations in Search of Governor Johan Printz's Settlement on Tinicum Island*. Report on file at The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- Kidd, Kenneth E. and Martha A. Kidd
1983 A Classification System for Glass Beads for the Use of Field Archaeologists. Pages 219-257 in, *Proceeding of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*, edited by Charles F. Hayes. Research Records 16. Rochester Museum and Science Division. Rochester, New York. Reprinted from the Parks Canada publication of the same title, *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 1: 45-89.
- Kukk, Inge
2006 The Painting Collection. Pages 264-363 in, *Dorpat – Yuryev – Tartu and Voronezh: the Fate of the University Collection*, edited by Urmas Tönnisson. Ilmamaa. Estonia.
- Kuznetsov, Yury and Irene Linnk
1982 *Dutch Paintings in Soviet Museums*. Harry N. Abrams, Inc. New York, New York.
- Lindeström, Peter
1925 *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians*. Editor and translator, Amandus Johnson. The Swedish Colonial Society. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Linn, John B. and William H. Egle (editors)
1890 *Papers Relating to the Colonies on the Delaware, 1614 - 1682. Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Volume V*. E. K. Meyers. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
- Lovata, Troy
2007 *Inauthentic Archaeologies: Public Uses and Abuses of the Past*. Left Coast Press. Walnut Creek, California.

MAAR Associates

1991a *Historical Documentation & Archaeological Investigations Conducted at Governor Printz Park Essington, Delaware County, Pennsylvania*. Report submitted to the American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia, in cooperation with The Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

1991b *Errata & Addenda*. Submitted by R. A. Thomas, 12 March 1992, to be added to *Historical Documentation & Archaeological Investigations Conducted at Governor Printz Park Essington, Delaware County, Pennsylvania*. Report submitted to The American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia, in cooperation with The Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Magnusson, Brian B.

2003 Classical Elements in Early Scandinavian-American Architecture: Some Initial Impressions. *The Problem of Classical Idea in the Art and Architecture of the Countries around the Baltic Sea*. edited by Krista Kodres, Piret Lindpere and Eva Näripea. Eesta Kunstiakadeemia (Estonian Academy). Tallin, Estonia. pp. 222-228.

McGovern, Patrick E.

1983 Test Soundings of Archaeological and Resistivity Survey Results at Rujm Al-Henu. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities XXVII*: 105 - 128. Amman, Jordan.

Morton, John

1770 Map. Draft of John Taylor's Lower Plantation on the Island of Tenecum [then] in Chester County. Document in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (Author's copy courtesy of P. S. Craig).

Myers, Albert Cook (editor)

1912 *Narrative of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware*. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, New York.

1955 *Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register 1675-1679*. Historical Society of Delaware. Wilmington, Delaware.

Myers, Albert Cook (editor)

1970 *William Penn's Own Account....* (Reprint of the account in Myers 1912) Middle Atlantic Press. Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

Noël-Hume, Ivor

1979 *Martin's Hundred*. University Press of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia.

Penn, William

1683 "The Natives." Included in Penn's Letter to "The Free Society of Traders," 16 August 1683. *The Papers of William Penn, Volume Two*, edited by R. Dunn and M. M. Dunn. pp. 448-454. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (see also, Myers 1912: 230).

Powell, Ronald D.

2010 An Analysis of Prehistoric Ceramics found at the Ebbert Spring Site, 36FR367. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 80 (1): 32-59.

Rising, Johan

Ms. *A Johan Rising Journal*. Microfilm Copy of original in The University Library at Uppsala, Sweden (Ms E 433). Copy in Becker Archives, West Chester University.

Smith, George

1862 *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*. Henry B. Ashmead. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Theuerkauff-Liederwald, Anna-Elisabeth

1968 Der Römer, Studien zu einer Glasform. *Journal of Glass Studies* 10:114-155.

1969 Der Römer, Studien zu einer Glasform, II. *Journal of Glass Studies* 11:43-69.

Tull, Stephen

1993 Archaeological Investigations at the Pidcock Sites, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 63 (1): 10-49.

Underhill, Lora A. W.

1934 *Descendants of Edward Small of New England and the Allied Families, with Tracings of English Ancestry* (3 volumes, revised from the 1910 edition). Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston, Massachusetts.

Veit, Richard, and Charles A. Bello

1999 "A Unique and Valuable Historical and Indian Collection": Charles Conrad Abbott Explores a 17th-Century Dutch Trading Post in the Delaware Valley. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 15: 95-123 (Reprinted 1999, Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey 54: 109-124).

Watson, John F.

1852 *Visit to Tinicum by John F. Watson & Company Sept. 3, 1852, & Reflections, &c.* Manuscript 697 (Cover plus 7 pages). Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1884 *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*. Enlarged, etc., by Willis P. Hazard. Volume II (of three). Edwin S. Stuart. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Weslager, C. A.

1961 *Dutch Explorers, Traders and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609-1664*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1968 *Delaware's Buried Past: A Story of Archaeological Adventure*. (Revised edition). Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey.

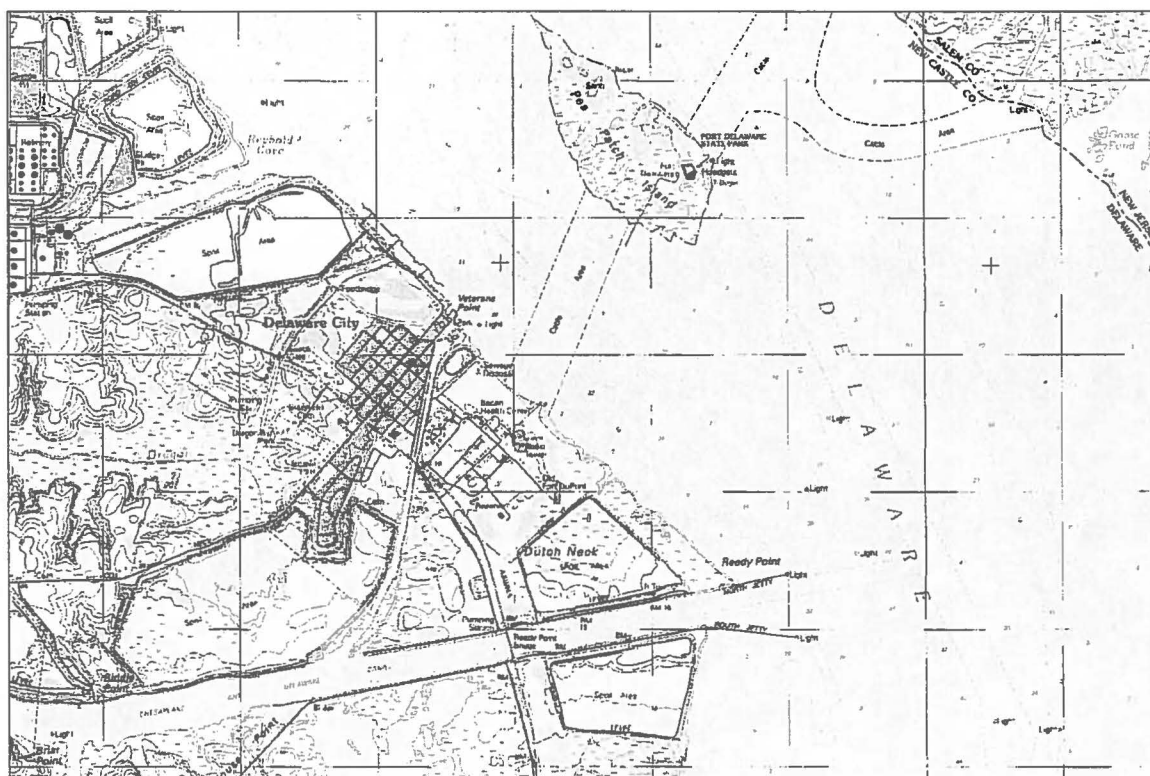
Wise, Cara L.

1975 *Report of the 1972 and 1974 Excavations at Robinson House, New Castle County, Delaware.* Report prepared for Delaware Division of Historical & Cultural Affairs. Dover, Delaware.

THE AFRICAN UNION CEMETERY IN POLKTOWN, DELAWARE (DELAWARE CITY, DELAWARE)

By Dr. David Orr

In 1990 I received a phone call from the manager of a local mobile home park in Delaware City. He told me some kids had found some grave stones in the nearby marsh close to where mobile homes were located. Some of the grave stones were marked with the letters "USCT". I knew this to be the abbreviation for **United States Colored Troops**; African-Americans who fought in the American Civil War. About the same time I called Robert Beck of Port Penn about this "discovery" as well. It turns out several local people, including Mr. Beck, knew about this cemetery before it became a subject of intense interest and inquiry. I went to the site and after beating down the tall swamp growth, I copied down the names of the interments, both civilian and military. At first I found only four USCT interments. An additional USCT internment was discovered almost eight years later. The five USCT veterans buried at the African Union Cemetery are: *Joseph B. Byard*, Co. C, 30th Infantry, USCT, *Alexander Draper* Co. C, 6th Infantry, USCT, *James H. Elbert*, Co. C, 8th Infantry, USCT, *William H. Crawford*, Co. C, 26th Infantry, USCT, and *Lewis Taylor*, Co. I, 6th Infantry, USCT. There were numerous civilian stones as well and probably many others whose graves are now unmarked. Bob Beck published a series of two articles in "The Island Paper" and I went to the Military Section of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. to conduct archival research. With the help of my old friend, Michael Musick (now retired from the Archives) I copied the



war records (muster rolls) and several lengthy pension documents of our USCT soldiers. I also found some court proceedings for one James Elbert, 8th USCT. Shortly after this we formed the Friends of the African Union Cemetery Group which we have recently revived. Linda Beck, Paul Morrill, and Willis Phelps (our first president) were active in this group's activities as we cleaned and recleaned the site over a long period of time. Bruce Bevan, a geophysicist, conducted a preliminary test last year to determine if the site could successfully undergo a ground penetrating radar survey. Unfortunately it could not. It was decided to leave the site as it is as an archaeological preserve. Now we stand on the verge of the cemetery being landscaped, fenced, and interpreted so that this story of sacrifice and courage will not again disappear.

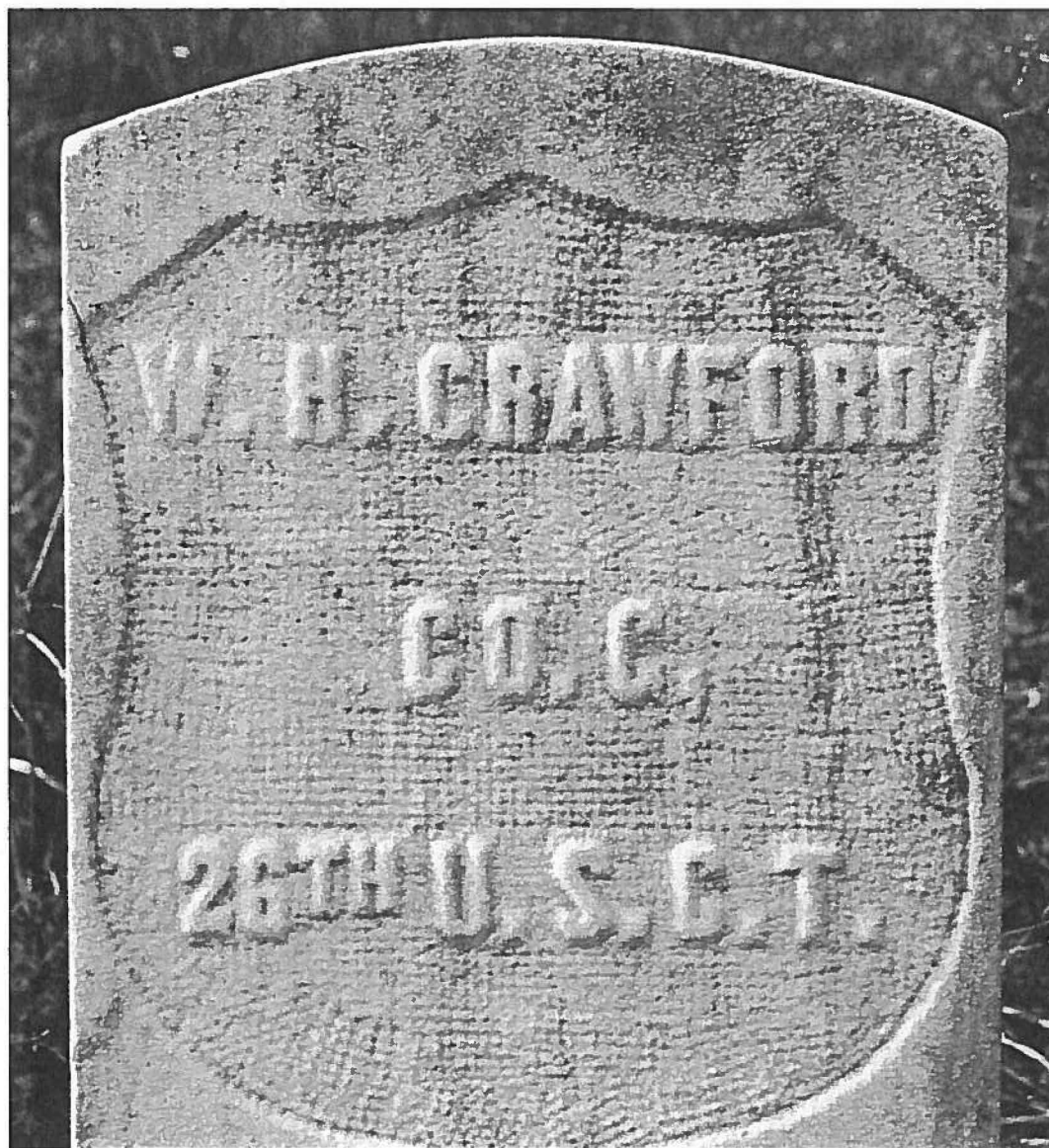
Private James H. Elbert became the subject of numerous first person presentations by Willis Phelps using the material I had found through my own research. Elbert had an impressive career with the 8th USCT regiment. Some highlights of his career include surviving the bloody Battle of Olustee in northern Florida. He then saw action in the Petersburg Virginia Theater of operations. There he was wounded at the Battle of Darbytown Road. He recuperated at City Point Hospital before going home to Delaware City. After arriving in Delaware City, he was arrested by Provost-Marshall troops who took him to Alexandria, Virginia to stand trial for desertion. He was found not guilty of all the serious crimes but sentenced to future losses of pay and regimental punishment for being AWOL. James and his regiment were then sent to Brownsville, Texas before being recalled to Philadelphia where he was discharged.

All of the above will be fleshed out in a monograph I am currently preparing for Delaware City. The African-American community of Polktown (where the African



Union cemetery is located) also has archaeological sites including the nineteenth century African-American church. The African Union Cemetery was founded in 1835, almost at the initial date of the founding of Delaware City itself, by the African Union Church. By the early twentieth century the cemetery had seen its last interments. Other African-American communities exist as archaeological sites as well including Timbuktoo (near Mt. Holly, N.J.) and Congo Town (near Port Penn, Delaware).

The cemetery survives as a wondrous artifact of the power of material memory to stimulate other memories, other identities. I have lectured on it in my classes and at professional meetings. Willis has acted out James Elbert's odyssey in countless performances. The next step is to contextualize it in its own time. The restored cemetery will remind future generations of this "untold story" of the American Civil War.



The Printzhof (36DE3), a Swedish Colonial Site that was the first European Center of Government in present Pennsylvania

Marshall Joseph Becker, Ph. D..... 1

The African Union Cemetery in Polktown, Delaware (Delaware City, Delaware)

David Orr, Ph. D..... 35

On the Cover: The Kunda Manor House in Estonia, 1647, from an etching by Adam Olearius.

Archaeological Society of Delaware

P.O. Box 12483

Wilmington, Delaware

19850-12483

President – Tim Mancl

Treasurer – Jessica Billy

Secretary – Alice Guerrant

Membership Secretary – Joan Parsons

Newsletter Editor – Jessica Billy

Bulletin Editor – Keith Doms

Affiliates:

Delaware Archaeological Forum

Delaware Archeology Awareness Committee

Member, Eastern States Archaeological Federation