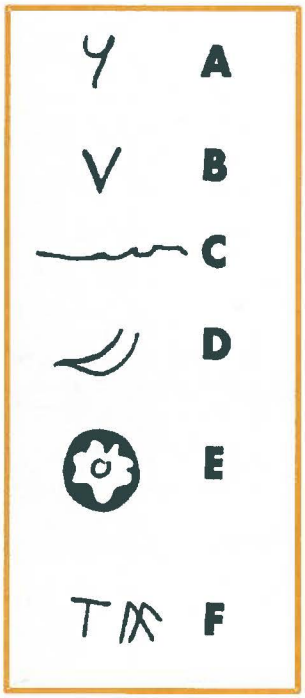
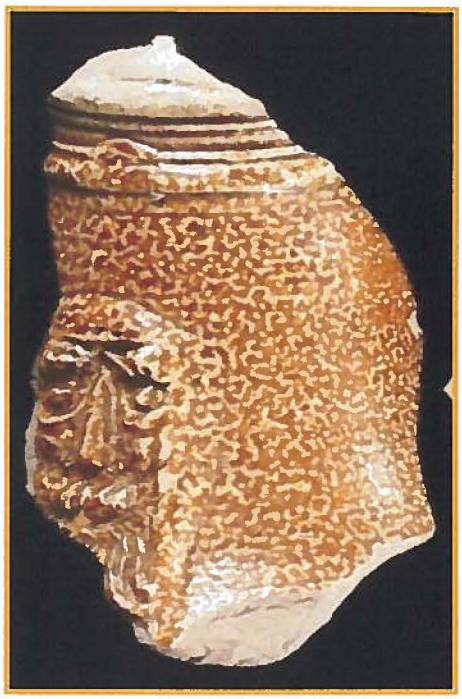
The Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware





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On the Cover (Left to Right):

Toy pitcher recovered from the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck Site (Lukezic); Marks made by native signatories on seventeenth-century deeds in the Delaware Valley (Becker); and, An example of eighteenth-century ceramics found in central Delaware on early Colonial sites (Liebeknecht).

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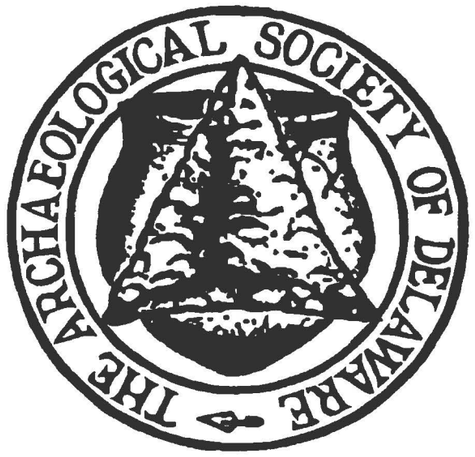

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MEHOXY OF THE COHANSEY BAND OF LENOPI: A 1684 DOCUMENT THAT OFFERS CLUES TO THE "MISSING" PART OF HIS BIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT:

After 1664, the year in which the English wrested control of the lower Delaware Valley from the Dutch, many natives developed new modes by which they could benefit from the thriving colonial economy. For the natives one of the easiest ways to gain European goods continued to be through the sale of small tracts of land. Soon after these developed into sales of large tracts, with more formal land transfer documents signed by the aboriginal vendors; the true or de facto owners. Buffer zones, or shared resource areas, were not included in these sales, but after 1673/74 some unusual "sales" were made involving these lands. During the early contact period, native land use within a tribal territory commonly was managed by each band. As the land itself came to have a value distinct from the resources it sustained, a trend toward "individual ownership" rather than collective use (and sale) can be documented. This was the case within cultures such as the Lenopi of southern New Jersey and also the Lenape of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Of particular interest in native economics are fraudulent, or at least very questionable, land sales. A series of these were made within a buffer zone in Delaware by Mehoxy (variously spelled), a Lenopi of the Cohansey Creek band in New Jersey. In addition to negotiating the sale of lands in New Jersey to which his band held rights, Mehoxy also made a series of "sales" on the west side of the Delaware, of lands to which he held no traditional rights. These questionable sales were to lands in the substantial buffer zones that surrounded native homelands. Using his entrepreneurial skills and knowledge of cultural boundaries, Mehoxy accommodated the need of colonists to have deeds in that buffer zone from the natives. He thus provided titles to lands for which there were no legitimate native owners. A recently identified document reveals that Mehoxy's dealings included at least one outright fraud. The timing of this scam, a "sale" to William Penn, also answers a question regarding why Mehoxy disappeared from the record for 10 years.

INTRODUCTION: SELLING AND BUYING IN THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

Mehoxy (circa 1650–after 1694), a member of the Cohansey band of Lenopi in southwestern New Jersey, served as an important culture broker for his people. His name appears spelled

in a wide variety of ways on various documents, from among which is chosen "Mehoxy" as the simplest form for this paper (Becker 1998). Transcriptions of native names generally vary in spelling according to the perceptions of the Europeans and influenced by their own distinct languages. Mehoxy also made several land "sales" in the Bombay Hook area of present Delaware, and wherever else he could find a naïve buyer. From the documentary record of his activities we can infer that he was born about 1650. Mehoxy appears to have come of age by 1667, when he appeared for the first time low on a list of Cohansey band land vendors: fourth of five. This was early in the decade between 1664 and 1674, which ended with the decisive recapture of New Netherlands by the English. These were generally turbulent times for the many peoples throughout the Middle Atlantic region (Becker 2011a), but were remarkably quiet for the natives of southern New Jersey. Colonists then living along the South (Delaware) River and Bay included Dutch and Swedish settlers as well as English of the Catholic, Protestant and Quaker faiths. These Europeans were settled among and between three Native American peoples that had been operating in the lower Delaware Valley and on Delaware Bay since at least 1000 to 900 BP—the beginning of the Late Woodland Period. These three native groups were the Lenape of southeastern Pennsylvania, the Sekonese (Ciconicin) along the west side of Delaware Bay (Becker 2004), and the Lenopi bands of southern New Jersey (Figure 1).

The cultural identity of the several bands of South Jersey Indians is often noted in general and vague terms. Recent efforts to study relevant documents, including land transactions, remain generally unknown except by serious scholars. The contents of these many published documents are even less well known, and many more of these texts remain unpublished. Recognizing the importance of the early documents, a major program was developed to publish these essential records. This successful program was developed under the general editorship of Alden T. Vaughan (1985) as the series *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*. Barbara Graymont's (1985) Volume VII in this series, *New York and New Jersey Treaties, 1609–1682*, however, incorporates only documents from northern New Jersey and, therefore, is largely limited to the activities of the Esopus and Wappings of New Jersey north of the Raritan. The considerable numbers of documents relating to the southern New Jersey foraging peoples are not presented by Graymont. For other reasons, some 40 deeds from the Sekonese region of central Delaware had been excluded from Donald Kent's (1979) compilation of the early Pennsylvania documents. Although Kent offers deeds and treaties from the three "Lower Counties" of Pennsylvania that ultimately became Delaware, he elected to exclude an interesting but problematical set of native "land sales" from that region. These problematical "sales," collectively call the "Delaware Deeds" (Becker 1998), now have been transcribed and published.

Stewart (1932:60ff) presents summary listings of a great number of early New Jersey land sales from natives to colonists, in geographical order from north to south. Stewart's most northerly sale suggests Sent Pinck Creek as the northern boundary, but this applies only to lands of the Rancocus band of Lenopi (Becker nd A). Other less known native deeds relating to southern New Jersey continue to appear (Becker 1992, 1998). The continual discovery and publication of these texts facilitates the reconstruction of the territories and memberships of individual bands that occupied aboriginal New Jersey (Becker 2010a), for the reconstruction of their territories, their way of life, and how these lifeways changed very slowly after 500 BP (Becker 2010b).

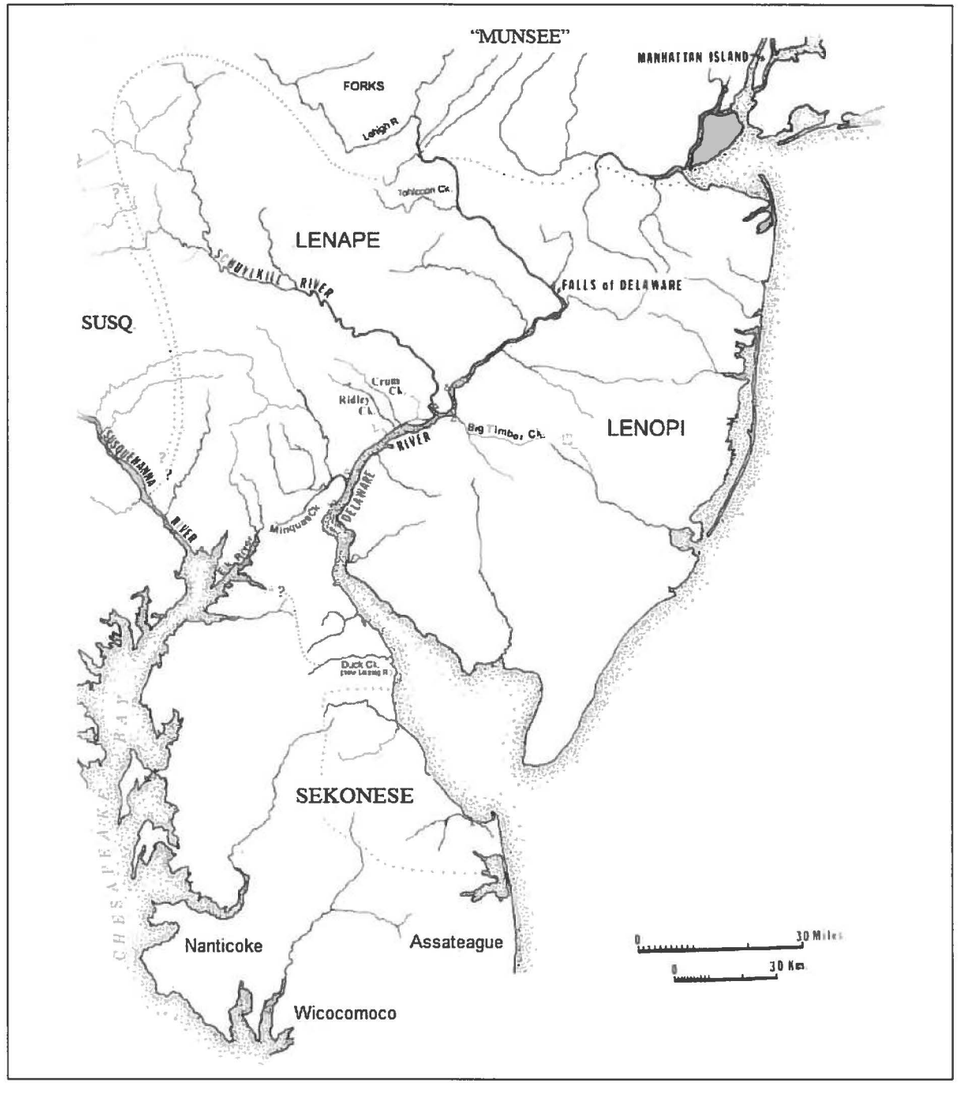


Figure 1: Tribal Locations in the Delaware Valley, and the Buffer Zones (Shared Resource Areas) Separating Them. The Delaware River is the Primary North-South Boundary.

Mehoxy of the Cohansey band of south Jersey Indians has become well known through the study of his many activities on both sides of Delaware Bay (Becker 1998). Mehoxy acted, after 1675, as an effective culture broker (see Szasz 1994), both for his own activites, his band, and for his people in general. As a sophisticated and knowledgeable individual he also was able to broker land sales of "unclaimed" lands that lay in the buffer region (Becker 1983) between the territories of the Lenape and the Sekonese peoples.

The several "sales" made by Mehoxy on the west side of Delaware all took place within the unclaimed Bombay Hook "buffer zone" (Becker 1987). Bombay Hook lies in a region that separated the traditional lands of the Lenape, to the north, and of the Sekonese to the south. Mehoxy had no claim to these lands either by birth, purchase, or right of conquest. However, colonial settlers seeking titles from native "owners" were willingly complicit in arranging these transfers without closely questioning the rights of natives who stepped forward to sign off on deeds. With the arrival of William Penn in the New World, and the long and complex negotiations regarding the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland (Dunn and Dunn 1982:passim, 494 ff), the Delaware region began to evolve from a frontier zone to a relatively stable area of settlement. Penn's focus on his "Great City" and geographical factors in Delaware, including poor sandy soils, pirate raids, and the lack of any defense against Indian raids, soon left the lower three counties eclipsed by developments to the north. As Penn's colony developed, opportunities for fraudulent land sales decreased since the Proprietor claimed sole right to purchase native land rights. He was, however, a bit slow to recognize that false claimants might arise.

Background: What the Deeds Tell Us

After more than a century of colonial expansion, marked by numerous fraudulent claims by colonists poaching land in several areas of the northeast, some natives retained an awareness of their personal land rights. For those Europeans intellectually or morally concerned with native rights there was little difficulty in understanding the cultural rules as well as the boundaries these natives described. A concise, as well as precise, statement regarding native land ownership was made by Sir William Johnson, who lived and married among the Six Nations (Iroquois) of New York in the middle of the eighteenth century. Johnson wrote this statement, regarding land sales from Indians, within a communication to the Lords of Trade, October 30, 1764. It was written in the context of Johnson's attempt to explain why an old purchase that had been "privately transacted" was, in fact, fraudulently negotiated. This "Kayadarosseras Patent" was an illicit attempt to buy land from a native group by securing the signatures of only a few of the members, rather than all the appropriate adults who had claims to that land by birth. Johnson notes "that it was privately transacted, with only a few Indians, contrary to the usual custom." For a legitimate purchase of land from natives, the signatures of all concerned would be required (O'Callaghan 1856:670–675). Regarding native knowledge of their specific territories, Johnson (in O'Callaghan 1856:672; Emphasis in the original) wrote:

> That it is a difficult matter *to discover a true owner of any Lands amongst Indians,* is a gross error, which must arise from the total ignorance of the matter or from a cause, which does not require explanation. Each Nation is perfectly well acquainted, with their exact original bounds ... with all [of] which they are most particularly acquainted, neither do they ever infringe upon one another, or invade their neighbours hunting grounds.

Sir William was particularly concerned with identifying true native landowners because of problems that had been generated by specious land sales, some 14 years before, at the far south of his administrative area in New York. Just south of the New York border, some

Indians claiming to be representatives of the Six Nations Iroquois made some questionable land grants in 1760/1. These natives, not clearly identified as to their cultural affiliation, had made these land sales to various settlers from Connecticut (Colonial Records of Pennsylvania 1852:765). The region involved was within the huge buffer region to the south of the Six Nations that had been "filling" with displaced natives of various origins since the seventeenth century. The specific identity of these vendors, and the origins of their claim to these lands, warrants a study of its own.

Early native land sales from valid owners among the coastal foragers, such as the Lenape as well as the Lenopi (but not the Sekonese chiefdom), have a number of characteristics in common: first, the sales are made by the entire band (extended residential kin group) acting as a common unit (Becker 1976; Kent 1979); second, they are signed by all the adult male members of the band (Table 1), with an occasional female signing with them (see the deed of November 17, 1675, transcribed below; Becker 1998:49); and third, valid sales were witnessed by natives as well as colonials, with the native witness visitor representing no culture in particular. Kin from another band as well as individuals from other tribes, along with colonists, served as witnesses. Note should be made that in all of the spacious land sales made in the Bombay Hook area (the "Delaware Deeds"), the "vendor," and rarely two "vendors," are the only natives involved. Native witnesses never appear on these "deeds" (Becker 1998:63–66). Lastly, deeds generally were signed by grantors of the land in order of their status within the band. Anthropologists recognize that status derives from age, gender, and ephemeral personal characteristics. Thus through time, as a member attains greater age (and sometimes wisdom), he moves up the signature list. Some individuals never achieved the highest status in the band while others, through infirmity or senility, might be bypassed by younger members. Table 1 lists Cohansey Band vendors who sign three deeds of sale to their lands encapsulate Mehoxy's entry, by birth circa 1650, into the band and his changing status over the years. These documents allow us to infer a date of birth circa 1650, because in 1665, the young teenager had not been old enough to sign a sale document. Only two years later, he appeared as the fourth of five signatories on a sale document (Table 2). Twenty-six years later, as a skilled adult, as "Mauhauxett," he was the first of six signatories on the land sale of June 9, 1693.

Mehoxy (circa 1650 to after 1694)

The life of Mehoxy (variously spelled, e.g., Mahaxy, Mehacksey, Mahawcksey, Mohoxy), a well-known Lenopi of the Cohansey band, can be "traced" using the various documents on which his name appears (see Becker 1998; Nelson 1899:395, 559). As would be expected, Mehoxy is particularly well documented in his New Jersey home area. The evidence suggests that he was born by 1650, during a period when few land sales were being made by the South Jersey Indians. During his youth, the Dutch lost control of this region, and English settlement soon increased the demand, and prices paid for, the lands in this region. The few documents relating to the Cohansey band prior to 1667, as well as sales after 1667 on which Mehoxy is not among the vendors of his band's lands, are listed and reviewed elsewhere (Becker 1998). Here we will begin with the first known appearance of Mehoxy in the colonial records, on a short deed dating from November 6, 1667. Since Mehoxy's name

does not appear on a deed from this band dated to 1665, we may infer that he only "came of age" by 1667 as indicated by his name appearing on another of his band's land sales.

Table 1: Cohansey Band Land Vendors; Mehoxy's Changing Status.

Deed of October 4, 1665	*Deed of November 6, 1667*	*Sale of June 9, 1693*
Machierick Hitock	Tospamink	Mauhauxett
Tospecsmick	Wieneminck	Cuttenoquoh
Wennaminck	Machkierck Allom	Kesshuwicon
Keckquennen	Maghaeckse	Attahissha
	Keckqueneminck	Sucolana
		Awhehon

Table 2: Documents on Which Mehoxy's Name Appears.

November 6, 1667	Band land sale in New Jersey on which Mehoxy is fourth of five vendors.
September 23, 1670	Eighth of 11 natives listed, from at least two cultures, attending a treaty.
February 8, 1673	Sale by Mehoxy's two older brothers (or kinsmen), Tospaminck and Weinamink. First of the "Delaware Deeds.
February 20,1674/5A & B	First two "sales" (of six known) made by Mehoxy in Delaware.
November 17, 1675	Broker for the Alloways Creek band land sale (buffer lands?) in New Jersey.
January 8, 1675/6	Supplement (confirmation?) to deed of November 17, 1675, in New Jersey.
February 6, 1675/6	Broker? Lands including Cohansey River.
March 14, 1676/7	Reconfirmation deed for New Jersey sale of November 17, 1675.
September 2, 1676	Petocoque, a Sekonese, refers to "Mahaxy my Brother."
November 15, 1676	Strip of land bordering Oldmans Kill in New Jersey, on the upstream side, sold by three natives. This seems preliminary to the September 27, 1677 sale for which Mehoxy acts as a broker. Mehoxy's name does not appear on the November 15th document.
September 27, 1677	Broker, sale of land from Oldmans to Timber Creek in New Jersey.
May 4, 1679	"Sale" of all of Bombay Hook, in present Delaware (third tract sold).
September 9, 1679	Note of land purchased in Delaware from unnamed Indians. No date nor vendor is indicated.
November 1, 1680	Sale of lands south of [old] Duck Creek, Delaware. Fourth sale.
December 20, 1681	Mehoxy's fifth sale in Delaware.
February 21, 1681/2a	Open Court acknowledgement of the December 20, 1681 land sale.
February 21, 1681/2b	A second Open Court acknowledgement to an unknown sale in Delaware. These two may refer to earlier sales now unknown.
February 16, 1682/3	Sale of 10,000 acres (4,047 ha) "upon Ducke Creeke branche." Sixth sale.
June 3, 1684	"Sale" of land in Pennsylvania to William Penn.
9 June 1693	Mehoxy, the first of six vendors selling their lands on Cohansey Creek.

Mehoxy's first appearance: The Deed of November 6, 1667

This document, identified by Stewart (1932:72) as "The Lecroy Purchase, Salem County," is reproduced here exactly as published (see also Becker 1998). The spelling of the name of "Maghaeckse" clearly reflects Dutch influence on the scribe.

> Wee Tospamink, Wienaminck, Machkierck Allom, Maghaeckse and Keckqueneminck The Natural owners doe hereby acknowledge for us and our children or heirs to have sold a piece or parcell of land containing in Breath [sic] and wide as ye same is lying between and behind Foppe Outhout and Machiell Lacroy for ye sum of one gunn, Ten fathom of wampum, three hogs and one kettle which said goods we do hereby acknowledge to have received and thenke fully paid us this 6th of November 1667 in ye house of Fopp Jansen on ye eastern Shoare called New Yernsey. this sale to Peter Lacroy and Machiel Lacroy Jr.
>
> The mark of X Wienaminck
> The mark of X Machkierck Allom

Some of the peculiar features of this deed were discussed previously (Becker 1998). The rudimentary format and simple text are typical elements on the deeds of the early period of land purchases. Only a decade later, documents had become, in general, more formalized. This deed of November 6, 1667 lists Mehoxy as the fourth of the five vendors, indicating his relative youth and lower status within this band since the marks of adult males were made in order of status ranking. Status was largely correlated with age, but not entirely. The age at which a young boy could be a signatory varied with his skill and personality, but it is estimated that young males might first appear on these records at 12 to 15 years of age. Women appear infrequently in these contexts. Most significant on this document is the complete absence of geographical indicators that are essential on later deeds. The fact that it was "signed" in the "house of Fopp Jansen on ye eastern Shoare" suggests that the land was nearby. Stewart places it in present Salem County, perhaps based on data regarding the land holdings of the individuals named in this text and the record book from which it came.

The deed of November 6, 1667 is critical to understanding the land sales made by Mehoxy on the western side of the Delaware Bay (Becker 1998, nd B). It clearly identifies the five natives who were of the Cohansey River band as part of one kin group. The first two natives listed in the text of the November 6, 1667 deed are "Tospamink" and "Wienaminck," but the latter is the only one of these two to sign the deed. Wienaminck was the sole grantor of that tract sold on July 20, 1666 to Isaac Tinna at a location "across" from New Castle, or on the New Jersey side of the river (i.e., see Becker 1998:Figure 3:1). The West Creek indicated in that 1666 deed was identified as a border of the Cohansey band area of which Wienaminck as a member.

1670

In 1667, Mehoxy clearly was a very young man, but by that year he was considered old enough to represent his small community. Three years later, on September 23, 1670,

Mehoxy attended a meeting at Annockeninck to discuss the murder of a colonist. The killing had prompted the local Lords of Justice to send a delegation of local settlers, of Swedish and Dutch descent, to meet with the River Indians, which included both Lenopi and Lenape. Over the course of "3 or 4 days" 11 natives responded to the call to gather at an "Indian settlement or plantation [summer station] called Annockeninck" (Gehring 1977:17–19). The location remains unknown but it probably was in Lenape territory "where a group of Indians had been and still were meeting, in order to cantico" (Gehring 1977:17–19). Late September was the appropriate time for the gathering of the several bands of each tribe to conduct annual renewal ceremonies (Becker 1976, 2006).

The first of the 11 natives gathered to discuss this matter listed on the document of September 23, 1670 was Rinnawiggen, a Lenape. The fourth listed was Quequirimen, probably the Cohansey band Lenopi known as "Keckquennen," on October 4, 1665 and as Keckqueneminck on the deed of November 6, 1667. The eighth listed at Annockeninck was the young "Magaecksie." This meeting and its significance are discussed by Becker (1998:51–52).

On February 8, 1673/4, during the winter hunting season, two of the elders of the young Mehoxy's band, Tospaminck and Weinamink, made the first known land "sale" in the Bombay Hook area (Becker 1998:52; Stewart 1932:73). The tract "sold" was in a buffer area to which they had no claim. The document recording this sale is the earliest known of the "Delaware Deeds," the series of specious land sales in which Mehoxy became the best known practitioner. A year later, on February 20, 1674/75, Mehoxy made a similar "sale" when he signed off on two tracts of land in that same region—his first activities in the Bombay Hook region. The following winter he acted as a broker for a band of Lenopi kin in southern New Jersey. This was his earliest legitimate sale in a long series in which he represented either his own band, whose members were close kin, or neighboring bands composed of relatives with varying degrees of kinship.

Mehoxy As A Broker: the Deed from the Game Creek Band, November 17, 1675

William Penn's famous venture in "colonization," basically a complex land development scheme, is extremely well documented. It took place within the context of rapid English commercialization of the Northeastern region. Before Penn secured his charter to what became Pennsylvania he had been deeply involved in land purchases in southern New Jersey. During the 1670s John Fenwick developed ideas for a colony on the Delaware River, and made similar plans to purchase lands from the native owners. Fenwick, however, undertook the purchase of 30,000 to 40,000 acres (12,140 to 16,190 ha) on the east side of the Delaware, in a swampy area much less inhabited be Europeans than the opposite shore. Fenwick and his backers established the basis for this venture with an indenture (February 10, 1675) and two letters of agreement (Dunn and Dunn 1981:650–2). While the complex legal matters were in process, Fenwick"s agents arranged land purchases from the native peoples. While the total corpus may not be known, some of the documents exist today. These are important because they reveal how important Mehoxy had become by 1675, and how he was related to the various Lenopi making fraudulent sales across the river.

The deed of November 17, 1675 records the first land purchase made by John Fenwick from the natives of New Jersey. This was long after the first land sales made by the Lenopi, but was the first deed in that region to incorporate the complex and detailed narrative that became the norm for documents of this type. As a "transitional" document it is more elaborate than earlier examples but does not incorporate a detailed list of goods used in the purchase. Subsequent "legal" deeds almost invariably include an itemized list of goods paid for the land. The following version of this deed is copied from Stewart (1932:62–63), who cites it as recording the "true copy" from "Salem 1 of Deeds, page 18 (Sec. of State of N. J.)." Stewart also notes that this is a copy from Fenwick's document now in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society (NJHS). Note also should be made of the Supplement or confirmation of this deed made on January 8, 1675/6 and the reconfirmation dated March 4, 1676/7 (also noted by Becker 1998:49; Schenck 1967:11).

> Be it known unto all persons & people whatsoever that Wee Mehawcksy, Allowayes, Myoppeney, Saccatorey, Necomis and his mother Necosshesco and Mohutt the undoubted owners of all Lands hygh & lowe, Meadows, Rivers, Creeks, Lakes, Brooks, Timbers & whatsoever else doe thereunto appertain within the circute & bounds of all & every pte & pcell of the sd Land called or known by these names as followeth which lyeth by the Creek or River called or known by the name of Game or Forcus Creek to the uttermost extent thereof up into the Land or Continent and from the mouth thereof which runns into the River called & known by Dellaware River downwards to a certain Creeke or River commonly called or known by the name of Canahockonck adjoining to the lands belonging unto Chahanzick and soe running up the said River of Cannahockinck from the mouth thereof up to the furthest extent thereof into the mayne Lands & soe to cross from the head thereof unto the head of the said River or Creeke called as aforesd the Gamye or Forcus Creeke all which tract of Land hygh & lowe meadows Rivers Creekes Lakes Brooks Timbers and whatsoever else thereunto belong or appertain situate lying & being within the province of New Cesaria or New Jersey in America being so called or known by the English Nation and others, Wee do hereby for & in consideration of Wooling, linen apparell and divers other comodities agreed upon, Covenant promise & grant both for ourselves & People our heirs and Successors for all other Indyans whatsoever which may any wayes pretend or claim a right unto any of the Tract of Land soe granted by us as aforesd which wee doe resign up together with out whole right title claim & interest therein unto John Fenwick Esqr Chiefe Proprietor of the one halfe of the Province of New Cesaria or New Jersey aforesd his heirs & assigns forever together with all & every th [sic] appertaines & hereditaments thereunto belonging whatsoever to be disposed of & possessed at his or their will & pleasure, excepted always out of this grant the Plantacons in which they now inhabit in for & untill such time only as they shall think fitt to remove from the same. So for most full Confirmation of all the Ppremises Wee have allso according to the English custome Rattifyed and confirmed this our grant & sale as aforesd under our hands & seales this seventeenth day of the ninth Mo. in the year 1675.

Signed, Sealed & delivered	
in the presence of	Soccatory
Necosshesco [Necoshahusque, mother of Necomis]	
Foppe Out Hout	Mohutt
Michael Baron	Necomis [son of Necosshesco, above]
Francis Whittwell	Allowayes
Thomas Turner	Mohoppeney
	by their marks.

The "Soccatory" listed first of six vendors here appears as "Secetores" on a deed dated March 27, 1675/76. He appears on many other documents involving his people in southern New Jersey, and is surely the Seketarius who scams William Penn in 1683. The four "marks" made by Seketarius between 1675 and 1683 are all different (Stewart 1932:58–59). Seketarius Stewart also notes that the "Necomis" (The Moon) who appears here is also listed elsewhere as "Accomes" and on at least three documents he signs with a similar crescent-moon shaped mark.

The deed of November 17, 1675 was "confirmed" less than two months later, on January 8, 1675/6, and reconfirmed during the following year (March 14, 1676/7; see below). Further documentation for this sale appears as an extremely interesting receipt of payment, dated March 27, 1675/6 (also, see below). Thus four documents over a period of 15 months refer to this single land transfer, for the same tract of land. Note that Mehoxy, acting as a broker, is included as the first native in the first text. Although he spoke for this band, he did not have land rights among them.

Nelson (1899:559, 1902) gives the date of this deed as November 7, 1675, but Stewart's transcription indicates the 17th as that which actually appears on the document. The following is the full text of the abstract of the deed of November 17, 1675 as provided by Nelson (1899:559) from page 18 of the "Salem No. 1" record (see also the deed of February 6, 1675/6, below).

> 1675– 7th d. 9th m. (Nov.) Indian Deed. Mahawksey, Allowayes, Myopponey, Saccutorey, Neconis and his mother Necossheseo and Monutt [sic] to John ffenwick, for the tract of land on Game or fforcus Creek, Delaware R., Cannahockinck Creek, adjoining the land of Chohanzick.

Note also should be made that Nelson (1902:189) later transcribed the name of the woman signatory to this deed as "Necosshebesco." While Nelson (1902) cites his own earlier publication (Nelson 1899:559), we find that in 1899 Nelson actually writes it as "Necossheseo." On the "Supplementary Indian Agreement with Fenwick," as Stewart (1932:63) calls the confirmation sale of January 8, 1675/6, this woman's name is read in the text section of the document as "Mecoshahuska," which may indicate that her name was "Mecoshahu-squa." The "squa" feminine ending would indicate that "the woman Mecoshahu" is indicated. In the signatory section the name looks to me to be rendered as "Necusshe-husco" (q.v.). Nelson (1902:185, 191) states that the names Chechanaham and Torocho are on this document of November 17, 1675, perhaps indicating that they signed as

witnesses. However, Nelson appears to have confused the locations of these names with their appearance on the deed of February 6, 1675/6 (see following).

Confirmation of January 8, 1675/6 (Becker transcription)

On file at the NJHS is a document dated January 8, 1675/6; it measures 8 by 12 inches (20.3 by 30.5 cm) and has been folded into 16ths. The original ink color (black?) has faded to a brownish tone. This confirmation document, affirming the validity of the sale of November 17, 1675 that had taken place less than two months earlier, is identified in the NJHS as an "Agreement of the Indians with Fenwick on what terms to relinquish all claims for further compensation on account of the First Purchase of lands." The suggestion in their records that this deed had been published by Robert G. Johnson (1839:33) is not supported by the authors reading of the microfiche copy of Johnson (1839) at the Free Library of Philadelphia. Stewart (1932:63–64) derived his transcription directly from the Deed Book entry, and also notes that "[t]he original in possession of the NJHS shows some few slight variations in spelling and words from the" deed book version that he uses. The transcription below was made by the author from the NJHS manuscript on which the "list" of witnesses (customarily on the left) is not as carefully segregated from the "list" of vendors on the right as was the tradition

Endorsed: "Inrolled in Liber H page ye 5"

Obverse:

Mahapponey

Whereas Mahocsey ^ Allowaies Necomis Sacatoris Moohunt & Mecoshahuska got Unto John Fenwick Esqr All that tract of Land menconed wth in one deed Under their hands and Seales, for diverse ppcells of Goods & are menconed likewise in a schedule Under the hand of the Said Jo: Fenwick and now in the keeping of them or Some of them; And whereas they have recd–ed of him the Sd John Fenwick diverse and Sundery of the Sd ppcell of Goods, And being willing to receve in Lieu of all the remaynder yet Unpayed one Intire piece of Duffills, about the quantitie of the former peece wch was payd them by the Sd John Fenwick as alsoe fouer Gunes to be payd as followeth (Viz) twoe guns in

Mahoppony

hand and twoe guns more when – Mahocsey ^ and Mecoshahuska shall Seale together wth them the Sd Necomis Allowayes Sacatorie and Moohunt as alsoe to deliver backe the Sd Noat of particulars All wch they the Sd Necomis Sacatorie and Allowaies whose hands are here Unto Subscribed doe promise to [hav]e pformed together wth their discharge, and full – acquittance for the Same And doe acordingly hereby acknowledge the receipt of the Said piece of duffils or Matchcoat together wth the twoe Guns for and in full of all the Said Goods And Doe ingage to Save harmeles him the Sd. John Fenwick his heires and assignes of and from the clayemes demand trouble and

molestation of all ppsons w[t] Soever for and conserning any other right title or clayme that any other hath or can have Unto the Sd tract of Land Sold as aforesd Unto him the Sd John Fenwick his heires and assignes forever

In wittnes hereof the Said Necomis Sacatoris & Allowaies have Set their hands this eight day of the Eleventh month in the yeare according to the New Still 1676*

his
Sacatorius XXXX
marke

Wittnes

marke
the XXX Accaro[u]sa,
of

her
Necusshe XX husco
mark

his
Necomis XXXX marke

his
Richard Guy** Thomas XXXX Watson
marke

Moohut his XXXX marke

his
Rennere RVH Vanhist " ***
mark

[For the actual marks made by the various signatories, see Figure 2. The name of the native witness that the author perceived to be "Accaro[u]sa" is transcribed as "Accaroya" by Stewart (1932:64).]

The confirmation "deed" of January 8, 1675/6 is an interesting document as it appears to be a unifying confirmation "deed," collecting in a single place the previous sales of seven separate native grantors to lands in what became West Jersey. Those several deeds of sale, or "notes" held by these people, individually or severally, are only mentioned. The separate bands of these natives are not even vaguely delineated on this document, leaving us to search elsewhere for the territories that had been occupied and sold by each of these groups. The natives noted at the beginning of the text (Mehocsey, Mahapponey, Allowaies, Necomis, Sacatoris, Moohunt and Mecoshahuska) are, later in the text, noted in two separate groups, with any possible meaning to this division remaining unknown. What becomes clear in the deed of March 14, 1676/7 (see below) is that Mahacksey is not an owner but merely acting as the broker in this transaction of January 8, 1675/6.

Quite interesting is the fact that the signatory portion of the document is not as regular as the pattern that appears on later deeds. Unlike most later deeds (cf. Becker 1998; Kent 1979), the grantors' names are not easily distinguished from the witnesses on this document. On this document of January 8, 1675/76 there are eight signatories, three of whom clearly are colonials and not grantors. One native signatory, Accarousa (Accaroya?), has his marke directly below the word "Wittnes." The remaining four signatories are native grantors, but not the same three grantors who are noted at the end of the text immediately above the

signatory section. The positions of the names of the four native grantors do not suggest that any one signed at a date later than the three others. At the end of the text portion the scribe listed the grantors as "Necomis Sacatoris & Allowaies." However, Allowaies does not sign the document, but we do see the marks of Sacatorius, Necusshehusco [Mecoshahuska], Necomis and Moohut [Moohunt]. Necusshehusco appears to be the woman "Necosshebesco" (Nelson 1902:189) whose name appears on the deed of November 7, 1675 (see above).

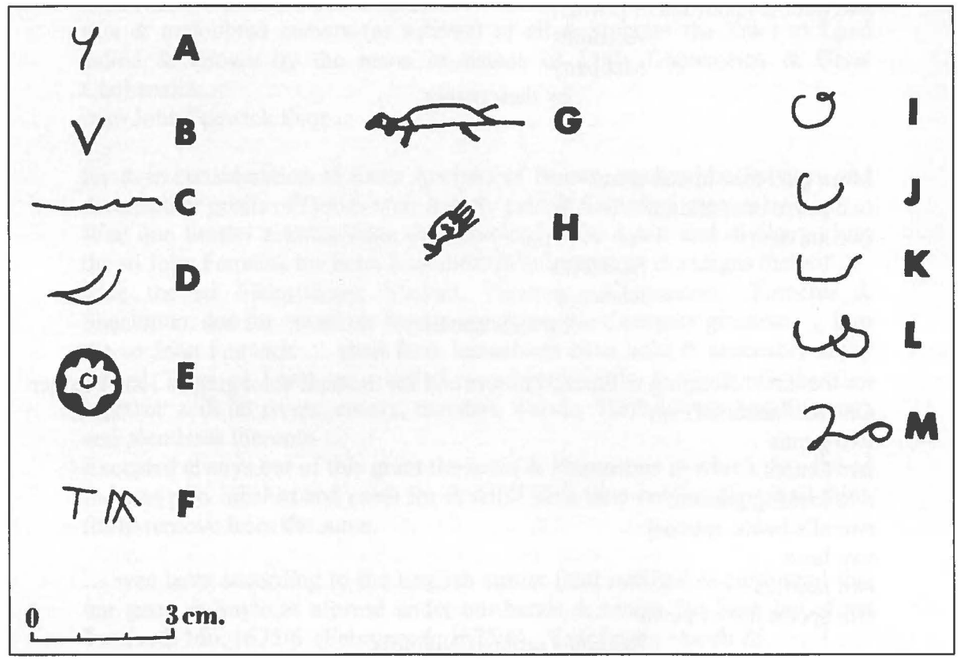


Figure 2: Marks made by native signatories (grantors and witnesses) on three deeds. **A–F:** From deed of January 8, 1675/6 (NJHS deed "W.J.-6"). Accarousa (witness) (A), and the grantors Necusshehusco (B), mother of Necomis [The Moon], Sacatorius (C), Necomis (D), and Moohut (E). The colonist Thomas [Mat]son (F) also signs as a witness. **G and H** are marks on the deed of May 4, 1679. The animal (G) is identified as "The signing or mark of Mechaekset" [Mehoxy] as a grantor. The mark "H" is identified "as the Mark of Moessappenackin the son of Mechaekset." **I–M**: Marks of the witnesses on the West Jersey deed of June 9, 1693 (not to scale). Apahon (I), Malthuos [Matthuos?] (J), Youthson (K), Ja[uwi]hooch (L), and Swanwewigh (M).

The marks of the other four previous "grantors" are not affixed to this document. A deed drawn up just over a year later, on March 14, 1676/7 (see below), clarifies several of these issues involving relationships among this group of natives. Before we go on to that deed we should examine the third document in this "set," a receipt relating to the tract of land sold on November 17, 1675. That deed only hints at the goods that were paid. Further clarification of the cultural relations among these natives (plus some confusion) is provided by this important "receipt" (or receipts?) of March 27, 1675/6, as presented by Stewart (1932:74).

Stewart (1932:74) offers this (these?) under the caption: "Receipts for The Pledger and Lefever Purchases, Salem County, March ye 27, 1675" [1675/6].

> Payd to the injins for land for
> four famelys
> four match coats
> one half ancur rum
> two staves of lead
> two dubble handfulls of powder
> Accomes
> Meopeny
> by their marks
>
> More paid four match coats
> two payre of stockings
> two knives
> Sacetores
> Aloways
> by their marks
>
> for the land belonging to hipolit Lefever and for the land belonging to John Pledger
> One half ancur of rum
> two gunns
> two kettles
> two looking glasses
> two alls [awls, muxes]
> two hoes
> two needles
> two spoon full of paynt
> Accomes same as Nikomis.

What is not clear is whether Stewart's transcription, copied here, derives from a single sheet of text, or from three separate units (strips of paper). The date that Stewart provides suggests that the original (or early copy) was on a single page. What Stewart read as "four famelys" may represent four units of a type of goods, or may indicate that four "native" families were involved, The four native signatories who received the payment of goods (Accomes, Meopeny, Sacetores, Aloways) may reflect the latter interpretation. It was suggested earlier that native band size could be estimated from this type of payments, with the goods provided to adult males and adult females appearing on the deeds as specific multiples. Four native individuals appear to have been involved in these receipts, including the famous Nikomis ("the moon") who also appears on deeds of November 8, 1675, November 17, 1675, and April 10, 1676. The names Lefever and Pledger remain unexplained. They probably were earlier purchasers of small tracts from the Indians; tracts that were within the larger tract confirmed as sold on January 8, 1675/6.

Deed of February 6, 1675/6: An Excerpt

These excerpts from the deed of February 6, 1675/6 derive from full transcription made by Stewart (1932:66–67) from the deed book entry (see also Becker 1998:57). Stewart identifies it as "Salem 1 of Deeds, page 20," with the "Original in possession of New Jersey Historical Society."

> Be itt known unto all People & persons whatsoever by these psents that Wee Mohawksey, Mohutt, Newsego, Chochanaham, Torucho & Shacanum the true & undoubted owners (as natives) of all & singular the Tract of Land called & known by the name or names of Little Chohanzick & Great Chohanzick,…
> unto John Fenwick Esqr …
>
> for & in consideration of fouer Anchers of Rumm, twelve Matchcoates, and divers other pcells of Goods well & truly paid & Sattisfied unto us by him … Wee doe hereby acknowledge & accordingly doe aquitt and discharge him the sd John Fenwick his heirs Executors Administrators & assigns thereof … Wee the sd Mohawksey, Mohutt, Newsego, Chehanoam, Torocho & Shackmun, doe for ourselves Successors & people Covenant promise … him the sd John Fenwick … shall from henceforth have hold & peaceably enjoy the sd Tract of Land now called as aforesd Little & Great Chohanzick together with all rivers, creeks, marshes, woods, Timber trees heriditaments and premisses therunto …
> Excepted always out of this grant the town & Plantacons in which they the sd Indyans now inhabitt and useth for & untill such time only as they shall think fitt to remove from the same.
>
> … wee have according to the English cutom [sic] rattified & confirmed this our grant & Sayle as aforesd under our hands & seales this Sixt day of the Twelveth Mo. 1675/6. (February 6, 1675/6). Year began March 25.
>
> Signed Sealed & delivered
> in the presence of us by
> Henry Parker
> Richard Noble
> John Smith
> Richard Guy
>
> Chochanaham
> Mohutt
> Torocho
> by their marks

The earlier deed, written on November 17, 1675, helps link "Mehawksey" (Mehoxy) to the several native vendors whose names also appear on this deed of February 6, 1675/76, and also on the deed of March 14, 1676/7 (see below). We know from other documents that Mehoxy was not a joint owner with the members of this band, but only acting on their behalf. The context and historical sequence demonstrate that Mehoxy served as a broker in these dealings negotiated for his kin, all being relatives within the extended tribe. The presence of "Mohutt" among the signatories to the deed of February 6, 1675/76 remains

confusing, unless "Mohutt" and "Molhunt" are two different persons. It is suspected that Weehatquack Creek is now "Cedar" Creek (see Becker 1998). The original deed has not been seen by the author. The following abstract of this deed is provided by Nelson (1899:559) from page 20 of the "Salem No. 1" record (see also the deed of November 7, 1675, above).

> 1675–6 6th d. 12th m. (Feb.). Do. [Indian Deed]. Mohawksey and others to John ffenwick, for the land called Little and Great Chohanzick, along Delware R., between the mouth of Cannahockinck Creek and Weehatquack Cr., next to Chohansey River.

Of particular interest is Fenwick's policy, when making total purchases of all the lands of a band, of allowing native vendors to continue residence at any "town & Plantacons in which they the sd Indyans now inhabitt and useth." This allowed them a base of operations for their traditional foraging so long as they chose to remain in the area. By the early 1700s expanding colonial settlement led the Lenopi to seek clarification of borders and boundaries in ways that allowed them to continue their foraging for another century or more (Becker 2011b, nd A). Allowing native vendors to continue residence at locations where they were "seated" was a policy also employed by William Penn (Becker 1976).

Deed of November 15, 1676: "Mohocksey" Brokers Land on Oldmans Creek

This deed, provided in full in an archival version (New Castle 1904:462–3), records the purchase of:

> a Certaine Parcell or neck of Land Called Kachkillkanehackin, Lying and being on the Eastsyde of Deloware River ouer against marrities hook beginning on the west or Lower end with a Creeke Called and knowne by the Indians by the name of Mattieh Cussing and by the Christians the old mans kill and so up along the Riversyde to the first small Kill Called by the Indians Cachkikanahacking and so South East into the woods Including all the Land and Meadowes between the said twoo Creekes;...

The text of the deed names the purchasers as Hans Hoffman and Peter Junsen, and indicates that the vendors were Awsawith, Woappeck-Jan and Awieham. The signatory section gives the vendors' names as Awsawit, Oppeck Jan, and Kunnuckle. The sale of November 15, 1676 includes only a portion of the total, which was sold on September 27, 1677 (see below). The signatory section of the 1676 document is missing but the negotiator, "Mohocksey," and two vendors' names in the text do not match the three names found on the deed of November 15, 1676.

The Reconfirmation Deed of March 14, 1676/7

An extremely important document in identifying Mehoxy's role in colonial affairs is the *reconfirmation* deed of March 14, 1676/7, originally published by Stewart (1932:65–66). Stewart took his copy from the deed book entry (Salem 1, page 42), but again indicated that the original was at the NJHS. The six vendors involved are the same people ("Mohutt,

Alloways, Myhopponey, Saccotorey, Necomis, Necosshehesce") whose names had *followed* "Mahocsey" in the text of the January 8, 1675/6 "agreement" to relinquish claims to this tract. The tract identified on both documents is identical, described as extending from the mouth of Game (or Forcus, now Fenwick) Creek down along the Delaware River to Cannahockink Creek, then inland along that creek to its origins, thence to the head of Allowayes Creek and over to the head of Game Creek, and back to its mouth. The goods paid by Fenwick are once again only briefly summarized in the March 14th text. The full transcription of this deed is provided by Stewart and need not be reproduced here. Of considerable importance in revealing Mehoxy's role in this dealing is the signatory list (witnesses and vendors), reproduced here from Stewart. Mehoxy, who was identified as "the King," signed as a witness. Quite notable is that he signed, placing his mark on the document, prior to (above) those of five colonial witnesses and three other native witnesses.

> March 14, 1676/7 (Signatories only):
>
> Signed Sealed & delivered
> in the presence of
> William Malster
> Marcus Ellers
> Richard Wittaker
> Mohawoksey X the King — Mohutt X (seal)
> Thomas White — Allowayes Myhopponey X (seal)
> Richard Noble
> William Johnson — Saccatorey X Necomis (seal)
> Thomas X Watson — Necosshehesco X (seal)
> Elizabeth Adams
> Occarous X his mark
> Opur Mohawkeseys X brother mark
> Wittan Awke X

This confirmation deed of March 14, 1676/7 not only includes lands originally sold on November 17, 1675 (and confirmed January 8, 1675/6; see above), but enlarges the tract by including a huge area to the north of the earlier sale. The original sale of November 17, 1675 covered only about one-third of the new total. This enlarged region probably included most of the range of the Alloways Creek Band, of which Mohutt and his kin were members (see Becker 1998:Figures 1 and 2D).

The following text is the abstract of the "deed" of March 14, 1676/7 as provided by Nelson (1899:560) from page 42 of the "Salem No. 1" record (see also the deed of November 17, 1675 and February 6, 1675/6, above).

> 1676–7 March 14. Indian Deed. Mohutt and other Indians to John Fenwick, for the land along Delaware River from Game or fforcus or ffenwick's Creek to Cannohockinck Creek and up the last named creek, then from its head to the head of Alloways Creek, thence to the head of the first named and down the same to Delaware R.

The "Delaware Deeds": Mehoxy Crosses the River

Even before Mehoxy brokered his first major land sale in his home region, on November 17, 1675, he had achieved his first success at selling land with more shady dealings on the opposite side of Delaware Bay. On February 20, 1674/5 he had successfully negotiated two land "sales" that were an interesting part of the history of Delaware. Between the years 1673 and 1688, dates that bracket William Penn's arrival in the New World (circa 1682), an interesting series of deeds were drawn up in the region that now is the state of Delaware (Becker 1998:63–67). This specific set or category of deeds records the questionable transfer of land from individual Native Americans, rather than from collective groups, to individual colonists. The land sales that are lumped as the "Delaware Deeds" (Becker 1998:Appendix I) played a very small part in the early colonial record, but they reveal a great deal about native skills at grasping the politics of the day and using their knowledge to maximize their own gain.

The "Delaware Deeds" were not quite outright frauds, but were part of a pattern of specious arrangements that were part of a long tradition among the Lenopi. Included in this pattern of selling what was not theirs to sell were questionable, quasi-fraudulent, and outright illegal land dealings negotiated by various South Jersey Indians (listed in Becker 1998:46–48). The long list of fraudulent or illegal land purchases made by *colonists* from natives in regions beyond the lower Delaware Valley is *believed* to be so well known that the documentation of such transactions attracts little scholarly interest. Less well known are those cases where various natives make dubious or fraudulent sales of lands to colonists! The native peoples of southern New Jersey, identified previously only as "Jerseys" or South Jersey Indians (Becker 1987, 1988, 1998) had a long history of selling lands on the west side of the Delaware River to which they had no claim. They had neither historical claim, in the sense of long-term occupation, nor claim by right of conquest. Understanding of the broader context reveals that these sporadic land sales may be understood better within the context of land frauds arising from specific opportunities. The confusion during transitional periods of government, or the felt "need" of colonists to have "legal native title" to land created economic opportunities for enterprising natives.

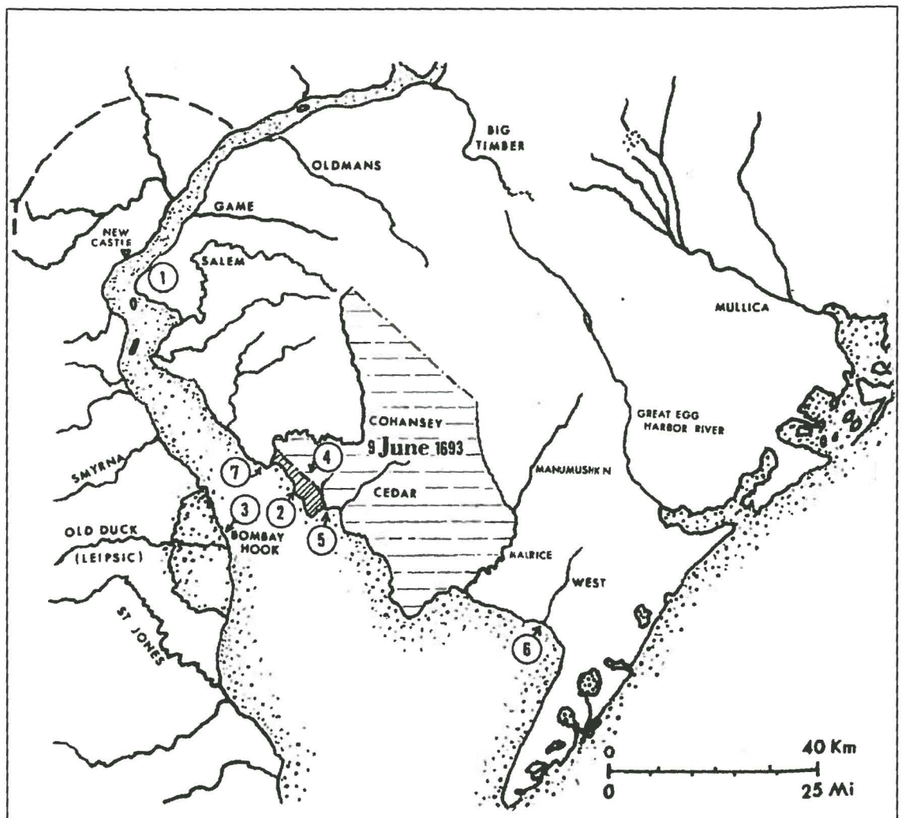
Various aspects of the "Delaware Deeds" were discussed some 70 years ago by de Valinger (1940–41). The date of the earliest of these "land sales" (February 20, 1674/5) suggests that the renewal of English control over the area earlier in 1674 may have been the impetus to natives to participate in transactions involving native buffer lands. Two particular aspects of native culture in the seventeenth century are essential to understanding the complex meaning of these deeds. First, we need to know the considerable significance of Mehoxy's cultural identity and the territory used by his specific band within the extended territory of the entire Lenopi peoples. Second, the recognition of the Bombay Hook buffer zone that separated the Sekonese from the Lenape enables us to understanding how Mehoxy, a member of an Indian culture living in southern New Jersey, was able to use his knowledge of traditional buffer zones to his own advantage. His understanding of the location of the unclaimed buffer zone between two groups of native peoples on the west side of the Delaware River enabled him to make questionable "land sales" to the unknowing, or complicit, colonists (see Becker 1998).

Mehoxy's first two sales in "Delaware," on February 20, 1674/5, were preceded by a sale of 700 acres (283.3 ha) in that area on February 8, 1673/74 by his two elder kinsmen Tospaminck and Weinamink (Stewart 1932:73; see Becker 1998). They had "sold" land "on the south side of Jeremiah's Kill, as far as Finns Creek along the [Delaware] river at "Pompion-hook." This region, a swampy projection of land on the west side of the river, now is called Bombay Hook (Figure 3). The February 1673/4 sale set the pattern for a series of land sales in that area. Whether Mehoxy was present at the February 1674/5 sale, or learned how such "sales" were conducted from reports, is not known but a year later the young Mehoxy was in that same area where he made two land sales to eager colonial purchasers (see Becker 1998:63). On February 20, 1674/5, while other members of the Cohansey band of Lenopi were conducting winter foraging in their traditional territory, Mehoxy crossed the Delaware Bay to "gather" rewards from what had become a new type of resource area. Presumably Mehoxy spent the warmer months with his own band, gathering maritime and other resources around their summer station. But part of his "winter foraging program," perhaps in the company of his immediate and dependant family, appears to have expanded across the Bay to Delaware where he was able to "gather" a very different type of resource.

Over the next eight years Mehoxy made a number of trips to the Bombay Hook area to make land grants ("sales") to individual colonists. His sales remained limited to the Bombay Hook buffer zone. Colonists settling in that area also had to consider the possibility that the region would fall under the jurisdiction of Maryland or would become part of the New York region. That the native title to lands was needed, especially after Penn's arrival, can be inferred from more than these few Indian land sales for which we have records. In 1680 John Wright noted, in a letter to Governor Andros regarding a tract of land, that "being the yndines not bought of in the Case of hinderance" (Gehring 1977:332) that Wright was concerned about the validity of his title. During the winter of 1681/2 the officers of the newly created and independent Deale (now Sussex) County acted, as shown by the Sussex County Court Records for January 10, 1681/2, acted to address these matters. Mehoxy as well as these "purchasers," took advantage of the uncertain years between 1674 and 1683 to establish formal claim to land. Mehoxy had no legitimate land claim in this area, but took advantage of the situation to get European goods. His interests in making these sales complimented the colonial desire to find native "owners" willing to sell, and thus to secure a "native" title.

William Penn: The Proprietor as a Trusting Soul

At least seven distinct sets of fraudulent land sales on the west side of the Delaware River were perpetrated by Lenopi from southern New Jersey (Becker 1998:46–48). The more complex of these frauds took place during periods of stress between colonial powers or within the developing Pennsylvania colony (see Becker 1987). By the time of Penn's arrival in 1682 the Lenape had replaced the Susquehannock as principal pelt brokers in central Pennsylvania and were expanding rapidly into and beyond that western region. Despite that expansion, and the rapidly increasing involvement of the Lenape in the western pelt trade (see Becker 2011c), Penn needed 20 years to negotiate sales from all of the Lenape bands of the lands that they traditionally occupied in the Delaware drainage. These purchases from the Lenape extended only as far south as the Duck Creek (Bombay Hook) area.



1. Point in New Jersey across the river from New Castle. This has been suggested as the location of lands sold on July 20, 1666. Those lands were actually near West Creek (No. 6).
2. Sale of November 6, 1667. This strip of land was excepted out of the deed of June 9, 1693 with an indication that it had been sold previously, but not mentioned in the sale of June 24, 1688 (see Becker 1998:Figure 2B).
3. Location of a tract "sold" on February 8, 1673 by two elders of the Cohansey band.
4. General area of lands transferred by gift on July 2, 1694.
5. The mouth of Back Creek.
6. Probable location of Stipson Island, at the mouth of present West Creek. This may be the same "West Creek" noted in the abstract of land sold on July 20, 1666.
7. Approximate location of 400 acres (161.9 ha) sold on June 25, 1683, within the large tract sold on November 17, 1675. These 400 acres (161.9 ha) may have been part of the vendors' summer station that they continued to occupy for another seven years.

Figure 3: The Bombay Hook Region (Buffer Zone) and Locations Relating to the Life of Mehoxy.

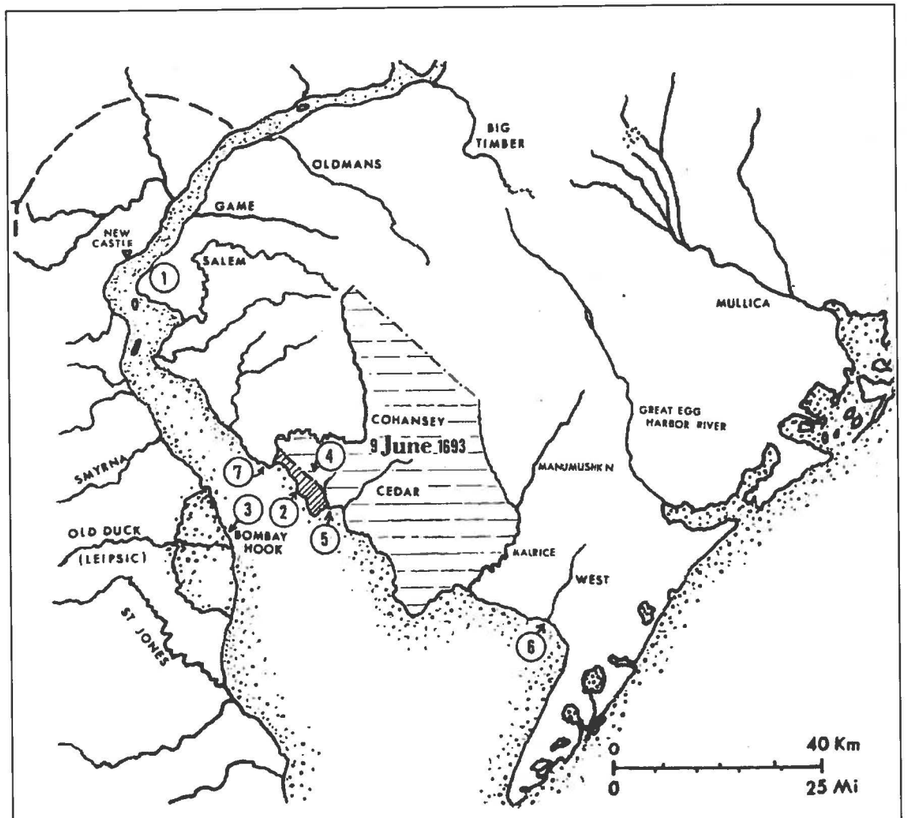
To the south Penn held "claim" to the lands through an arrangement with the Duke of York. Penn reassigned lands from this tract, but noted that the original claimants were to have preference (Turner 1909:83). Penn, on December 26, 1682, directed that Manor Lands of 10,000 acres (4,047 ha) for himself "betwene the Bounds of Cedar Creek & Mispilion Creek or in the most Convenient place Towards the north side of the County" and directed that another 10,000 acres (4,047 ha) be surveyed for the Duke of York, to "Lye on the north side of Assn Awarmet Inlett As near to Cape James as may be ...".

All of the legitimate Lenape sales of land to William Penn were confirmed by deeds signed in the warm months, coinciding with the period when the various families in a Lenape band would have reunited, after a winter of hunting, at their summer fishing station. Land transfers could be conducted only when all of the members of a band, who held the land as a corporate community, as birthright and equal owners regardless of age or gender, could be present to confirm the transfer and accept payment. Some sales were conducted in the absence of some band members, who were represented by others of their kin. All the adult males, those at least above the age of puberty, "signed" (made their marks) on both parts of the indenture.

A cluster of four specious dealings involving land and William Penn were negotiated by individuals from southern New Jersey while Penn was still learning about the natives in the region. These New Jersey visitors had no claim to territory anywhere within what became the Pennsylvania colony but they made claims, and in some cases even had deeds drawn up, that now can be recognized as without basis. Often an indicator that these were fraudulent is the lack of any native witness from among the Lenape, the people whose lands were being "sold." This set of four land dealings will be listed in chronological order to help indicate how Penn slowly learned to distinguish Lenape land owners from Lenopi claimants.

The first of these four problematical transactions is dated June 23, 1683. This "sale" transferred "Lands Lying betwixt and about Pemmapecka and Neshamineh Creeks and all along the Nesheminehs Creek to William Penn"; the "vendors" being "Tamamen and Metamequan" (Kent 1979:64). Payment was to be whatever Penn pleased to give them. This rather unspecific, and perhaps never delivered payment, suggests that Penn was aware that something was wrong with their claim. Of note is that there were two colonial witnesses to this "sale," including Lasse Cock who generally acted as a translator, in addition to five native witnesses. These witnesses bear further study. Only two days later "Tamanen" himself appears as the first of five native witnesses on the deed of June 25, 1683. "Tamanen" is generally believed to be the Tammany (variously spelled) who now is often regarded as a significant Lenape, and not a visitor from New Jersey. While modern reporters believe that he was a noted person born within Penn's colony, and he has achieved mythical status, his actual kinship has never been documented. Tamamen's junior partner in this sale, "Metamequam," reappears a year later, on June 7, 1684. We'll get to that event in turn. At this point, it is proposed that the "Metamequam, also Richard" who made his mark on this document was the young Mahamickwon who as "King Charles" later became an extremely important person among his people in New Jersey (Becker nd A).

Further evidence of the questionable sale of June 23, 1683 is the subsequent sale of exactly the same tract less than a month later. On July 14, 1683 Penn purchased lands between



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All of the legitimate Lenape sales of land to William Penn were confirmed by deeds signed in the warm months, coinciding with the period when the various families in a Lenape band would have reunited, after a winter of hunting, at their summer fishing station. Land transfers could be conducted only when all of the members of a band, who held the land as a corporate community, as birthright and equal owners regardless of age or gender, could be present to confirm the transfer and accept payment. Some sales were conducted in the absence of some band members, who were represented by others of their kin. All the adult males, those at least above the age of puberty, "signed" (made their marks) on both parts of the indenture.

A cluster of four specious dealings involving land and William Penn were negotiated by individuals from southern New Jersey while Penn was still learning about the natives in the region. These New Jersey visitors had no claim to territory anywhere within what became the Pennsylvania colony but they made claims, and in some cases even had deeds drawn up, that now can be recognized as without basis. Often an indicator that these were fraudulent is the lack of any native witness from among the Lenape, the people whose lands were being "sold." This set of four land dealings will be listed in chronological order to help indicate how Penn slowly learned to distinguish Lenape land owners from Lenopi claimants.

The first of these four problematical transactions is dated June 23, 1683. This "sale" transferred "Lands Lying betwixt and about Pemmapecka and Neshamineh Creeks and all along the Nesheminehs Creek to William Penn"; the "vendors" being "Tamamen and Metamequan" (Kent 1979:64). Payment was to be whatever Penn pleased to give them. This rather unspecific, and perhaps never delivered payment, suggests that Penn was aware that something was wrong with their claim. Of note is that there were two colonial witnesses to this "sale," including Lasse Cock who generally acted as a translator, in addition to five native witnesses. These witnesses bear further study. Only two days later "Tamanen" himself appears as the first of five native witnesses on the deed of June 25, 1683. "Tamanen" is generally believed to be the Tammany (variously spelled) who now is often regarded as a significant Lenape, and not a visitor from New Jersey. While modern reporters believe that he was a noted person born within Penn's colony, and he has achieved mythical status, his actual kinship has never been documented. Tamamen's junior partner in this sale, "Metamequam," reappears a year later, on June 7, 1684. We'll get to that event in turn. At this point, it is proposed that the "Metamequam, also Richard" who made his mark on this document was the young Mahamickwon who as "King Charles" later became an extremely important person among his people in New Jersey (Becker nd A).

Further evidence of the questionable sale of June 23, 1683 is the subsequent sale of exactly the same tract less than a month later. On July 14, 1683 Penn purchased lands between

"Manaiunk alias Schulkil and Pemmapecka Creeks" from "Neneshickan, Malebore, alias Pendanoughhah, Neshanock and Osereneon." Osereneon does not sign, but the volume of goods presented, in multiples of 15, are in sharp contrast to whatever was given to the previous "vendors" of this same area (Kent 1979:66–67). Another related deed involves this same tract. A deed date July 30, 1685 records a sale from other Lenape owners of this area, Shakhoppoh and his kin. This deed suggests that "the River or Creek of Pemapecka" was Dublin Creek (Kent 1979:76). "Pemmapecea Creek" is now believed to be the present Pennypacker Creek. The problems with the identification of land holdings relates to stream names, territories claimed, and the general lack of knowledge regarding the landscape by the colonists. For the most part they had to rely on the honesty of the natives until they could survey and map the region in detail.

The second questionable transaction in this set of four dates from December 19, 1683. This more simple fraud, or short grift, was perpetrated by the Lenopi named Seketarius. Seketarius can be recognized as the "Shuccatorey" who was the first of six signatories to the important deed of November 17, 1675 selling all of his band's land on Game (now Fenwick) Creek in New Jersey. He also is the "Soccatory" of the sale of November 17, 1675 (see above), the "Sacatorius" at the confirmation of January 8, 1675/6, and the "Sacetores" of March 27, 1675/6. Seketarius had simply made a *promise,* and no more, to sell land to Penn during the following spring (Becker 1998:47). The problem, however, lies with the fact that Seketarius held no rights to lands on the west side of the Delaware River. He simply absconded with the goods given to him by Penn as "down" money for land—land he did not own. He did not return to visit Penn, but went on to other activities that avoided a return to Penn's domain. One can imagine that the success of Seketarius at defrauding Penn during the winter of 1683 stimulated his kinsman, Mehoxy, to do the same.

Seketarius had defrauded William Penn before the Proprietor had gotten to know the various elders of the Lenape bands, the legal owners of land on the west side of the Delaware River. By the time that Penn arrived and began his land purchases, many of the Lenape bands had already migrated to the western parts of the territory of his Crown charter, beyond the Delaware drainage, and even further to the west (Becker 2011a). The 1737 "Walking Purchase" confirmation treaty is only a later example of these specious land sales; a "sale" made in a buffer zone by immigrants from New Jersey who held no traditional title to the land sold.

The third of the questionable dealings with Penn was conducted with Mehoxy. That event will be discussed in detail below, as it is the center of new insights into the life of this notable native. Before the third "event" is examined, a brief note is made of the fourth in this series, which took place only four days later. It was certainly no accident that on June 7, 1684, only four days after the "Maughhoughsin" sale, Richard Mettamicont, certainly the "Richard Metamequan" who "sold" land the previous year in the first of these four dealings in this series, conducted another "sale" to Penn. Mettamicont, then acting as sole vendor and without any native witnesses present, once again "sold" his claim to land on both sides of "Pemmapecea Creek" to William Penn (Kent 1979:73–74). It should be noted that Richard Mattamicont, on June 7, 1684, received for his second "sale" goods of far lower value than did Maughhoughsin a few days earlier. This suggests that Maughhoughsin either had far greater skills at bargaining, or that Penn was getting smarter about these frauds and

recognized that Richard Mettamicont had made false land claims. This was the last time the Proprietor can be documented as being hoodwinked by natives from across the river. What led to his apparent increased wisdom in these matters can only be suggested. He may have simply accumulated more knowledge regarding the individual natives within his lands and how best to deal with false claims made by those from beyond his domain.

Mehoxy: The June 3, 1684 "sale" to Penn, witnessed by only colonists (see Becker 2010)

By 1683 Mehoxy had acted as a broker in several legitimate land sales in New Jersey, and also "sold" at least six tracts of land in the Bombay Hook region. Not surprisingly he used his various skills to secure a number of valuable goods from the William Penn on the basis of a promise alone. As noted earlier, Mehoxy's first "land sale" in the Bombay Hook region was negotiated just one year after his kin made their "sales" in the same region. He seems to have learned how and where to conduct these sales from his elders. Then, in 1684, and only a year after his kinsman Seketarius had defrauded William Penn, Mehoxy appeared before Penn and duplicated the trick. Mehoxy's sale to William Penn on June 3, 1684 was the last within that set of dealings involving William Penn. Mehoxy took the goods offered and then vanished from the record for nearly a decade.

Only recently did the author recognize that the "Maughhoughsin" on the document dated June 3, 1684 was the Mehoxy whose life he had tracked in a previous paper (Becker 1998). The sale by "Maughhoughsin" on June 3, 1684 is the third in this series of four dealings listed above. The text of the document nearly duplicates the first two fraudulent deeds to Penn in their simplicity. It also had no native witnesses, and thus no contradiction to Mehoxy's claims (see Kent 1979:63–64, endnotes 12 and 13). The meretricious nature of this dealing also helps answer a question the author asked in 1998. Given the considerable activity of Mehoxy prior to February 16, 1682/3, the date of his last known "sale" of land in the Bombay Hook buffer zone, the ten-year gap in the record that had ended with his "reappearance" in June of 1693 had been a puzzle (Becker 1998:50). The records for that period abound with documents. There are more than just the abundant land sales and reconfirmations of these sales. Natives are mentioned everywhere, but are most clearly identified when they signed as vendors or as witnesses on deeds, or appear as brokers. Despite all these documents the athor had found no evidence of Mehoxy's activities during this busy decade. This blank in the record of Mehoxy's life almost coincides with the first decade of Penn's 20-year-long process of purchasing all of the lands of all of the Lenape bands.

Why was Mehoxy absent?

Donald Kent's transcriptions of the various Pennsylvania land transfer documents (1979), generated when our knowledge of the Lenape and their neighbors was far less detailed, remains the best single source for the basic documentary evidence. Kent's transcription of the deed of June 3, 1684 (1979:73), which he identifies as "Document 24," is taken from Hazard (1852:88). Kent probably chose to use the Hazard transcription, rather than consulting the original, because he trusted Hazard's transcriptions (see Becker 1998).

Hazard's (1852:88; see also Kent 1979:73) transcription is reproduced here as probably being closer in form to the original document:

> Upon my own Desire and free Offer I. Maughoughsin in consideration of Two Matchcoats[,] four pair of Stockings, and four Bottles of Sider, do hereby graunt and make over all my Land upon Pahkehoma, to William Penn Prop^{r} and Govern^{r} of Pennsilvania and Territories[,] his Heirs & Assignes forever wth which I own myself satisfied and promise never to molest any Christians so call^{d} y^{t} shall seat thereon by his orde^{rs}[.] Witness my hand and seal at Philadelphia y^{e} third Day of y^{e} fourth month 1684.
>
> THE MARK OF MAUGHOUGHSIN.
>
> Signed, Sealed and delivered
> In presence of us
> Philip Th Lehnmann
> Thos Holme
> Jno Davers
> George Emlen

Following his transcription, Hazard adds "See Smith's Law vol. II, p. 111." Smith published transcriptions of laws that had been enacted prior to 1810 that had been available previously only in manuscript form. These documents were held in the archives of the Province and Commonwealth (Smith's Law 1810:111). The actual mark of Maughoughsin as it appears on this document is not reproduced by Hazard or Kent. Of particular note in this "grant" is that no native witnesses were present, a technique typical with fraudulent land sales. Aside from the question regarding Maughhoughsin's right to vend "Land upon Pahkehoma" there is a question as to where this stream is located! Hanna (1911:97–98) identifies Pahkehoma as "Perkiomen Creek" and also notes that the four colonials who witnessed this document were acting as "Penn's agents."

Mehoxy's fraud may be related to, if not explain, why he became "scarce" during a ten year interval. Mehoxy was the sole native vendor on a "deed" to William Penn in 1684 to which there are no native witnesses and no one whom can be recognized as a translator. People such as Lasse Cock, himself of mixed Lenape-Swedish heritage, would have known that Mehoxy was not a Lenape landholder. Mehoxy's scam now appears to have been an opportunistic occurrence similar in many others of that period. He may have been on his way to the frontier and decided to augment his holdings by "selling" land along the way. Penn had begun his task after 1675, the year during which the Lenape took over the pelt trade. That marked a significant increase in their shift into the western regions of Pennsylvania, and to the profits to be had. It is suspected that Mehoxy, outfitted with materials given to him by Penn, may have joined the Lenape on the frontier or moved into the buffer zone at the northern edge of their territory (cf. Keposh; Becker 2011a–d).

From June 3, 1684, the date of Mehoxy's "sale" to William Penn, until the summer of 1693 we have not a single reference to him. When he reappears in the record on June 9, 1693, as a mature man, he was the principle vendor releasing land from Cohansey Creek to the Morris River in New Jersey. This was the territory of his people, and represented lands that had been sold previously to others. The signatory list on two deeds may be compared as follow, providing us with some kinship relations:

The proposed scenario concerning Mehoxy's departure for the frontier also may be supported by his appearance, or re-emergence, in his home territory in 1693 in time to make a major land sale. More significant may be his participation the following year in a gathering involving a call to the Lenape to join the Five Nations against the French Indians. On July 6, 1694 Mehoxy was part of a multi-cultural delegation that met in Philadelphia with Colonel William Markham Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania. Two of the eight native delegates were Susquehannock then resident among the Lenape. Others may have been Lenopi, but Mehoxy is the only one we can confirm. The gathering was to discuss a call from the Onondaga and Seneca to join them in a war against the French. The Lenape and their Susquehannock allies wished to decline the invitation. Mehoxy claimed that the call extended to the Lenopi who "live on the other side of the river, yet we reckon orselves all one, because wee drink one water" (Colonial Records of Pennsylvania 1852:447–449). The fiction of this relationship between these two peoples on opposite sides of the Delaware River, by drinking water (not even by blood, let alone kinship), has been repeatedly refuted (Becker 2008), but remains a popular myth (Becker 2009). Mehoxy's claim also suggests that he was the only Lenopi to attend the July 6 meeting. Following that conference Mehoxy may have traveled back to the frontier with those Lenape and Susquehannock who had come from there to Philadelphia. Alternately, he and perhaps others may have answered the call from The Five Nations, and had gone north to join them in their wars against the Huron. In either case, after he left that July meeting he disappeared from the documentary record. Perhaps he was never heard from again.

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LOCATING EARLY COLONIAL SITES IN THE DELMARVA

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The following paper is the result of techniques developed by a team of archaeologist from Hunter Research, Inc. during Phase I investigations for the proposed U.S. Route 301 corridor outside of Middletown, Delaware sponsored by the Delaware Department of Transportation (DelDOT) (Figure 1). This alignment traverses over 12 miles (19.3 km) of rural agricultural fields. These techniques were successfully tweaked along the way as the presence of multiple early sites revealed themselves over and over again.

Before setting out to locate early colonial sites, familiarization with the material culture from the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is imperative. *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* is a must read (Noel Hume 1970). This timeless classic is a great starting point for those unfamiliar (and familiar, for that point) with artifacts from late-seventeenth and eighteenth century sites. Archaeological field crews are all too often sent out into the field without a clear understanding of what they may expect to find. The types of artifacts more commonly found on early colonial sites are fairly limited. European ceramics are typically best represented. Ceramic types common on late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century sites are North Devon earthenwares (sgraffito and plain/utilitarian), buff Staffordshire wares, Midlands mottled earthenware (appears similar to later Rockingham glazes), tin-enameled earthenware (commonly referred to as delftware), dipped white salt-glazed stoneware, Rhenish brown stoneware, Westerwald grey stoneware, and Chinese porcelain (Figure 2). Several of these types continue well into the eighteenth century and can lead to an association of a site to later period and thus a misinterpretation of site chronology. A good visual aide for many early ceramic types found in the Delmarva region is the Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland website, Colonial Ceramics page hosted by Maryland Department of Planning Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum which can be viewed at: http://www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/Historic_Ceramic_Web_Page/Historic_Main.htm

Domestic redwares are probably the most misunderstood but key components of any early site. Redwares were manufactured wherever there was clay available. The technology for these low-fired wares was simple and widely known. Many archaeologist make the cardinal mistake of ignoring or even eliminating redwares from the equation stating that they were manufactured into the twentieth century and you cannot rely on them as temporal diagnostics. WRONG! Redwares typically represent more than 50 percent of the ceramic assemblage. Early forms differ from later forms, with more wheel-thrown vessel early on, even plates and chargers.

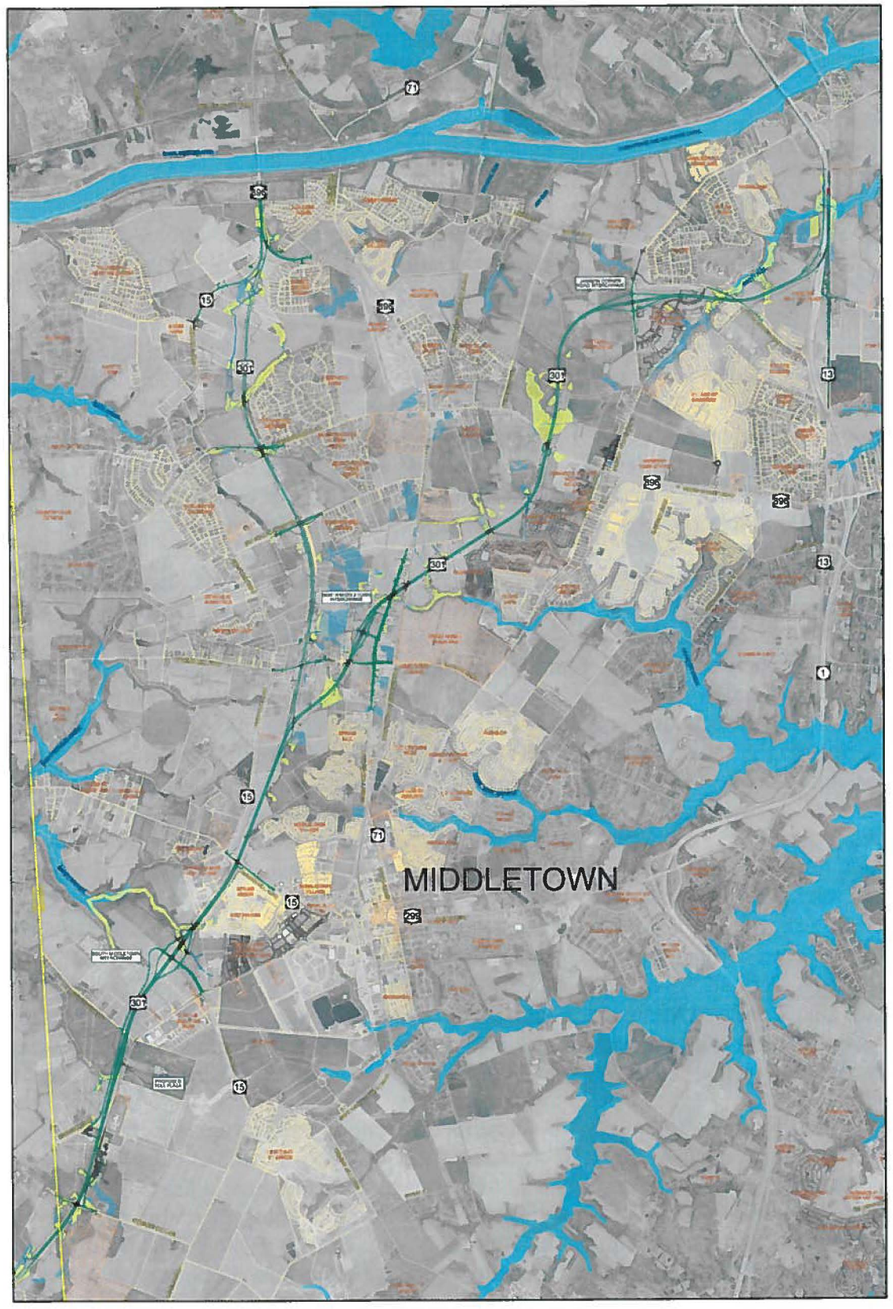

Figure 1: The New U.S. Route 301 Location (Map produced by DelDOT).

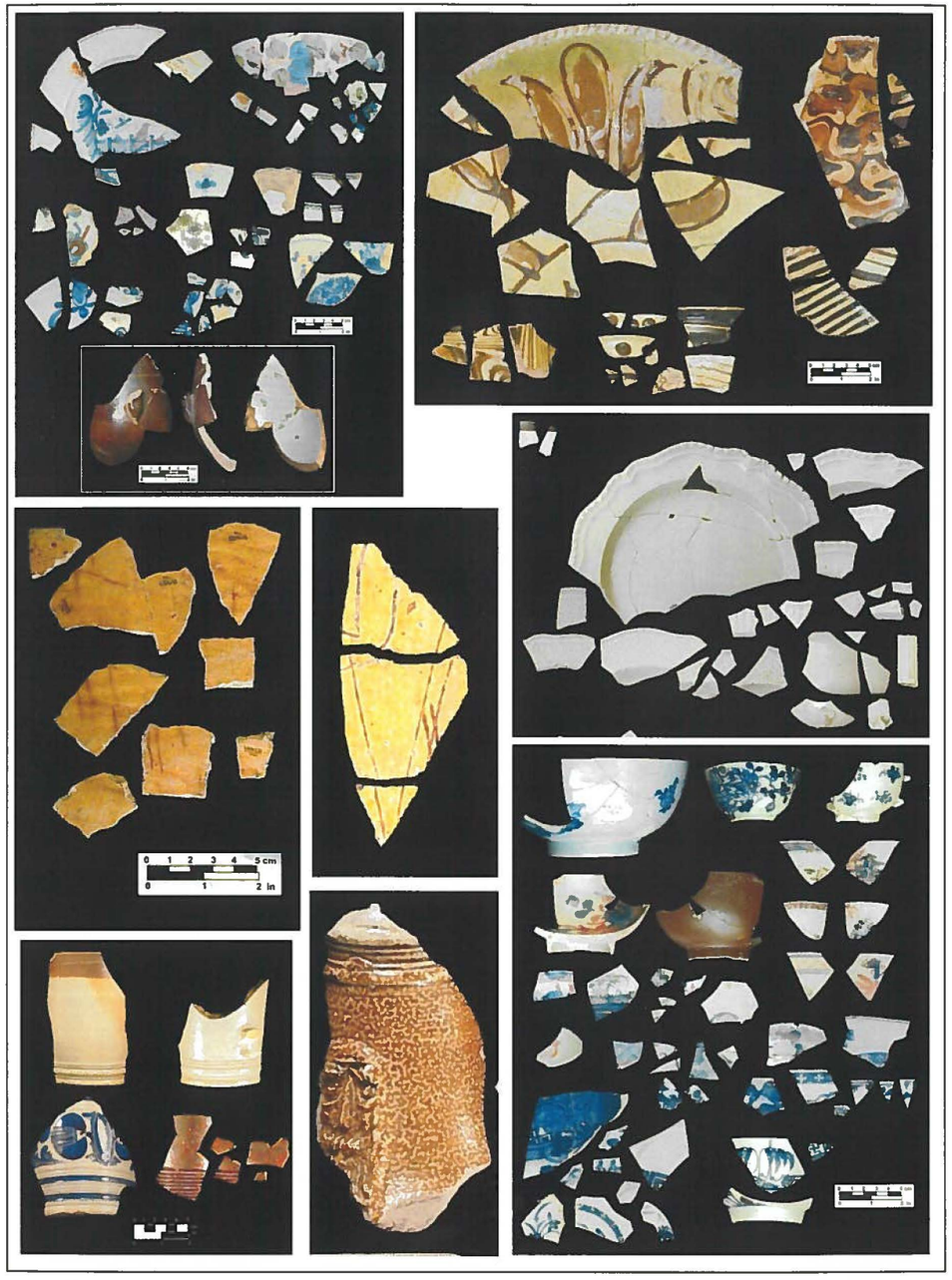

Figure 2: Early-Eighteenth Century Ceramics from Delaware.

Footed vessels such as skillets and cooking pots also tend to be early and may indicate a Dutch presence or influence. Early glazes and decorations are thick black matet glaze, copper oxide, large amounts of slip used to form a ground mimicking clouded wares, and the use of multiple colored slip decorations.

Other *common* early historic artifacts to be aware of are:

Glass. The most common glass artifacts associated with this period are dark green "black" spirits containers with forms known as onion, chestnut, mallet, and case (or square based) (Dumbrell 1983; Palmer 1993; Van den Bossche 2001) (Figure 3). Drinking vessels found on early period sites are typically clear tumblers or stemware, which are simple in design and often exhibit a frosted look or an iridescent patina. In 1674 George Ravenscroft is credited with the development of more durable lead glass which is heavy and has a light grey appearance (Palmer 1993:4–5; Van den Bossche 2001:22). Excavated pieces often exhibit fine crizzling (a distinctive network of fine cracking).

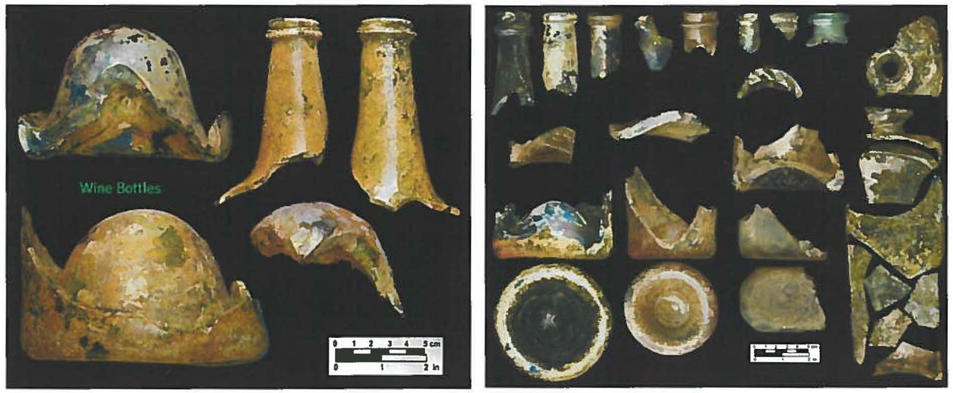

Figure 3: Glass Bottles—Chestnut, Mallot, and Case.

Cast Iron Bellied Cauldrons. Fragments are typically curved, but can be represented by L-shaped handles called ears or lugs and feet or legs that are typically round or triangular in cross section (Figure 4). Later examples are embossed with capacity numbers on the body (Noel Hume 1970:175–177; Tyler 1978:29–31). In the past, fragments have been mis-identified as non-diagnostic tractor parts and disregarded. Cauldrons had to be designed with handles to allow them to be suspended over a fire and with legs so that they could stand up over the hot coals. Cauldrons were used for a number of purposes including, but not limited to: cooking, making apple butter, boiling soap, manufacturing potash, boiling water to clean clothes and …rituals if you believe in that sort of thing.

Oxen Shoes, which at first appear to be horseshoes broken in the middle, can be easily identified by their wide center. These shoes come in two sides to accommodate the large split hoof of oxen (Figure 5).

Figure 4: Cast-Iron Cauldron Fragments.

Figure 5: Wrought-Iron Oxen Shoe.

Wrought nails are often key to locating structures, but centuries of corrosion can make them difficult to distinguish from cut nails. Wrought nails can be easily distinguished from cut nails by their rectangular shaft that tapers on all four sides and pointed tip (Kreilick 1999; Mercer 1924; Nelson 1968). All wrought nails have hand formed heads, although early machine cut nails also have hand-formed heads. Wrought nails are more often clenched, which cause them to form a rounded "J" or fish hook shape and sometimes curving further inward forming a slight spiral shape (Figure 6) (Dunbar 1989).

Figure 6: Wrought Nails.

Iron hoes are very datable and may be an indication of tobacco production. Keith Egloff's study of hoes in the tidewater region examines the different styles that evolved over time (Egloff 1980).

Gunflints are sometimes confused with Native American bifaces, but true flint is not found in America and the high quality material should be dead giveaway that it is not of local origin. Early flints are knapped from spall and commonly found fashioned from dark brown (chocolate), mottled light brown and tan or blonde material (Figure 7).

Musket Balls come in many sizes/calibers are generally (if made of lead) measured by their weight and converted to caliber (Sivilich 1996:101–109).

Window Leads often look like small twisted pieces of scrap lead, but when carefully unraveled they are sometimes embedded with dates. Window leads were used to hold small panes or quarries of glass in an iron casement frame. ALL window leads should be carefully

opened by immersing them in very warm water and then very SLOWLY untwisting them and SLOWLY opening each side. About one in ten leads will exhibit some combination of letters and dates (Figure 8). Letters are thought to reflect the glazer but no firm evidence exists to verify this claim. Dates reflect when the window was assembled and more than likely closely reflects the date of construction of the building where it was found (Davies 1973:78–99; Ross 1994).

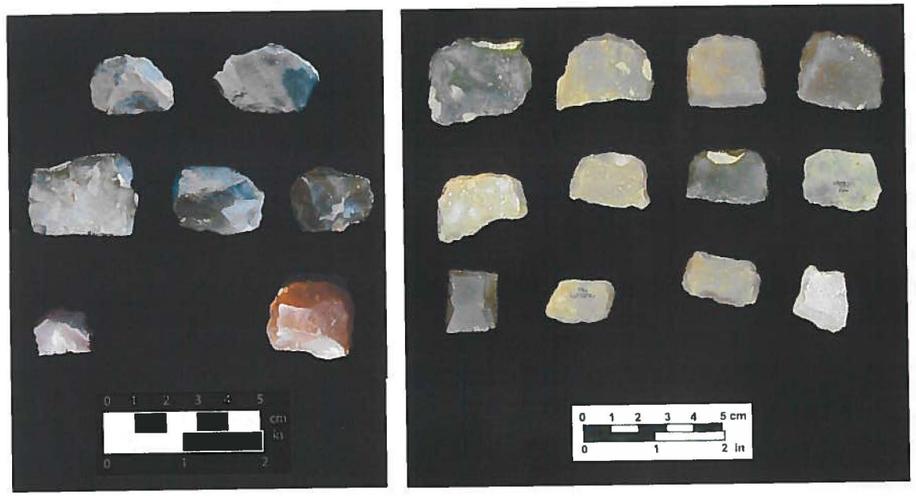

Figure 7: Gunflints.

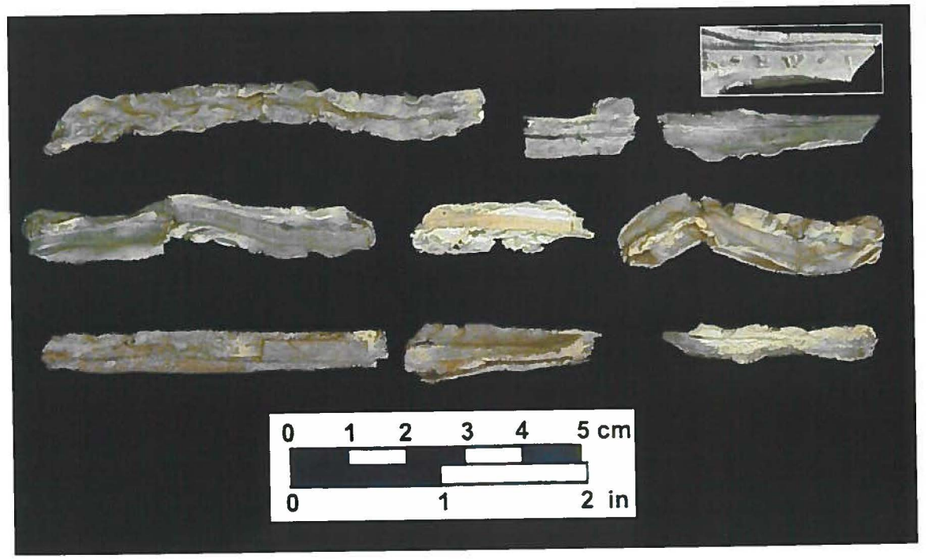

Figure 8: Window Leads.

Brick should be a given but understanding the bricks for more than their obvious association with buildings is also important. Are the bricks machine- or hand-made? Are they red or yellow (yellow is a strong indicator of an early site, possibly Dutch)? What are the dimensions? As early as the 1680s laws were in place regulating the size of common bricks which closely matches present-day bricks (Ewan 1938:1). Do they exhibit "glazed" headers? This is due to exposure of the sanded surface to intense heat in the clamp, a result of their position near the firebox or flues. On early sites fragile sandy mortars tend to deteriorate quickly leaving the surfaces free of mortar giving the false impression that they were dry-laid or never used in construction. Are there any other artifacts? If not and there are several under-fired and over-fired bricks, you likely have a brick kiln known as a clamp.

Slag...when is slag not just slag ...when it represents early iron production. Early iron production in the Delmarva was dependent on bog iron, also called limonite or ferruginous quartzite. This material was available close to the surface where it was mined and roasted, and then reduced down into raw iron in a bloomer or forge (Markell 1994:56–58). "The largest iron manufacture in the colonies was conducted by the Principio Company, which opened two furnaces and a forge in Cecil County at the head of Chesapeake Bay about 1720." (Bridenbaugh 1950:17)

Roasted limonite/slag can be recognized by the glassy appearance on at least one surface while retaining its limonite appearance over most of the remaining surfaces (Figure 9). Bloomery slag no longer has the appearance of limonite and exhibits more of a molten look similar to a lava flow (Figure 10). This material is often overlooked, culled or disregarded in the field and lab as unimportant industrial waste. Roasting pits are generally shallow and are lost to the plow but the rocks that make them up are also often mistaken for prehistoric thermally fractured rocks. What distinguishes them are their size, which are normally larger than a softball. Bloomery pits typically contain a vast amount of charcoal.

Figure 9: Roasted Ore.

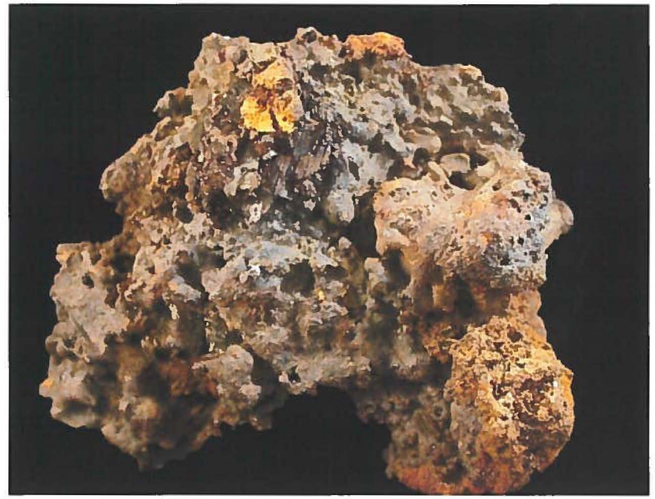
Figure 10: Bog Iron Ore Slag from a Small Bloomery.

Now that you have an idea of what to look for, a controlled surface collection can be more meaningful. Prior to a controlled pedestrian collection, agricultural fields should be plowed, disked and given time for a good soaking rain or two. If it does not rain you could be wasting time, money and resources by getting out there too soon.

Close-interval (arm's distance between crew members) surface collection *is a must*, flagging finds with designated colors, such as one color for ceramics [pink] and glass [yellow] and one color for brick [orange] and another color for metal [blue]. Then re-walk/cross-walk the area for a second time, flagging all finds. Artifact clusters should then be walked more intensely from all angles to negate the effects of shadows, which can obscure the presence of artifacts. This should give you a very good idea of the limits and patterns within the site.

Remember it is not the number of early artifacts present, it is mere the presence. Where there is one, there are usually two or more. Early period artifacts, no matter how low density (even one piece of white salt-glazed stoneware) just did not fall from the sky, and people during this period did not transport their refuse any great distance to someone else's property just to scatter it around the fields for fertilizer. Sites do not always follow expected or predictive models and patterns. Structures are not always located on the top of the knoll. Early historic sites often made use of the landscape locating houses on the sides of knolls to provide protection from the winds as well as providing drainage. In central Delaware most well-drained and moderately-well-drained soils were habitable and may have supported a range of structures such as secondary dwellings or outbuildings. Think like a settler in a new land...Where would I live?...moderate- to well-drained land near water (look near the spring heads) and if possible transportation routes (in early Delaware... cart routes). Many ephemeral streams leading from spring heads have been eradicated by tile drains but early aerial maps often reveal their locations as shown by darker shadows. Close-interval (1 to 2 foot [0.3 to 0.6 m]) contour maps are also helpful in reconstructing the former landscape.

Now that you have located early historic artifacts it time to break out the metal detectors! In the past archaeologists have been adverse to using metal detectors, associating them with treasure hunting (Figure 11). Recently they have proven their worth on pre-Revolutionary War sites, when iron production was limited (on nineteenth century sites the amount of iron can be overwhelming). ***Make sure not to discriminate against iron*** as you need to locate the wrought nails in order to locate the structures they once held together. Use different settings, as this often produces different results. Nails are often located near or around former buildings, buried cellar holes and root cellars. As before, flag metal hits with a designated color, blue for example, so that they stick out from your sea of flags. This eliminates the need to process all of the data, produce a density map and return at a later date to the site. Excavate metal detector hits ***within the plowzone only***. Hits that extend below the plowzone are likely to be *in situ* within features. When deeper hits are encountered mark them by wrapping flagging tape around the pin flag.

Figure 11: Archaeologist with Hunter Research Uses a Metal Detector to Identify Sites Along the Route 301 Corridor.

Once delineated on the surface it is time to see if the site exhibits integrity below the plowzone. Selective shovel testing targeted to the clusters will provide a quick gauge to this end. There is no need for a grid. That's right, there really is no need for a grid within clusters. Archaeologists often get hung up on spacing intervals (20 feet [6.1 m], 25 feet [7.6 m], 30 feet [9.1 m]); it does not matter. The important thing is to test the clusters, as they are usually located over features. They can be mapped using inexpensive hand-held Global Position System (GPS) units.

If subsurface features are located a 1-inch (2.5-cm) diameter split spoon auger is ideal for quickly delineating the boundaries of said features (Figure 12). It is important to keep the head of this instrument sharp and clean.

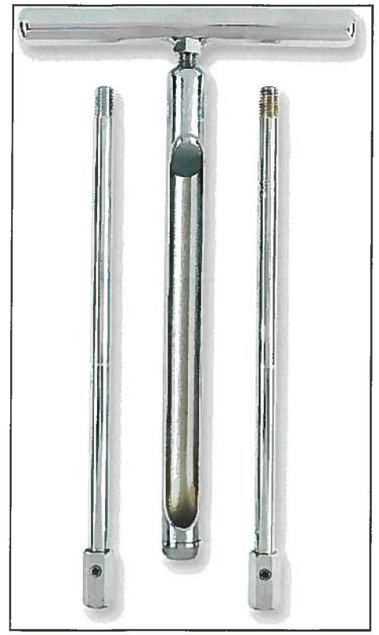

Figure 12: Split-Spoon Augur Similar to Variety Successfully Used on Delaware Archaeological Surveys.

Now here is a new twist—limited Phase I excavation units. Phase I excavation units …what …yes. They have been a very successful tool employed to locate subsurface features along the new U.S. Route 301 corridor outside of Middletown, Delaware (Figure 13). Typically archaeologists want to excavate squares (5 by 5-foot [1.5 by 1.5 m], 3 by 3-foot [0.9 by 0.9 m], etc.) because they can be easily mapped on a grid. Rectangular units provide better linear coverage and thus better exposure. Along the U.S. Route 301 corridor 2.5 by 10-foot (0.8 by 3.0-m) units have proven to work best to maximize this exposure. Do not hesitate to expand the unit to chase a feature. The correct identification of a feature is crucial to understanding the site. One unit per cluster will give you a general idea of the minimum volume of artifacts you are likely to find in the next phase of work per square foot, which when trying to calculate a budget on an unknown variable can be helpful.

The U.S. Route 301 project has opened the door to locating these early historic sites, which are undoubtedly located elsewhere in Delaware. Now we need to use these techniques to find more and gain a better understanding of their patterning, meaning and significance.

Figure 13: A Sample of Cellar Holes in Delaware Identified Through the Excavation of 2.5 by 10-foot (0.8 by 3.0-m) Test Units.

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PEWTER TOYS FROM THE ROOSEVELT INLET SHIPWRECK

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Of all the glittering glass and brass items that came from the shipwreck of the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck, none have captured the imagination as have the dark, dull grey toys made of pewter and ley metal. These small items were prized by the legions of treasure hunters that walked the beaches, armed with metal detectors, throughout the cold and windy winter of 2004 (Figure 1).

As with the other artifacts that were spewed on the beach, the toys were mangled and chopped up by the dredge. While most of the specimens were recovered from the beach and presented to the project staff by the enthusiastic beach comers, fragments of the toy soldiers and miniature pewter ware were excavated in archaeological context from the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck. It is probable that the vessel was the *Severn*, a Bristol merchantman that sank in a storm in May 1774. In general, the pewter toys can be divided into two types. First, the toy soldiers and ships were cast into a flat two-dimensional form that is usually less 1.5 inches (3.8 cm) in size (Figures 2, 3 and 4). They are crafted in the German Zinnfiguren (tin figures) or Zinnsoldaten (tin soldiers) style of the late-eighteenth century. Next is the pewter ware that comes in the form of miniature plates, tankards, basins, bowls and toy watches. These were cast in a full three-dimensional form, and could have been made in England, Holland or Germany.

DESCRIPTION OF ZINNSOLDATEN

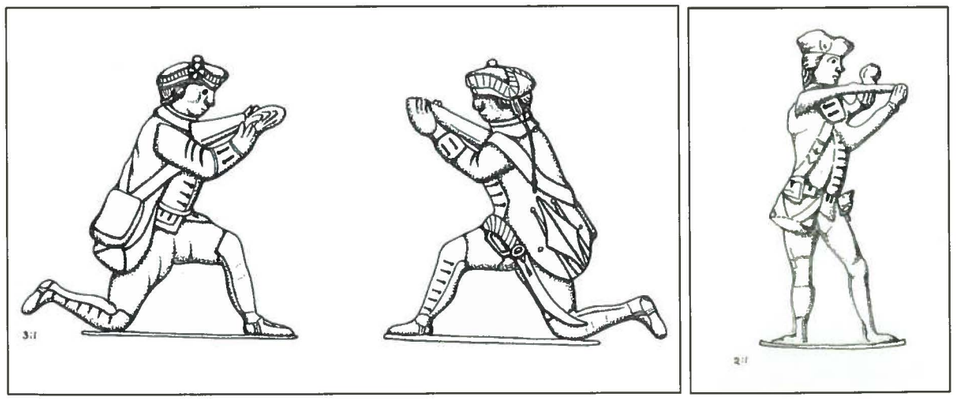
After viewing the electronic images of the tin soldiers, Dr. Helmut Schwarz of the Spielzeugmuseum in Nuremburg, suggested they originated in Nuremburg from around 1780 (Schwarz 2005). The term *Zinnsoldaten* is German for the flat tin or pewter soldier, also known as *"Nuremberg Flats."*

The unit of soldiers consisted of an officer with a spontoon, a fifer, a drummer, a standard bearer, and a rank of nine kneeling and two standing figures giving fire (Figures 5, 6, 7 and 8). A base fragment with the stylized depiction of horses' lower legs suggests a mounted officer led the contingent. A grenadier company flanked the party, as fragments of three heads with mitre caps have been recovered (Figures 9 and 10).

Figure 1: Location Map.

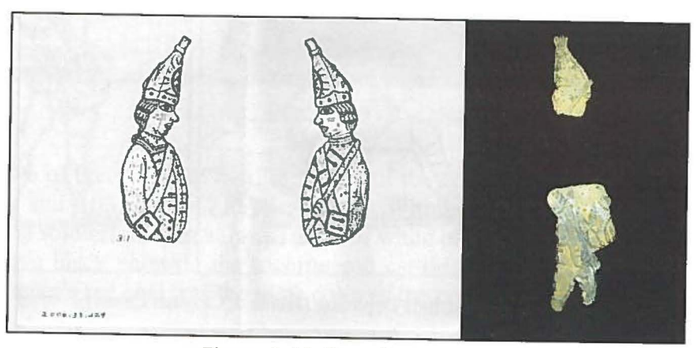
From the crown of their tricorne hats, to the toe of the boots, the figures measure 2.1 inches (54 mm) in height and 0.03 inches (1 mm) in width. Within the deep crevices, we can see traces of red paint on the soldiers and the ships. Traces of white paint are visible on the small clothes, and one can observe black paint on the tricorne and cartridge box. Contrary to the custom of the time, the musician's red coat was the same color as the rank and file (Figure 11).

Figure 2: Sample of Pewter Soldiers and Ships Recovered from the Site.



Figures 3–4: Artist's Illustrations Depicting Details of Original Castings.

Figures 5–8: Soldier Figurines Recovered from the Wreck Included a Fifer, a Drummer, a Standard Bearer, and a Rank of Nine Kneeling and Two Standing Soldiers Giving Fire.



Figures 9–10: Grenadier with Mitre Cap.

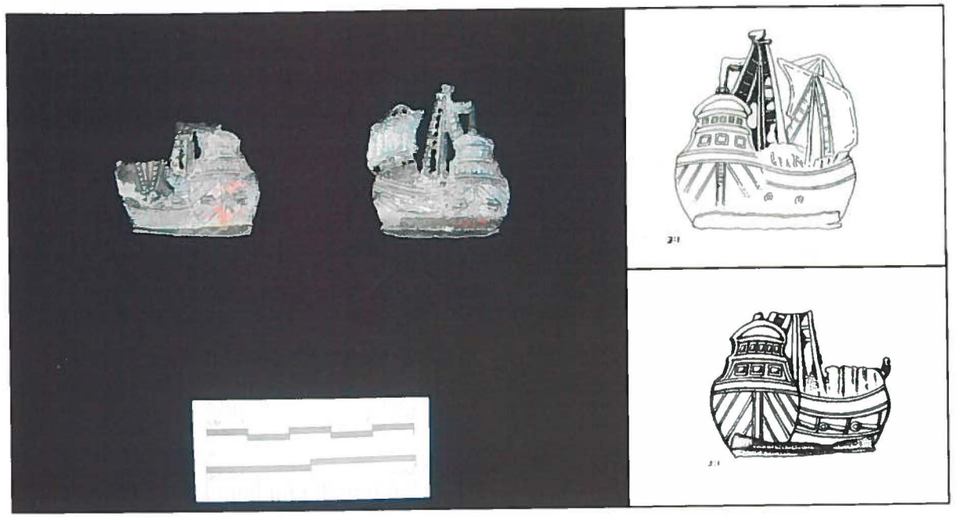
Figure 11: Fifer Recovered from the Site.

A navy accompanied the soldiers (Figures 12, 13 and 14). Four ships appeared, all engraved with the same perspective, but not from the same mold. Although the perspective and sculpting appear to be identical for all the ships, two of them were slightly smaller than the others. All four ships show a three-quarter view of the stern with the sails furled with the exception of the fore-main sail. They appear to be transporting soldiers, as one can see the rear view of tricorne hats and queues of hair, along with muskets (Figures 15 and 16). It is possible that certain hatch marks are depicting boarding nets over the forecastle. Traces of red paint survive on the hull. A similar item was recovered from a Dutch cesspit and identified by Michael Bartels, who dates the figure between 1720 and 1760 (Bartels 1999). In general, the stern castle is higher than a mid-eighteenth-century ship, suggesting the inspiration for these vessels came from artwork dating to the seventeenth century. For many of these figures, it appears the artists used an older woodcut as the model of their sculpting.

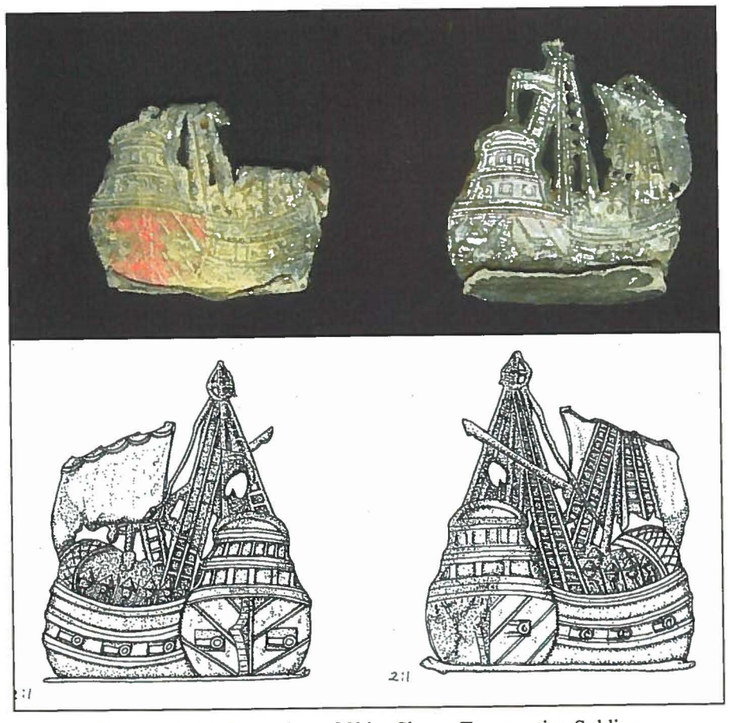
Although we refer to them as tin soldiers, they seem to be made of a base alloy of tin and lead, and are fairly brittle for a toy. Even today, most military miniatures are cast with lead to keep the flexibility of the figure, and tin or antimony to hold the detail of the sculptor. Using a remote sensing device, Richard Lundin of Carothers Environmental tested a military miniature for the composition of the alloy with Portable X-Ray Fluorescence (pXRF). The casting was composed of 55 percent tin, 42 percent lead, 1.2 percent iron, 0.35 percent copper, and 0.19 percent of zinc.

Historic Context of Zinnfiguren

During the Middle Ages and through the Renaissance, Nuremburg in Bavaria became a center for skilled workshops of craftsmen and artisans. They were renowned for their medical instruments and time pieces. During the Medieval period, some artisans cast pilgrim badges, which were souvenirs that a pilgrim sewed into his or her hat or clothing, symbolizing the quest. These were flat images that were cast in lead and tin. It is easy to imagine how these objects could be adopted by children as playthings (Ortmann 1974).



Figures 12–14: Toy Ships Shown in Three-Quarter View.



Figures 15–16: Rear View of Ships Shown Transporting Soldiers.

In 1578, the Council of Nuremburg authorized the making of toy figures as a free art, unregulated by the guild rules. From this time, pewterers and jewelers could make toys on the side (Ortmann 1974). The Nuremberg artisans went on to make toy soldiers out of silver and tin for the kings of France in the seventeenth century. The famous military engineer, Sebastien Le Piestre, Seigneur de Vauban, supervised the production of movable toy soldiers for Louis XIV (Fraser 1966). These figures were not only used as playthings for children; William of Orange manipulated formations of tin soldiers to plan his revolutionary reforms of the Dutch army (Ortmann 1974).

By the eighteenth century, other people than Princes began to acquire toy soldiers. These early examples from the Nuremberg pewterers seem to be primitive, with no feet.

In the 1760s, the Hilpert family of pewterers relocated to Nuremburg. Johann Gottfried Hilpert started casting figures of animals, skaters, hunting scenes and those of the theatre. He reproduced a famous portrait of Frederic the Great in pewter, which made his reputation. When he produced toy soldiers, the military enthusiasm of the time inspired a demand for them. Very quickly, the Hilperts were producing tin soldiers for the mass market. The work of the Hilperts is admired by collectors today for its realism and beauty. Rivals of Hilpert quickly appeared in Nuremberg, then in Furth, and on to Leipzig and Berlin. They were being produced all over Europe by 1800 (Kurtz and Ehrlich 1987). A catalog of Hilpert's figures from 1805 still survives, and it documents the figures were sent to Russia and Britain at this time. Some scenes of people with rococo style clothing were still being produced, which testifies to the durability of the slate molds (Fraser 1966). Zinnfiguren were marketed and distributed by a Verleger, who was an agent or middleman. They traveled with a catalog all over Europe and sent orders to America after the Revolution (Apple 2002).

After Hilpert, the German flats or Nuremburg flats dominated the toy soldier market for the next 100 years. Ernst Heinrichsen also combined marketing with his superior artistry. His business grew though the 1830s, and in 1848, Heinrichsen standardized the scale for zinnfiguren in Nuremberg to 1.2 inches (3 cm), which last until the twentieth century (Kurtz and Ehrlich 1987). The earlier figure of Hilpert and the other eighteenth century craftsmen stood at 2.1 inches (54 mm) tall. The competing artisans in the Berlin area adopted the height of 1.6 inches (4 cm), which was known as the "Hanover scale." The engravers created images from literature as well as history. There were scenes from Napoleon to Ancient Rome, and even Uncle Toms Cabin (Ortmann 1974).

Method of Manufacture

In order to create a figure 2.1 inches (54 mm) tall and 0.03 inches (1 mm) wide, the artisans carved slate molds. The faces of two pieces were polished, and then pegged together. Then, the artist engraved a negative image from a tracing paper original. He pinned the halves together, and held it over flame to create soot on the exact position for the new half. Once the corresponding image was carved, a sprue channel was formed for the molten metal to flow in the casting process. Also, smaller grooves were cut in along certain points to allow the air to escape, thus, avoiding bubbles and other flaws when casting. Some molds survive today as the other surfaces were reused for later creations (Ortmann 1974).

In casting, one had to preheat the mold to insure a complete flow of metal throughout the mold. The metal could be an alloy of tin, lead, copper, or antimony. While lead was cheap, if the alloy contained too much of it the detail of the engraving could not be reproduced. The tin or the antimony could pick up the detail in the casting. However, if too much tin was in the alloy, the casting would become too brittle for many children.

Given the low melting point of the alloy, and the high cooling rate of a small object, a craftsman could produce at least one object per minute. Many hollow forms were cast using a two-part mold without a core by the slush cast method. Typically, slush casting was used by pewterers to cast handles and spouts that attached to hollow forms. As the molten metal was poured in, the alloy began to solidify as it contacted the cooler surface of the mold. The craftsman would rotate the mold around, and a layer of congealed pewter would take the shape of the object. Once cooled, the toy would be removed for the molds and have a hollow interior. For this method to be successful, the alloy must have a high ratio of tin to lead (Forsyth and Egan 2005).

The figures were painted with a few brush stokes to suggest the clothing or face. Most of the time, the hands and armor were left in bare metal. In the Zinnfiguren recovered from the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck, it appears the palette was limited to red, white and black.

Miniature Tableware Pewter Toys

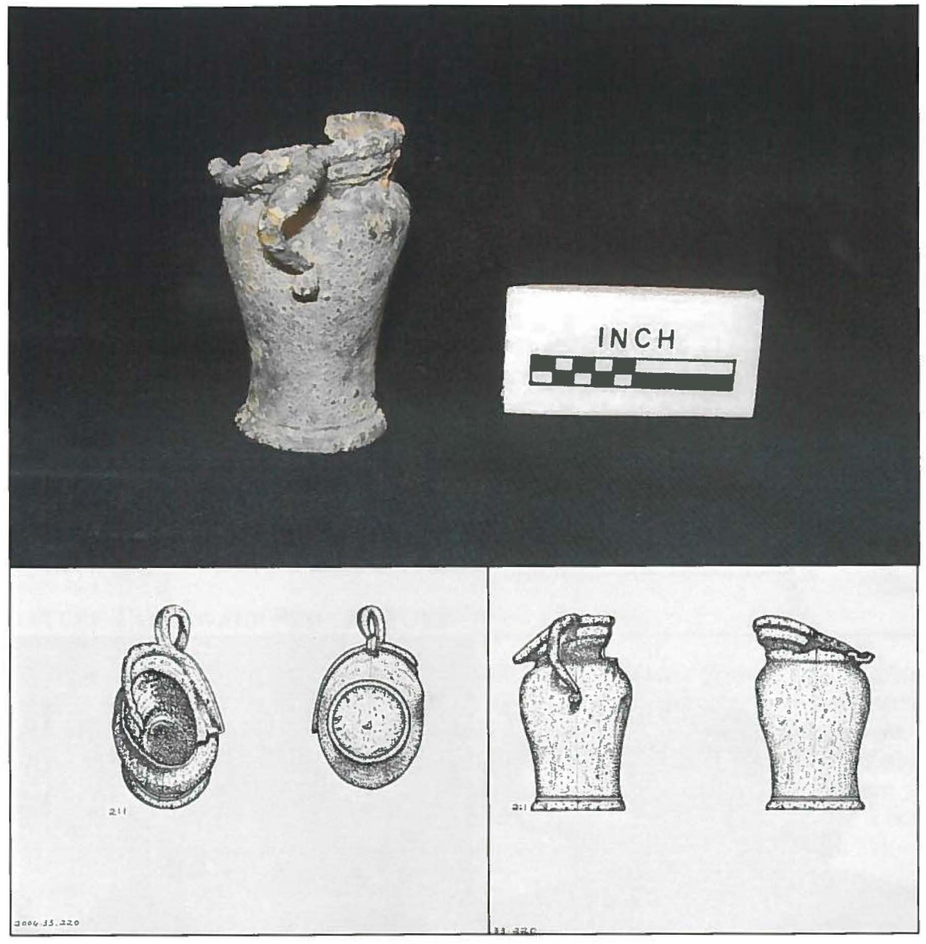
Other pewter toys have been recovered from the vessel and the beach. Around 20 examples of miniature pewter serving and dining ware have surfaced. It is possible these toys were a component of a Baby Cabinet (doll house) or Nuremburg Kitchen set. Of the dining ware, the most common form is the charger or plate (Figure 17), with a wide flared rim, the entire diameter is 1.6 inches (41.6 mm). An intact miniature tankard and a separated hinge lid were also recovered (Figures 18 and 19). The handle and bowl fragment of a porringer, one of a tea or wine cup, and a fragment of a copper-alloy fork were recovered as well (Figures 20 and 21).

Figure 17: Toy Charger/Plate.

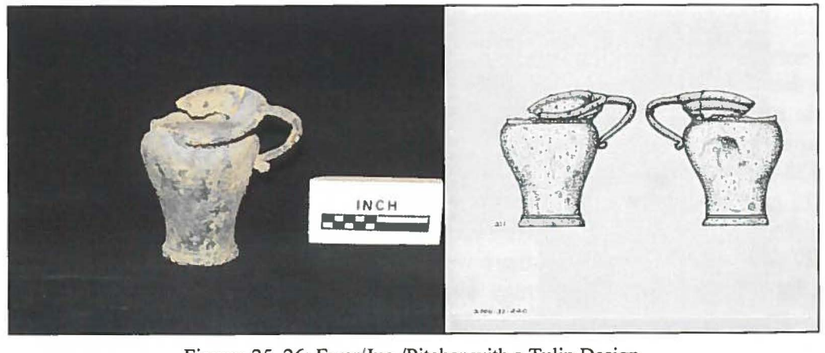
Figures 18–19: Intact Miniature Tankard and a Separated Hinge Lid Recovered During the Project.

Figures 20–21: Miniature Tea or Wine Cup.

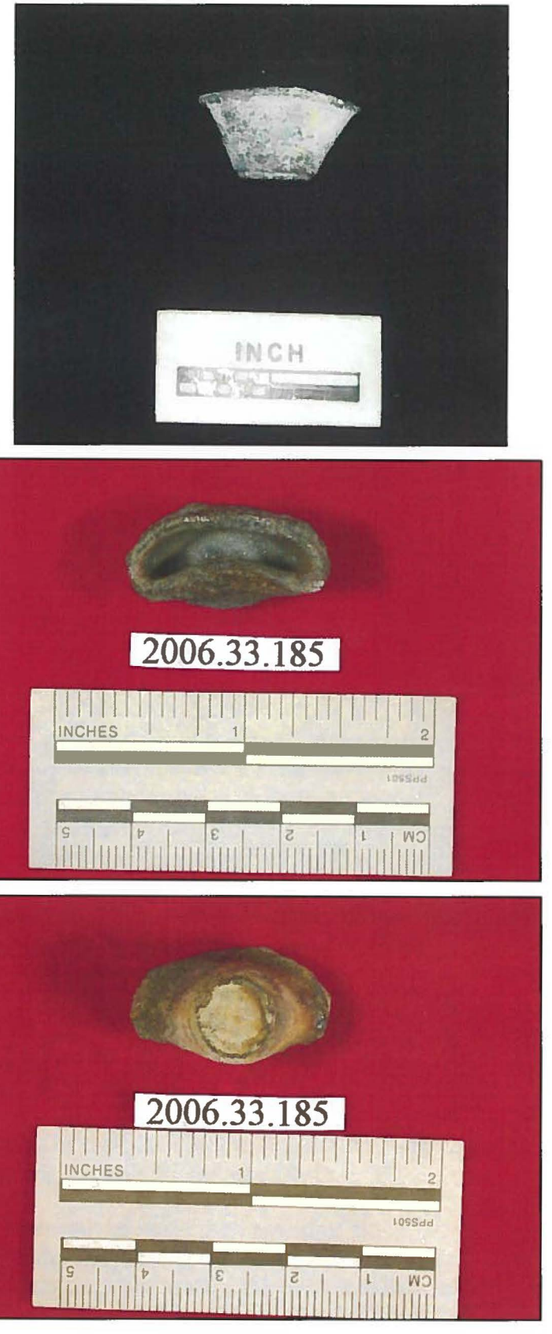
The food serving or presentation vessels include jug/ewer, pitcher forms and variations of bowls. Although there are several examples of vessels with the ewer/jug /pitcher form, the damaged or incomplete nature of the specimens leaves some doubt to the identification of the spout area. One ovoid example exhibits a 1.1-inch (27.7-mm) shoulder, wide in comparison to its apparent 1.5-inch (38-mm) height (Figures 22 through 24). A similar one exhibited a pear or tulip form. (Figures 25 and 26). Some of these serving vessels were fitted with hinged lids with a central knob or a thumb rest. Two bowls were stacked when they were crushed and distorted together (Figures 27 through 29). In general, there were no vessel forms observed that would be devoted solely to food preparations. One may expect that kitchen sets should have the griddle or cauldron vessels, but none of these have been identified to date. The closest form is the possible base to a basin or pan.



Figures 22–24: Ewer/Jug/Pitcher with a Standard Mouth Design.

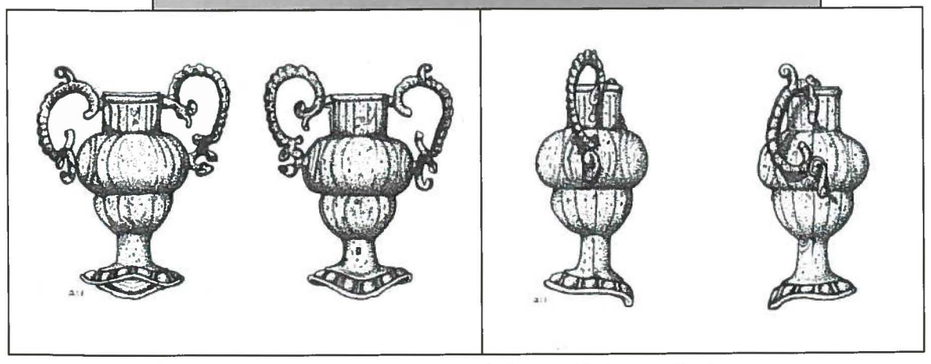


Figures 25–26: Ewer/Jug /Pitcher with a Tulip Design.

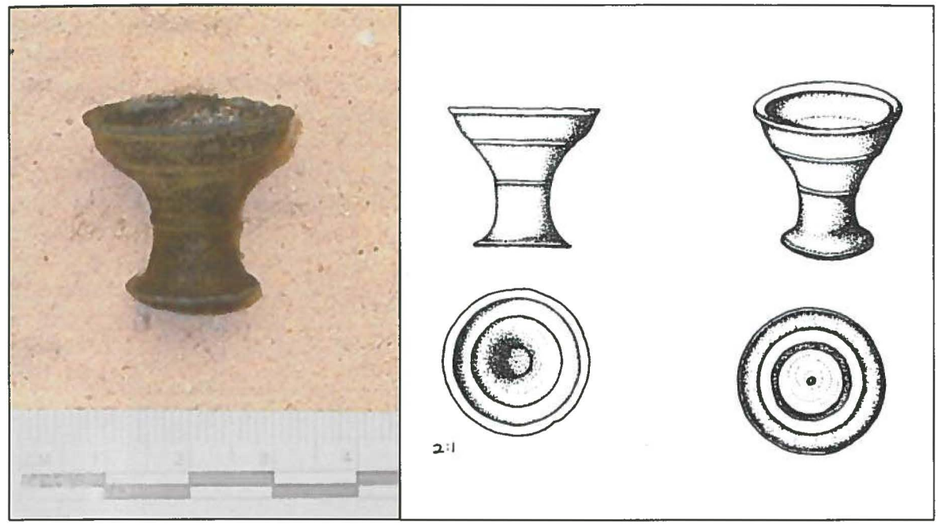


Figures 27–29: Sample of Miniature Pewter Bowls Recovered from the Site.

An interesting miniature is a bulbous two-handled urn, with drapery (Figures 30 through 32). This appears to be a miniature of a pewter altar vase that was used in Central Europe, Holland, and Germany in 1780 (Hornsby 1983). An intact footed bowl was found on the beach. Its anachronistic form dates back to the fifteenth century (Forsyth, personal communication) (Figures 33 and 34). One may be tempted to speculate that the standing bowl was a baptismal font which accompanied the vase in a miniature altar set.



Figures 30–32: Bulbous Two-Handled Urn with Drapery Design.



Figures 33–34: Footed Bowl.

Historical Context of Domestic Miniatures

Doll or Baby Cabinets were popular in Germany and Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At this time, they were less a child's play toy than a status object for the adult members of the family (Fraser 1966). Doll houses were from the "wunder kammer" or wonder cabinets fashion. It was popular for wealthy men during the Renaissance to display art objects, natural curiosities, and native crafts in cabinets to impress their visitors. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria bought a doll cabinet for his daughter, but she was not allowed to play with it. Baby Cabinets were meant to display many fine and fragile objects that were not suitable for children. For the upper class, doll houses were works of art that displayed a miniature work from the actual craftsman of a given trade. The painting on the wall was produced by a painter, and the doll clothing by a tailor, and the silversmith would craft the silverware. So, these were objects of a significant investment by the wealthy.

Three Dutch Baby Cabinets are on display at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Their construction was sponsored by the regent and merchant classes during the seventeenth century (Figures 35 and 36). Today, they offer scholars a wealth of information regarding the interior decor, material culture, and its social context within an elite household. The cabinets are one of the few surviving examples of the household in totality, from the fancy dress of the Poltroon, to the wooden bucket of the maid (Pijzel-Dommisse 1994).

Through much of the eighteenth century, the fashion of Baby Cabinets was popular in London for the upper classes. By the mid-1680s, London silversmiths began to create silver miniatures (Anonymous 1941). In following the fashion, the pewter miniatures were mass produced for the middle classes by the late-eighteenth century. Indeed, miniature kitchens, or Nuremburg Kitchens, were common playthings for girls from the seventeenth century through the nineteenth

century. In 1639, a German Broadside advertised the doll house as a way to teach the daughter to "order" the house (Fraser 1966).

Figure 35: Dutch Baby Cabinets on Display at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

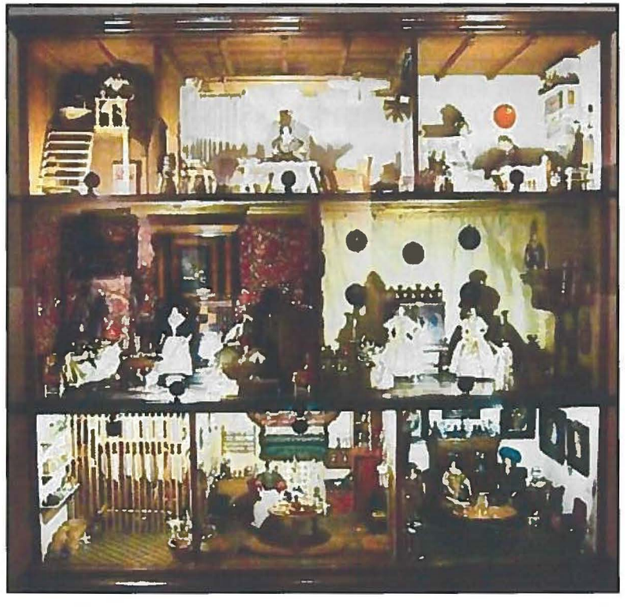
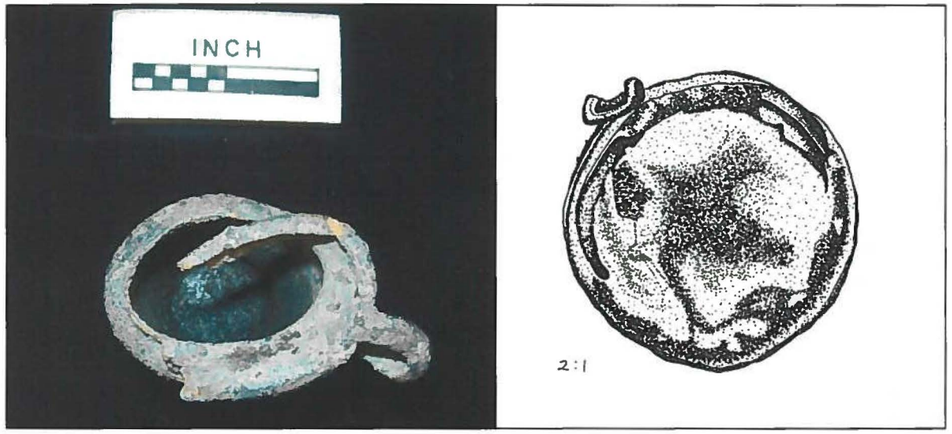


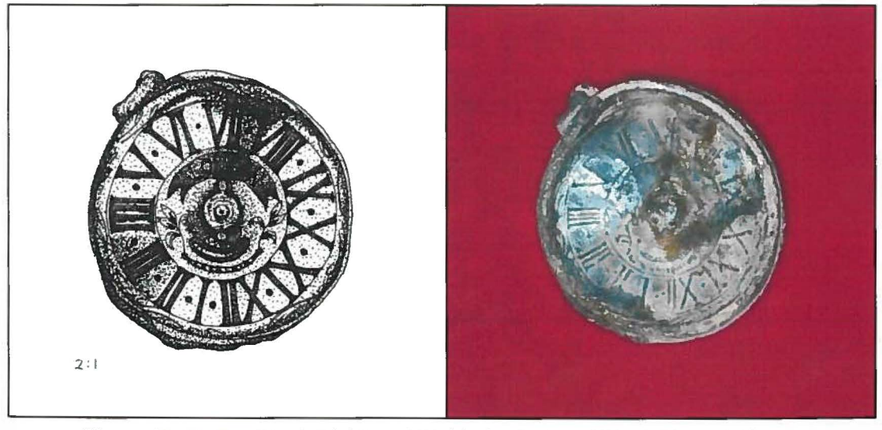
Figure 36: Dutch Baby Cabinets on Display at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

Toy Watches

Several parts of toy pewter watches were recovered from the shipwreck and the beach. To date, no intact, undamaged specimens have survived. These appear to have been multi-component toys, with similar components as described in Forsyth and Egan (2005). The watch cases all have a general round and domed shape with a quadrilateral pendant loop attached to one edge (Figures 37 and 38). A round disk cast with the detail of a watch dial was mounted in the case. The dial exhibited the hours in evenly spaced Roman numerals around the face, with decorative foliage. On one fairly intact dial plate, are cast the letters of "LONDON." Attached with a ferrous pin were the hour and minute hands, cast as one piece, facing 180 degrees from each other (Figures 39 and 40). A groove along the rim can be seen indicating a glass watch crystal was attached. From the distorted specimens, one can estimate the total diameter of the watch about 1.4 inches (35 mm) across.



Figures 37–38: Obverse (left) and Reverse (right) View of the Casing of a Toy Watch.



Figures 39–40: Toy Watch Dial Found Within the Casing of Watch Pictured Above.

Historic Context of Toy Watches

Toy watches have been made and worn from the late-seventeenth century to today. From a sizable collection of toys gathered from the mudflats of the Thames, Forsyth and Egan (2005) have developed a typology and context of toy watches. By the early-eighteenth century, a number of London pewterers made toy watches. Unlike other toys, most of the watches bore the initials of their maker. Hence, the documentary record is available.

From 1703 through 1715, two toy watchmakers, William Hux and Francis Beasley, appear in the records of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers. They were accused of violating the minimum standards of the required pewter alloy. Evidently, different components of the watch were cast from substandard ley and fine pewter alloys (Forsyth and Egan 2005). Some of the watches from the Thames had a winder, winder key, and a ratchet ring mounted in the casing.

Most of the literature on pewter toys has been written for the antique collector market and focus on Germany's contributions. However, new research from Great Britain demonstrates a toy industry existed in England throughout the eighteenth century. By the early-eighteenth century, Zinnfiguren style toys have appeared in England. Recently, Hazel Forsyth and Geoff Egan (2005) of the Museum of London published *Toys, Trifles & Trinkets; Base Metal Miniatures form London 1200 to 1800*. Their research defines the problems and potential for scholarly research in this area. They address the dense question of the definition of pewter. Centuries ago, the concept of pewter was vague and imprecise. In England, pewter was classed either as fine metal, an alloy of tin and copper, which could appear silvery when polished, or ley metal. Most toys were made from ley metal, the cheaper alloy of tin and lead. As in Germany, most toy production was unregulated and produced quickly for fairs. The lack of a hallmark on an item obstructs the researcher from identifying the artist or the shop that crafted a given toy.

In England, toy production could have been a secondary seasonal activity for a craftsman. For a pewter tradesman, when business was slow for seasonal or economic reasons, the craftsman could fall back on toy making for a secondary income. His production would be sold at seasonal fairs, with little regulation or retail overhead. By the end of the eighteenth century, the growing tinplate industry in Britain began to displace the pewter craftsmen. Many of them shifted to producing miniature toys. This pattern may have become more severe during the Napoleonic Wars. It can be speculated that the disruption in all trades resulted in the growth of the numbers of toy-producing craftsmen during this period (Brown 1996). It has been suggested that pewterers were losing market share to the expansion of ceramics and porcelain through the nineteenth century. Some went into a toy manufacturing niche. Indeed, some of them produced both, toy soldiers and doll house miniatures.

Retail Trade in America

Many, if not most, manufactured toys in the American British Colonies came in English ships, but were not necessarily made in Britain. German toy production dominated the American market until 1840 or 1850 (Fritzsch and Bachmann 1965). In newspaper ads, German toys were referred to as "Numberger ware" (Apple 2002). Details of how they were sold can be gleaned from various sources. In 1765, Samuel Edwards, a silversmith and merchant in Boston, died.

The detailed inventory of his shop and warehouse provides a glimpse of how these toys were displayed in his shop and the pricing structure. In this case, the miniature dishes, pewter items, and lead watches were grouped with other toys to be sold to children (Table 1). It appears the pewter and ley metal toys were within the price range of toys crafted from wood, tin, paper and glass.

Table 1: In the Press–In the Room. Inventory of Edwards' Silver Shop.
** Items have counterparts that were found in the Severn*

Item	Price and amount present	shillings/pence/pound
7 Doz. Babes (small Dolls)	@1/Doz.	0. 7. 0
3 Do. Trunks	@1/Doz	0. 3. 0
1 Doz. Swords (wooden)	1/doz.	0. 12. 0
22[illeg.] Doz. Paper back pictures	0/8d doz.	0. 15. 1
5 Doz. Looking glasses	0/8 doz.	0. 3. 4
7Doz&2 small pictures	0/4 doz.2/5	0. 3. 4
5 Doz. Trumpetts Tin & wood	1/0 doz.	0. 5. 0
21 Doz: Screw boxes Sorted	10d doz.	0 17. 6
1 Doz. Boxes Nine pins	8d box	0. 8. 0
44 Single boxes of different Toys	2d box	0 17 6
39 Single Glass Watches	3d piece	0 9. 9
52 Doz Lead Toys*	4d. Doz	0 17. 4
7 Doz Box wood combs	4/doz.	1. 8. 0
45 Bags of Hair buttons	4/bagg	9. 0. 0
16 Gross of Black Horn Buttons G&Sm.	3/gross	2. 8. 0
2 Doz Pocket Glasses	6/doz	0 12. 0
7 Doz Wood Toys viz. Birds and Babes	.1/doz	0. 7. 0
2 Doz Boxes Sorted	3/dz	0. 6. 0
3&1/2 Doz Tops	2/dz	0. 7. 0
4 Gross&9 Doz Cotton & Thread Laces	6/gross	1. 8. 0
1&1/2 Doz silk Ditto	8d doz.	0 1. 0
[illeg.] Doz &Toys sorted in a great box	4d doz.	0 1. 6
3 Doz. Whistles	8d doz.	0. 2. 0
3 Doz. Tin ditto	8d doz.	0. 2. 0
10 Doz. Bird Calls	2d doz.	0. 1. 8
10 Doz. Lead Watches*	6d doz.	0. 5. 0
3 Doz. Tin Toys	6d Doz.	0. 1. 6
6 Doz. Pewter Ditto*	2d/dz	0. 12. 0
7 Doz Porringers & Dishes*	2d/dz	0. 1. 2
22 Coaches &c	@8d.pr.	0. 14. 8

Similar markets were operating in Philadelphia and New York. There are several advertisements for them in the Pennsylvania Gazette that were published in the 1780s. They broadcasted the arrival of new cargos from Europe. One ad from Kuhn and Risberg announced they had many things for sale, including "Nuhrenburg toys in assorted cases." During the Revolutionary War, when the British occupied New York City in 1777, an ad appeared in the Royal Gazette. It proclaimed: "Christmas Presents for the young folks who have an affection for the Art Military, consisting of horse, foot, and dragoons. Cast in metal, in beautiful uniforms. 18s a dozen" (taken from Fraser 1966).

Origin of Manufacture

The question of the origin of the pewter toys has yet to be answered. Were they made in the same workshop, or were they made in different ones in Britain, Holland, or Germany? Without a system of hallmarks to research, the question becomes murky. Avenues for future research can use several observations. First, one might assume the watches were made in London, given the "London" cast into the dial plate. Using X-ray fluorescence on a wide sample of the artifacts, one can find if the alloy composition were similar and likely to be from the same workshop in London. If the alloys are dissimilar, then one must look to the stylistic clues. The soldiers appear to be inspired by Germanic images, with the Grenadier mitre caps, long hair queues, and a flag with an eagle and orb.

Perhaps the fact that we have Germanic figures painted in British red indicates the intension of the craftsmen to export his wares to the British world. The presence of a standing bowl and high stern ships suggest that some models for the toys were anachronistic and out of date when the item was cast. The standing bowl was a common form in the late medieval period. (Forsyth, personal communication) and the ship may be modeled from an engraving that was published up to a century prior to the casting of the object.

Conclusion

In general, from the Middle Ages on, toy knights and soldiers were made for boys, while miniature kitchen ware and table ware were targeted for girls. By the eighteenth century, wooden toys and paper soldiers were marketed for children poorer families; pewter was for the middle class, and silver for the wealthy (Fritzsch and Bachmann 1965). The mass production of these pewter toys testifies to the rise of the economic power of the middle class in Britain. The purchasing power of the middle class began to rise and diversify in London during the 1750s, and spread to the outlying provinces by the 1780s (Brown 1996).

The presence of the pewter toys on the Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck adds to the overall picture of the nature of transatlantic trade between Great Britain and her colonies. The simple fact that the toys were made of pewter or base metal and not silver testifies this cargo was intended for middle to lower income families.

Although they are obscure in the United States, Zinnfiguren are alive and well in Germany today. They have been traditionally used in dioramas at museums around the country. Many are still handcrafted in workshops in Nuremberg and Berlin. In stark contrast, doll house miniatures have thrived in the United States and represent a well-known hobby.

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