BULLETIN

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
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Vol. 3, No. 5 MAY, 1942

C. A. WESLAGER, *Editor*—23 Champlain Ave., Wilmington, Del.

Meetings

Since the last issue of the *Bulletin,* the Society has held a number of interesting meetings. On June 21, 1941, Dr. Maurice Mook addressed us on the subject of Virginia ethnology. On Nov. 22, F. M. Setzler of the Smithsonian Istitiution was our feature speaker in a presentation of the archaeological aspects of the midwest mound region. Dr. D. S. Davidson spoke at our Dec. 13 meeting, outlining the results of his recent investigation in Australia. On Jan. 31, 1942, Dr. George Vaillant was our guest lecturer on the topic of Aztec civilization.

April 11, at the invitation of President L. D. Copeland of the Wilmington Society for Fine Arts, the Society met in the Art Museum to view the pre-Inca gold and fabrics in the John Wise Collection, and to be entertained and instructed by the museum staff.

It is apparent that the varied programs have given members and their friends a wide range of archaeological contact. In serving host to distinguished scholars, and in sponsoring their lectures, a contribution is being made to the community.

New Volume

This issue concludes Volume 3 of our Bulletin series which contained five numbers. It is suggested that members have the five issues bound in a single volume for future reference. This volume, constitutes, in the opinion of many, the most significant written contribution that has been made in Delaware archaeology and Indian lore.

New Officers

Attention is called to the list of new officers shown on the opposite page. We want to take this opportunity to extend our thanks to all of them for consenting to serve in administrative capacities.

Separate acknowledgment is made to Mr. Crozier for the splendid efforts he put forth as President during the past several years. In his new post as Treasurer, he will continue to serve the Society with loyal devotion.

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EXCAVATIONS AT THE CRANE HOOK SITE, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

By JOHN SWIENTOCHOWSKI and C. A. WESLAGER[1]

The Crane Hook Site is situated at the junction of the Christiana and Delaware River, approximately three miles east of downtown Wilmington. The site is well known to local enthusiasts and has perhaps produced more surface specimens of Indian origin during the past 50 years than any other northern Delaware site.

The name Crane Hook refers to a "cape" where cranes (possibly herons) were observed by the early explorers. The location was called "Trane Udden" by the Swedes, meaning cape or point of the cranes, and the Dutch called it Kraen Hoek." The area is frequently mentioned in the early records. One of the oldest documented references is on Lindestrom's map (1654-56) whereon he calls it "Crane Udden[2]."

According to investigators on the WPA Writer's program who have studied the documentary entries pertaining to the area[3], the Crane Hook lands are cited in official land records as early as 1680-1685 at which time the properties thereon were owned by Symon Johnson, John Matson, Hendrik Lemmons, William Johnson and Hendrik Andriesson. There are no references of any kind to Indians, even in the earliest documents which pertain to the Crane Hook lands. It appears that the Indian occupation of the site had ended before the white men settled there. This is corroborated further on Augustin Herrman's map of 1670 whereon he indicates "Crain Hook" but locates only Swedish plantations thereon, although elsewhere on the map he shows the Indian villages then in existence on the Delmarva Peninsula.

Studious perusal of deeds, wills and other colonial documents has revealed a clear and hitherto unknown chronology of land ownership at Crane Hook from 1685 down to the present. While these details may seem irrelevant from an archaeological viewpoint, they are of great historical significance. Among other things, it has been proved conclusively that the Alrich (or Aldrich or Alricks) family were not, as has been believed by some historians, the pioneer settlers at Crane Hook[4].

Peter Sigfredus Aldrich, the first of the family whose name is authentically linked with the specific land in question, did not establish tenure until March 25, 1751, at which time he acquired the property owned by Hendrik Andriessen[5]. One of Peter's two sons, Lucas by name, remodelled the family house in 1785 and fixed his initials (LA) and the date in wrought iron on the north side of the house. This house is still standing and is known locally as the Aldrich House.

In 1667, a log church was built at Crane Hook by the Swedish and Dutch congregation for their joint worship. This location was selected because it was the population center and is said to have been readily accessible by boat. The Crane Hook Church served as a place of worship for 32 years and in 1699 it was abandoned in favor of a stone structure known today as "Old Swedes Church."

After the church was abandoned it apparently fell apart and nothing

remained on the surface of the ground to mark its foundation. In 1896, a stone monument was placed on the alleged site of the old church, with attendant ceremony[6]. This marker is still standing, but has been moved several times in recent years.

These brief statements should satisfy any doubt as to the historical traditions of Crane Hook; thus it seemed inevitable that archaeological investigation would uncover traits of the colonial occupation as well as the earlier Indian occupation which is unrecorded in the documents.

During the commercial expansion of the 80's, industrial plants began to appear on the Crane Hook lands, and soon it became the heart of Wilmington industry. Each new factory encroached upon the former Indian-occupied area, and the site became smaller and smaller. In the various digging operations, Indian artifacts were encountered, as for example, a cache of 60 argillite blades on property owned by the Lobdell Car Wheel Works[7]. During the excavations for oil tanks, many stone artifacts were uncovered.

Eventually nothing remained of the one time extensive site except a plot of approximately 5 acres adjacent to the old Aldrich House and flanked by industries. It was to this last isolated remnant that members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware turned their attention, hopeful of gathering all shreds of information before it, too, was surrendered to industry. This work was started none too soon, for as this report is being written, a new industry, The Red Comb Mills, is in operation, having been erected directly on the site where the archaeological work was carried on.

The last vestige of the site lay on a natural hillock arising to a maximum height of 25 feet above mean Delaware River level. It was owned by the City of Wilmington and under the supervision of the Wilmington Marine Terminal. We are deeply grateful to Lieut. Col. Charles Gant, former manager of the Terminal for his splendid cooperation and assistance. We also owe our thanks to T. J. McDonnell of the Terminal for his engineering guidance. Fred Lewis, foreman, and his crew of workers, also merit our sincere thanks. We also acknowledge assistance of geological advice given by Dr. J. L. Gillson and Dr. Horace G. Richards. Dr. F. W. Parker was extremely helpful in making soil analyses and assisting in their interpretation. Miss Jeannette Eckman, Director of the Federal Writer's Project and Jerry Sweeney, a worker on the project, were both of invaluable help in providing certain historical data. Leon de Valinger, Jr., State Archivist, also supplied important historical information.

Members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware who participated in some phases of the work were A. Crozier, James Scott, Arthur Volkman, Seal Brooks, H. Geiger Omwake, Theodore Buckalew, Arthur Kamperman, Ella McComb, C. V. Davis, S. C. Robinson, L. T. Alexander, Stanley Swientochowski, C. A. Weslager, and John Swientochowski. Mr. Alexander's assistance and generosity in making motion pictures of certain stages of the work should be especially mentioned.

METHODOLOGY

Excavations were begun Saturday, May 13, 1939 in what seemed to have been the area of concentrated occupation, based upon surface specimens and test pitting. A north-south working trench was dug on the western

slope of the knoll. This slope was on the edge of the site and had formerly been the ascending bank of the Delaware River, although the water had receded years ago, leaving low marshy ground. The trench was 4 feet wide, 4 feet deep and 50 feet long. The area to be worked, west of the trench was staked out in 5 foot squares to the right and left of a central axis. Each stake was numbered and the base line tied in to permanent bench marks.

Each excavator was assigned a 5 foot square and he worked against the vertical wall of the trench in his section, shaving away slices of earth with a trowel. All artifacts were numbered, measured by depth and triangulated to the two upper stakes. Many photographs and soil readings were taken as the work progressed. It is regrettable that these data and photographs must be eliminated from this report due to insufficient funds. However, a complete series of photographs, maps and notes will be filed in the Society's library.

During the ensuing 10 months, the trench was developed 35 feet and thus an area 35 feet by 50 feet by 4 feet was slowly exposed. Many difficulties were encountered, not the least being the fact that digging was done by the Society's members who could devote only Saturdays and Sundays to the work. The unavoidable interruptions from one weekend to the next frequently resulted in vandals breaking the stakes or molesting the tool shed.

The original intention was to advance the trench across the entire knoll, maintaining its 50 foot width, but during the course of the work, the property was leased as a plant site. Ths impending doom necessitated faster work on the part of the excavators. Therefore, a smaller trench, 5 feet wide was extended 25 feet westward from the major dig, following the line of stakes. Thus, the excavation assumed the form of the letter "T". Later, the northern and southern slopes were intensively test pitted in a search for soil disturbances below the humus.

Finally, with the assistance of workmen from the Marine Terminal, the top soil was removed from the entire northern slope of the site and carefully sieved[8]. The exposed subsoil was then examined horizontally for postmoulds and other possible disturbances.

During these later stages, a crew of workmen began to level off the complete hillock preparatory to the erection of the Red Comb Mills, Inc., a livestock feed plant. During these operations, a deep vertical face was maintained which permitted a thorough study of the soil profile to a maximum depth of 25 feet, along an undulating wall some 200 feet long which followed the contour of the hill.

It should be obvious that the methodology was sufficiently varied to detect all subsurface features. In fact, it is doubtful that such painstaking efforts were justifiable at a station which was only a meagre part of the whole. Nevertheless, since this was the first site in New Castle County to be excavated by the Society, it was felt desirable to be careful rather than to be guilty of carelessness.

NATURE OF PREHISTORIC OCCUPATION

Almost all occupational evidences were concentrated in the humus layer which varied from 8 to 14 inches in depth. This soil was dark but lacked

the blackness and loamy texture which is usually present in the refuse mantle of large prehistoric village sites.

Since the superior 7 inches of the humus, or plow zone, had been cultivated from colonial times, its contents were badly disturbed. It was immediately apparent that the reason such a large quantity of surface material had been found was due to the fact that most of the cultural objects had been thickly distributed within reach of the plow. Beneath the humus was a hard yellowish clay subsoil, varying in thickness from 10 inches to 5 feet. Beneath the clay lay a stratum of semi-indurated sand. Both clay and sand belong to the Cape May formation of Pleistocene Age, a formation of marine or estuary origin probably dating from the last inter-glacial stage.

Literally bushels of stone refuse, consisting of fractured and flaked pebbles and chips, were uncovered in the humus line. A similar condition was observed by Mercer in excavating a site at Lower Black's Eddy in the upper Delaware Valley where he excavated fire-cracked and fractured pebbles by the bushel[9]. It is to be noted that pebbles provided the Crane Hook occupants with the stone used in the majority of their chipped and polished implements. While the exterior surfaces of these pebbles are all more or less similar, their interiors differ both in color and texture. Many are quartzitic pebbles (probably derived from the Paleozoic formation that crosses the northern tip of Delaware) which are common in the glacial outwash and drift pebbles of the Delaware Valley. Other pebbles of quartz were of like origin. Jasper, chert, chalcedony and flint were also present, and these, too, are characteristic of the upper Delaware glacial outwash[10].

In addition to the stone waste and rejectage from pebbles of local origin, argillite, jasper and ryolite were present in both finished and unfinished projectiles. These minerals are foreign to Delaware and had doubtless been imported from Pennsylvania. That they had been imported as quarry blanks, and not finished implements, was apparent by the presence of all in process.

Obviously, an extensive lithic economy characterized the site, and one can see similarities between it and the hilltop workshop in Meredith Township, Delaware County, New York, described by Ritchie[11]. In this respect, Crane Hook is similar to other New Castle County sites where quantities of stone chips, flakes and pebbles in process are found abundantly in the shallow humus.

ARTIFACTS RECOVERED

In cataloging the specimens, two separate methods of recovery were noted. This classification is used in the list to follow and is explained as follows.

1. *Excavated In Situ*

The material thus labeled comes under one of two subheads, "Pit No. 1" or "General."

The pit referred to was the most important subsurface feature and will be mentioned later. The objects listed as "General" were excavated from the major trench or exploratory test holes.

2. *Sieved From Humus*

Mention has already been made of the sieving done by WPA workmen. The laborers assigned to this work were able to distinguish several hundred specimens. The writers also rechecked the sieved debris and found additional specimens. All of this sieved material is listed under the second heading.

Excavated in Situ

Type of Specimen	Pit No. 1	General	Sieved from Humus	Total
Abraders	1	0	2	3
Arrowheads	47	33	143	223
Axes	2	0	3	5
Bannerstones	1	0	1	2
Blanks	11	0	7	18
Celts	1	0	1	2
Cores	1	0	8	9
Drills	3	0	0	3
Gorgets	1	0	0	1
Hammerstones	3	4	3	10
Hematite (worked)	1	0	0	1
Knives	2	0	6	8
Lap Stone	1	0	0	1
Perforators	1	0	0	1
Pestles	0	2	0	2
Pipes (clay fragments)	12	2	2	16
Potsherds (clay)*	425	101	361	887
Potsherds (steatite)	3	2	0	5
Scrapers	36	7	43	86
Slate Ornament (?)	1	0	1	2
Spearheads	1	0	0	1
Steatite Ornament (?)	0	1	0	1

**The potsherds were all mostly tiny fragments, less than an inch square, and not as significant as the above total might seem to indicate. No restorations were possible.*

It is rather significant that bone refuse and bone and shell artifacts were completely absent.

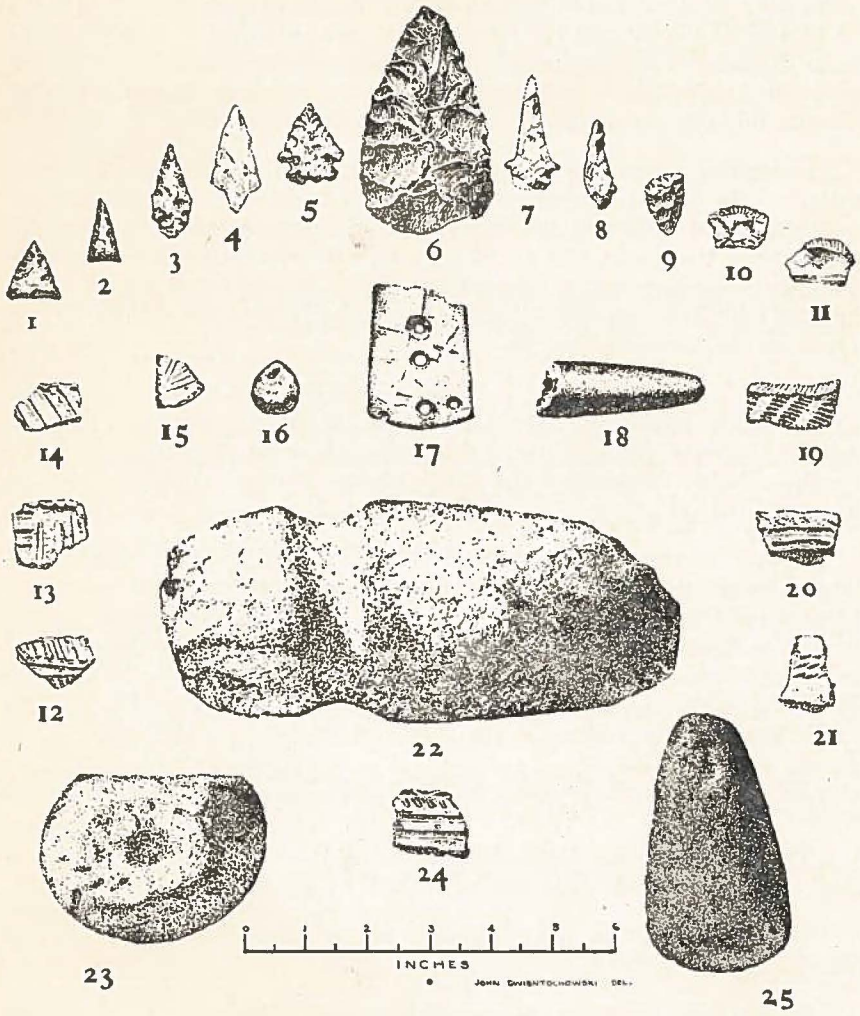
The shallow and presumably unstratified nature of the occupational layer infers a homogeneous culture. If this belief is valid, then all of the material, both surface finds, excavated material and that sieved from the humus, can be assigned to a single cultural group.

Disturbances in the Subsoil

Despite diligent search, no definite house supports could be found.

One disturbance extended 7 inches into the subsoil and was a shallow, saucer-shaped depression two feet in diameter. It held a mass of fire-cracked stones and had apparently been a hearth or firepit. The top had been torn loose by the plow. It contained only three potsherds and bits of charcoal. Many other fire-cracked stones scattered throughout the humus indicated that there had probably been other shallow firepits which the plow had obliterated.

The only important disturbance has been noted as Pit No. 1. This pit, or trench as it proved to be, was thirty-nine feet long and was cut into diagonally when the Society opened its first working trench. This disturbance dipped into the subsoil to a maximum depth of thirty-one and three-quarter inches and average five feet in width.



The above plate illustrates the general type of artifacts excavated at the Crane Hook Site. All variables cannot be shown, but those illustrated are representative. Specimens numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are projectile points.

No. 6 is a knife of brown jasper. Nos. 7 and 8 are drills. Nos. 9, 10, and 11 are scrapers which are very abundant on this site.

Nos. 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 24 are rimsherds of pottery vessels. Because of their minuteness, one can not draw conclusions.

No. 16 is a perforated stone ornament. No. 15 is a fragment of slate ornament.

No. 17 is the gorget excavated from Pit 1. The pipe stem, 18, and the grooved axe, 22, were found in association.

No. 23 illustrates one of the pitted hammerstone and No. 25 is a celt. The latter are rare at this site.

In order that the pit could be recreated in map and model form, a profile was drawn, measured and photographed every foot. Throughout the entire length the pit clearly showed the plow line that varied from eight to fourteen inches. No stratification was noted. With the exception of several spots the color was even throughout.

The aboriginal method of digging with a sharpened stick was noted when the bottom of the pit was carefully cleaned and examined. From the poke marks resulting from the digging, many fragments of charcoal and several pieces of hickory nut shells were recovered. Although charcoal was in evidence no large accumulation such as a fireplace was found.

Interesting notes were taken in connection with the finding of several artifacts. In one of the one-foot sections a fragmentary gorget was encountered in the vertical wall, Six inches to the right, and four and one-half inches below the gorget was a grooved axe. In working down horizontally to expose these artifacts, a fragmentary clay pipe was noted ten inches to the right and three and one-half inches above the level of the axe, which was resting on the bottom of the pit.

Twelve inches behind and four and a quarter inches above the axe was a fragmentary spearhead. The artifacts in the order named were sixteen, eighteen, nineteen and a half and sixteen inches below the surface, well below the plowline and without a doubt in the position placed by the original diggers of the pit.

It may be noted that the most interesting find was the fragmentary gorget through which was drilled five holes. The specimen must have been a treasured object as it showed evidence of having been first broken in two, drilled for three-hole laceing and worn. Later one piece probably was lost and the remaining fragment was worked upon at the originally broken end and again worn. Later the gorget again was fractured and this time no further repairs were made as it was placed in the pit till its recovery.

The axe is the completely grooved type with polished bit weighing about five pounds.

The pipe is but a fragment of the stem. It is of clay, baked and polished, with traces of tobacco ash in the heel of the bowl.

The spearhead, like ninety percent of the artifacts recovered, is also fragmentary.

The artifacts recovered from the pit are listed in the above table. Among the potsherds, all tiny, were fragments of rims which may have represented eight or ten different vessels. Some of these bore linear decorations, but are so incomplete that the writers do not feel that any conclusions are justified. The pit was excavated by John Swientochowski who is at present working on an interpretation which may explain its original function. Needless to say, it was an interesting, yet perplexing feature and does not conform to known types of aboriginal "pits" found in Delaware.

One important point drawn from the excavation of the pit is that the grooved axe, gorget and clay pipe were in association, thus strengthening the assumption that the culture of the site was homogeneous.

Traces of the Historic Occupation

From the humus, mixed with the aboriginal artifacts, was the refuse of the later white occupations. This material is intrinsically worthless, but it gives us a clear picture of the intensive occupation of Crane Hook since the time of the Indian:

Hand wrought iron nails and spikes
Piece of rusted "L" hinge
Two lead musket balls
Fragments of clay bricks
White clay pipe stems
Crockery fragments
Broken aerial insulator
Copper plate engraved with name
Fragments of early dishware
Fragment of whetstone
Coal particles
Piece of locust fence post
Gun flint
Rusted knife blade
Window glass
Horseshoe
Lead bullet
Large penny
Fragments of marble gravestone

This refuse is representative of the continuous occupation from 1680 to 1941. It indicates how each generation leaves behind some tangible evidence of its presence in the soil.

The most interesting feature of the historic occupation was a colonial burial plot, unrecorded and unmarked except for one grave. In all, twelve skeletons were uncovered. Because similar data is so meagre, it seems desirable to introduce a few notes relative to this forgotten white cemetery, chiefly for its historical connotations. It is not mentioned elsewhere in official records to the best of our knowledge.

When we sunk our original working trench, we purposely avoided digging in a small clump of trees at the edge of the site because a white man was reported to have been buried there. Several persons recalled having seen a gravestone here some years ago, but it was no longer in evidence. There was no surface indication of any kind to indicate the presence of graves. We were not particularly interested in this phase of the site, since we were primarily concerned with the prehistoric occupancy. It was during the course of the forementioned levelling excavations, that the laborers accidentally encountered the cemetery.

The foreman was very cooperative and each time that bones were brought to light, he moved the workman to other sections until some member of the Society could finish uncovering the body. Frequently the remains lay unmoved from the middle of the week until Saturday, which was our first opportunity to remove them. While this experience was not one that we welcomed, nevertheless there was always the possibility that some of the remains might be those of Indians. This meant that each body had to be methodically uncovered, using small tools and brushes, and carefully inspected.

It is fortunate that the Society's work coincided with the excavations preparatory to the erection of the plant. Otherwise the skeletons would have been removed by unpracticed hands and their significance would have always been in doubt. These remains have since been reburied at the Wilmington Marine Terminal.

In all of the graves, hand wrought coffin nails of the colonial period

were present with the bodies. Several round-head pins were also found, and these are of the type outmoded in Delaware about 1830. Two of the male skeletons had brass buttons on the sleeves and at the knees. The latter buttons were carefully studied *in situ* and were unquestionably the remains of knee breeches, a type of colonial garment that must be dated earlier than 1800. It should be added that the copper salts from the buttons acted as a preservative, and fragments of cloth and thread had been preserved by contact with the copper.

One of the bodies was buried in a clay brick vault, to be discussed in detail below. The crude poorly fired bricks were products of Colonial industry which also must be dated prior to 1800.

A brief resume of the 12 skeletons is as follows:

No.	Sex	Estimated Age	Depth From Surface
1.	M.	30-40	72 inches
2.	M.	Adult	54 inches
3.	F.	60-70	41 inches
4.	M.	40-50	48 inches
5.	Child	Under 6	27 inches
6.	F.	30-40	44 inches
7.	M.	Adult	34 inches
8.	M.	30-40	42 inches
9.	F.	Adult	34 inches
10.	F.	Adult	55 inches
11.	Child	Under 6	19 inches
12.	M.	Adult	(?) inches

The skeletons were all in an extended position with arms at sides and hands crossed.

There seemed to be no definite pattern in the orientation of the remains, although the majority were buried with heads west. It was difficult to ascertain the age since all determinations were made in the field without instruments. However, we considered the teeth and the closures of the cranial sutures in estimating the ages shown above. Where there was doubt about age because of advanced decay or other causes, no age is shown.

The determination of sex was made with regard to the typical vertical inclination of the female forehead; the lesser expressions of the relief formations of the regio-supraorbitalis; the tendency of the female orbital cavity to be of greater height than that of the male; the more pointed and less extensive dental arch of the female; the less prominent chin projection of the female, and the generally more delicate facial anatomy than in the male.

Certain associations, such as the knee buttons already mentioned, also corroborated the identifications. These knee buttons obviously would be found only with a male skeleton.

Of the twelve burials, Burial No. 6 represented an interesting mortuary custom which, to the best of our knowledge, has not been described in print, although it was in use in all parts of the Delmarva Peninsula and possibly elsewhere on the Atlantic Seaboard.

This custom, which is no longer in use in Delaware, was that of interring

the deceased in a clay brick vault constructed below the surface of the ground. Note particularly that this is to be differentiated from vaults *on the surface* of the ground or vaults countersunk in the ground whose lids are even with the surface.

Miss Mary Eastman of the Wilmington Free Library tells us that many of the bodies removed from the old cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church formerly located at 10th and Market Sts. in Wilmington had been interred in similar brick vaults. These seemed to have been constructed for several members of a family, although no photographs nor recorded data of their construction are extant. The following information is presented therefore with the thought that it may be of future value to some student of colonial Delaware mortuary customs.

On October 5, 1940, the workmen who were leveling off the Crane Hook site encountered large, crudely made bricks several feet below the surface of the ground. We had cautioned the general foreman, to watch carefully for soil disturbances, and when the bricks were observed below the surface, he stopped the workmen and phoned us thus showing an intelligent regard for the importance of properly studying such remains *in situ*. The bricks were uncovered and proved to be the walls of a sub-surface burial vault.

This vault had been constructed three feet below the soil. In other words it was three feet from the top of the vault to the surface of the ground. The vault was oblong in shape, consisting of four walls. The two long, side walls were each seven and one-half feet long. The end wall at the head was two feet in width and the end wall at the feet was one foot, eight inches in width. (The vault had tapered from head to foot). The individual bricks measured eight inches by four inches by two and on-half inches. The walls were each five bricks high, or approximately fourteen inches.

The bricks were of the baked clay variety used in the 1700's, and were imperfectly shaped. Several had been too near the heat in firing and had developed a hard porcelain-like exterior. These were almost identical with the vitrified bricks found on the original site of William Penn's Home at Pennsbury and used in the restoration of the house. There was no trace of mortar between the bricks which precludes the possibility of their having been used in another structure and used secondarily in the vault.

The remains—a female aged 30 to 40 years—had been placed in a wooden casket, laid to rest in the earth and walled around with the bricks. Wood planks had then been placed over top of the brick walls, to serve as a cover. There were no bricks at the top or bottom—in fact the bottom of the vault consisted only of the hard clay floor. Almost all of the ribs had turned to dust; femurs, tibias and pelvis were all badly disintegrated. The wood from the coffin and from the lid of the vault had collapsed on the skull, and under heavy pressure from the earth, the malars had been flattened. Wood fragments were present as well as hand wrought coffin nails. Where the wooden cover of the vault had been in contact with the bricks, the wood fragments were well preserved, having been compressed between the clay and the bricks.

Inasmuch as there was no grave stone or marker, the question of the age of the grave is one that can not be accurately determined. Unfortunately

we found no coins, buttons or pins or other material which might have helped to establish the approximate date of this interesting interrment. The condition of the bones themselves can not be considered, because the clay subsoil in which the remains were buried is not conducive to any uniform degree of preservation.

However, one—and only one—of the other twelve skeletons we have previously mentioned was marked with a headstone. This was the stone which had formerly been observed in the clump of trees, and which, as we subsequently learned, had been knocked over by vandals. Mr. McDonnell of the Wilmington Marine Terminal had taken it to his office for safe keeping some years ago, thus exhibiting an intelligent regard for its value. The epitaph on the stone reads as follows:

In
Memory of
Samuel Watson
who departed this life
December 16
1813 aged 32 years

The burial we have designated as Number 1 was possibly the remains of Samuel Watson. In the absence of other information, we must assume that the burial vault, as well as all of the other burials, are approximately of the same period, probably ending in 1813. We surmise that 1813 marks the date of the last burial in the plot and that the remaining eleven bodies had been interred during the previous century.

As to the identity of the persons interred in this plot, all of the facts are indeed circumstantial, and are here presented in the hope that they be confirmed or disproved in the future. In 1813, when Samuel Watson was buried, the tract that embraced the burial ground was under the joint lien of Peter Sigfreus Aldrich and Samuel Aldrich. Their ownership was from 1806 to 1818. Prior to 1806, Lucas Aldrich, the father of the two men, was owner of the property and in the year 1806, he bequeathed it to his two sons.

Lucas' father, who was also named Peter Sigfredus, had owned the land from March 25, 1751 until September 19, 1764 when he bequeathed it to his two sons: Sigfredus and Lucas[12].

This clearly indicates that from 1751 to 1818, the burial plot (and incidentally the Indian site, too) was on the property of the Aldrich family, within a stones throw of the old Aldrich House which was occupied by members of the family.

There is no way of knowing how many deaths there were in the family between 1751 and 1818, but it is a matter of record that the records of Trinity "Old Swedes" Church in Wilmington from 1697 to 1810 record six Aldrich marriages but no Aldrich burials[13]. Since the records are incomplete this omission is not as significant as it might be.

It would seem at first glance that a family as prominent as the Aldrichs would have marked the graves of their dead. However, a burial plot of the Stidham family located nearby is also unmarked. This family was contemporary with the earliest Aldrichs and were neighbors. It is important

that the Stidhams buried their dead—or at least some of them—near their homestead. It is also important by comparison that these graves are not marked, unless they were marked by crude unincised stones, which were later carried away.

Tentatively, therefore, we must conclude that the twelve graves were those of members of the Aldrich family or household, and that as in other colonial families the burial plot was located on the family plantation. The Samuel Watson who was born in 1781 and buried in 1813 may have been either a tenant or a relative by marriage. His name has not yet appeared in any of the records although many sources were searched for reference to his birth and death. The fact that children as well as adults of varying ages were buried in the plot tends to substantiate the belief that it was a family plot. Moreover the brick vault—certainly an expensive grave accompaniment for the time—suggests that the deceased was prominent; and the Aldriches were a prominent family.

Surface Specimens

A comprehensive study of the surface specimens found at Crane Hook during the past 50 years would require an inventory of five or six large collections and countless smaller collections. It is doubtful if such a study would be worthwhile except that it would reveal the numerical frequency of the various artifact types.

Instead of making this approach, it was decided to select the most representative collection for brief comment . The collection chosen is the one made by Archibald Crozier. It was personally gathered by him over a long period of years and is authentically cataloged. We feel justified in confining our short discussion to the Crane Hook surface material in the Crozier Collection. Crozier has already written an account of some of the specimens found at Crane Hook[14] and the following remarks constitute a summation based on a reexamination of the material by the authors.

As one inspects the arrowheads, spearheads and knives, not individually, but displayed together by stone types, he immediately forms several opinions. First, that all types of stone were used for projectiles and that white quartz, quartzite, jasper and argillite were the most important in the order named. Represented also are Newark Jasper, ryolite, chalcedony and chert, with two examples of arrowheads made of Ohio Flint Ridge flint[15] and one of Cohansey quartzite[16].

The stem points predominate the collection, probably representing eighty per cent of the total. Triangular arrowheads represent possibly fifteen per cent. The remaining five per cent is composed of aberrant types, the most numerous of which is a point with a bifurcated base, often having serrated edges. No one type of stone was used exclusively to manufacture any of the shapes, but the same type of stone is found in all of the divergent styles.

The collection includes many scraping and cutting tools of stone. Some of these consist of broken and reworked arrowheads. Thumb scrapers and snub nose scrapers are common. In addition, many flakes are seen whose margins show the secondary chipping characteristics of scraping and cutting tools.

Grooved axes are well represented, but crudely made. Some of the grooves completely encircle the stone; and in other spcimens the groove extends only three-quarters around the head. There are only about five celts, all small and crudely fashioned from pebbles. The collection also contains two gauge-like celts, the concavity of the blades are well pronounced, although the gauge characteristics pertain only to the blade and do not extend the length of the specimen as in the gauges found in New England. It is obvious that the grooved axe was more commonly represented than the celt—a characteristic of all aboriginal sites in northern Delaware.

Bannerstones and pierced tablets are both present. The Bannerstone types do not follow any single form, but are of the winged, rectangular, trapezoidal, etc., styles. The gorgets have from two to five holes and are rectangular in shape. One pendant, an unusual specimen, was illustrated by Moorehead in one of his works[17].

The Crozier Crane Hook material also included reworked fragments of both bannerstones and gorgets. This reworking element consists of grooves or perforation to prepare the broken part for secondary use as an ornament.

It is significant that at Crane Hook, Crozier found no sinew stones, no arrowshaft smoothers, no hoes, no pipes, and only one crude stone mortar with a very shallow concavity.

Pitted hammerstones and unpitted "mullers" are common. Large cyclindrical pestles are completely absent, although there are a number of small crudely made pestle-like objects, no more than eight to ten inches in length. Abrading stones are common, but there are only a few net sinkers, an anomaly on a river bank site.

The pottery, of which there are only a small number of tiny unrelated fragments, is tempered with quartz and sand, but no shells. The exterior shows a net or corded paddle design, as well as some minor incising around the rim. It is extremely difficult to comment on the surface pottery because of its minuteness. In color, it is reddish, yellowish and white—the latter having been identified as kaolin, a clay formed by the disintigration of feldspar. A very few fragments of steatite vessel were also gathered, not a common thing on sites in northern Delaware.

The surface materials are identical in type with those recently excavated. Though torn loose from their original settings and lacking associations usually demanded for cultural identification, we nevertheless feel that the typology of the artifacts can not be discounted. The uniform vertical frequency of the excavated material suggests a homogeneous culture, of which the surface material is undoubtedly a part.

CONCLUSIONS

While Crane Hook is locally recognized by surface hunters as a prehistoric Indian village, it is unlikely that this is an accurate designation. The use of the term village or town among the historic Lenape and their precursors implies a place of permanent occupation. in more or less permanent homes, housing a number of family groups, each practicing agriculture.

The following negative factors at Crane Hook lead one to the tentative

conclusion that the site does not fall within the definition of a permanent village, but can perhaps be considered as semi-permanent:

1. The absence of thick village refuse and the shallow nature of the occupational layer.

2. The paucity of pits and fireplaces.

3. The absence of graves.

4. The scarcity of pottery and agricultural utensils. (hoes, mortars, pestles, etc.)

5. The absence of bone refuse, shell refuse, corn, beans and other agricultural traits, and the predominance of such hunting accessories as projectiles, knives and scrapers.

6. The absence of reference to the site as a village in any of the historic documents.

After carefully weighing all the evidence, we are of the opinion that the site was a large hunting and fishing station occupied at only certain times of the year.

That the Indians living in the environs of present Philadelphia came down to Delaware to hunt is clearly revealed in the early documents. They appear to have taken leave of their permanent villages at certain times of the year and established themselves at points of vantage in an area where hunting, fishing and perhaps nut gathering was productive.

For example, in 1671 the Indians living on one of the islands in the upper Delaware had murdered two white man and the Dutch were considering what retaliatory steps should be taken. Then follows this important excerpt[18];

"Peter Alricks saith: The proper time to sett upon this nation of Murderers is within a Month from this time, for after they'll *break off their keeping together in a Towne and go a hunting,* soe be separated and not to be found, but now the danger is of their destroying the Corne and Cattle of the Christians."

The above was written in September and thus it is apparent that the Indians would be away hunting in October.

Another early record from New Castle relative to the hunting custom of the Delawares, is as follows[19]:

"The savages on the river, too, are in as they *did not go this winter on hunting as usual.*"

The following reference, also written at New Castle, Delaware, is a very important one in this connection[20]:

"The savages murdered—a youth—(we) cannot discover what nation did it; we suppose these on the river who are *now hunting in the neighborhood.* We sent for the Chief of Passayongh to whom these hunting here are subjected."

In short, the Indians hunting on the river near New Castle were from the upper Delaware and were subjects of the chief whose village was at Passayunk, within present Philadelphia.

Schrabish, who knows more site locations on the upper Delaware than any other investigator is of the opinion that the majority of sites in the region were temporary stations[21] outposts from the major villages. Most of these meet the description of Crane Hook.

The material culture of the Crane Hook site, so far as can be determined, is fundamentally Woodland. However, the specimens uncovered represent, in our opinion, only a partial trait list of the peoples who camped on the site and are thus inadequate to permit of definite classification. We are of the opinion that their permanent home was on the upper Delaware or in New Jersey. We feel that agriculture was practiced at their permanent homes where one would logically expect to find the tools and utensils associated with that pursuit.

Schrabish found pottery in abundance, pestles, corn grinders, hoes, and other agricultural implements on the sites of former villages. He also found many pits and graves. In New Jersey, also occupied by woodland groups, agricultural implements and pottery are abundant on the established village sites[22]. Similarly, agricultural implements, pottery, and graves are absent from other sites, which can probably be classified with Crane Hook as hunting stations.

Mercer found the surface layer of true village sites on the upper Delaware to be from two and one-half to three and one-half feet thick[23] as contrasted with the shallow layer at Crane Hook.

In its shallow surface, Crane Hook is like the site on the Worth Steel Company property on the Delaware River at Claymont. Test pitting on this site and the excavation of a small test block by members of the Society revealed a thin humus line and a hard sterile clay beneath. Stone rejectage and artifacts were found identical with Crane Hook specimens. Pottery is also very scarce on the Claymont site.

Based on the digging at Crane Hook; the test pitting at Claymont; and miscellaneous digging and surface hunting on sites at Newport, Stanton, Christiana, Hockessin and elsewhere in New Castle County, several tentative conclusions are apparent. First, that their occupants had little or no contact with whites, and that their extensive lithic properties places them properly in a "stone age". The specimens are so similar to those uncovered on known Lenape sites in New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania, that there seems little doubt that the inhabitants possessed the same cultural heritage. Finally, it would seem that large, permanent village sites are not common in New Castle County, but that many sites were occupied only at certain times of the year. During the time of their occupation, agriculture was not widely practiced; pottery was used only to a limited extent; but hunting accessories, such as projectiles, scrapers, axes, etc., were made in abundance and used extensively.

NOTES

1. Assistance rendered by Archibald Crozier is acknowledged; also to Ruth Weslager who read the proofs.

2. Peter Lindestrom, *Geographia Americae,* trans. by Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1925.

3. This research was part of a study of the Crane Hook Church conducted by Jeremiah Sweeney through the cooperation of the Delaware Federal Writers' Project. The complete report will be published by the Swedish-Colonial Society.

4. See Edward Price, *Jacob Alricks and His Nephew Peter Alricks,* Paper No. 22, Hist. Soc. of Del. 1898, p. 23.
5. *New Castle Co. Deed and Will Records.*
6. Pennock Pusey, *Crane Hook Church,* Paper No. II, Hist. Soc. of Del., 1895; also *Dedication of Crane Hook Church Monument, ibid,* No. 25, 1899.
7. For a discussion of this cache, see C. A. Weslager, *Indian Artifacts from Delaware on Display at Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.,* pp. 3-7, Paper No. 4 Archaeological Society of Delaware, Dec. 15, 1941.
8. The stone refuse sieved formed a pile 6 feet wide, 7 feet long and 4 feet high at its apex. The workmen were able to recognize about 300 artifacts and deposited their finds at the Marine Terminal, where plans are being made to display the material. In a careful recheck of this same pile of refuse, we were able to distinguish over 400 specimens which included broken arrowheads, blades, pot sherds, pipe fragments, etc.
9. Henry C. Mercer, *Researches Upon the Antiquity of Man,* Publication Univ. of Penn. Vol. 6, 1897. p. 76.
10. The lithic terms used above follow the definition of Horace G. Richards, *Petrology of the Chipped Artifacts of the State of Delaware.* Bull. Arch. Soc. of Del. Vol. 3, No. 4, Feb. 1941, pp. 5-9.
11. William A. Ritchie, *A Unique Prehistoric Workshop Site,* Museum Service, Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, April 1938, pp. 1 to 6.
12. This information was gathered by Jeremiah Sweeney of the Federal Writers and kindly turned over for use in this report.
13. Jacob Aldrichs who died in 1659 was buried in Old Drawyers according to Price *op. cit.,* p. 14. However, this may be an error.
14. A. Crozier, *Indian Towns Near Wilmington,* Bull Arch. Soc. of Del., Vol. 2, No. 6, June 1938, pp. 2-4.
15. John Swientochowski found an arrowhead at Crane Hook made of an exotic pinkish-orange chalcedony that undoubtedly is "Flint Ridge."
16. This is a type of quartzite which occurs in New Jersey. It was apparently imported by the local Indians. Newark Jasper is a native stone, occurring in mass, which originated somewhere in the vicinity of Iron Hill near Newark, Delaware. It was named "Newark Jasper" by Richards, *op. cit.*
17. W. K. Moorehead, *Stone Ornaments of the American Indian,* 1917, p. 164, fig. 147.
18. *B. Fernow, Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements,* Vol. 12, Albany, 1877, p. 485.
19. Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania,* Phila. 1850, p. 330.
20. *ibid,* p. 340.
21. Max Schrabish, *Archaeology of the Delaware River Valley,* Penna Hist. Commission, Vol. 1, 1930.
22. Dorothy Cross, *Archaeology of New Jersey,* Trenton, 1941.
23. Mercer, *op. cit.,* p. 71.

BACK AGAIN TO INDIAN RIVER, ITS PEOPLE AND THEIR GAMES

By FRANK G. SPECK

Since the memorable days in the late twenties when Chief W. R. Clark was alive and active in the affairs of the Nanticoke Indian Association there was little to draw me back to haunts where we had enjoyed the hospitality of his people through many fall and winter sojourns. The last time that I shook his hand was on the shores of Indian River one day in a driving sleet storm. The next time I saw him was in the false reality of a dream in which he sat at a chair near me with a walking cane held between his knees. The inconsistent fragments of a conversation we held remained with me. I have often thought of the topic and the dreamy scene since then. He expressed his wish to see the work then accomplished in the organization of

the Indian descendants of Indian river perpetuated by his successors. To me the lure of Indian river passed away with him. The attractions of life with the Indians of the remote Canadian bush returned in force and engrossed time and thought.

The indifference of the mood, however, passed away in its turn. And a trip to the river and the Clark homestead was planned with a party of students to see what luck might have in store after a lapse of more than ten years. Many of the older people had died. The homes where we had gathered at Thanksgiving in company with visiting delegations from the Virginia tribes to sing and dance, feast and yarn, had changed hands. The floor of the pavilion which had resounded to the dance, so well remembered, lead by old Jim Johnson the Rappahannock herb doctor, had become littered with picnic remains. The spirit of cohesion among some of the families loyal to their Indian descent had become broken. It was hard to believe at first. It seemed that only imagination could forge the links with the past. Then the links became tangible. In our late afternoon excursion up the river shore toward the Puddle Hole, did we not come upon Topsey Morris with a possum in a box trap, caught a few nights before, ready to be butchered and served at his board? Was it not the same device observed and figured in the first published report on customs of the Indian River folk?[1] Yes, and upon inquiry, he found in his shed an antique corn-husking pin more typical and worn than many collected fifteen years before. And although the vista out over the river was not enlivened by the passing of the strawberry boats as of that time, there were indeed the same arrays of nets and fykes, of eel-pots, paddles and oars strung along the shore. And just as many hand-made wooden net floats and sand-bag net weights as before, out in the sheds where such things find their way.

Among the younger children, the features of Indian descent showed forth as plainly as they had in their parents and grandmamas. The prospects of seeing and hearing about the things made, done, believed in, and said over a generation ago, got better by the hour. One of the prosperous poultry raisers spoke of his new "housens." Another asked, "How did y' leave the folks 'monget you?" "Awre y' well?" was the handshake greeting of another. The quaint patois was still holding out. City contacts broadened through the sphere of business, now that the folks have taken to "get-rich-quick" poultry farming, are making a new epoch in Indian River Hundred, but the folk-spirit that grew out of their common blood tradition and teaching in the home cottages was apparently taking on things without caving in. There was J. J., an example sadly in his cups, in the wayside lunch room. The company there was mostly poor white, with some "yellow people" on the benches. Talk topics ran to the vulgar. J. J. underwent an emotional conflict. The religious devotion of his earlier life spoke through the fumes of alcohol in song. With inebriated tearfulness, his voice rose clear in the local spiritual, "Yes, yes, yes, meet me Jesus. Meet me in the middle of the air. If I break my wing, bring me anoder. Meet me in the middle of the air." I had never heard that one before. The Indian River tradition spoke out amid the corrupt din of the river-resort honky-tonk.

Sussex country oyster stew and corn pone were on the table of our host, the old nourishing fare still a favorite. Again a sweet draft of water was taken from the gourd dipper with long neck, although all homes now have

utensils of porcelain ware. Rebecca Harmon still had the old gourd egg-container, a treasure with no other value than what sentiment lends.

Folk customs persist here even against the inroads of modern influence streaming through the back roads from the highways connecting the Hundred with the "city" now but three hours distant in a car. Here is another instance of that. Having forgotten the custom on the River of a person of another family not entering the bedroom of a mother during the first month of the child's life, I wanted to call upon Helen to see her week-old baby. The customary restrictions never entered our minds. The young Nanticoke who drove us by kept on the road and politely said it would be better to wait until next visit. I tumbled at once.

Other folk beliefs of curing were told us that evening after supper. Some of them were new to my notes as collected years ago. Burns, warts, measles, whooping cough, had been recently benefited, Lilly related, by "talking them off"; by Fish-weed, by Milk-weed, and other herbs. All merely folk-remedies the practicalist will say, but not the modern-trained pharmacologist or psychotherapist. There was revealed in much that I saw, that solidarity of tradition which defies change without experimentation and test of its virtues. The old sayings and beliefs have survived the test of time among a people who change inwardly only by slow and tested measures.

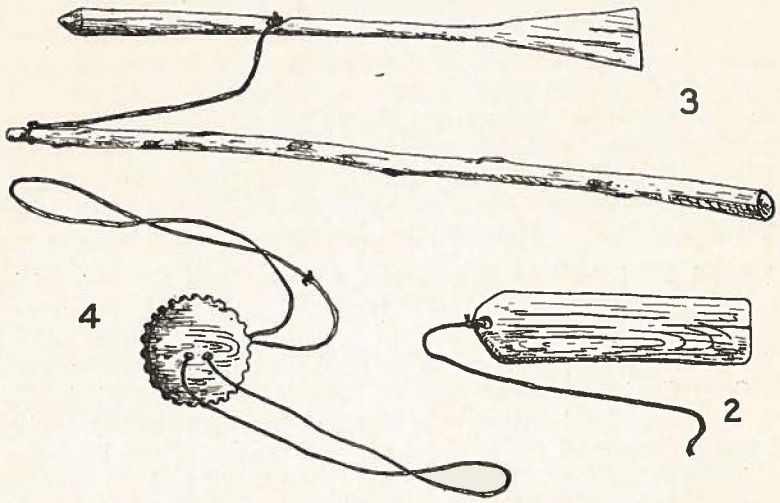
I mentioned before the seeming lack of cohesion in the spirit of loyal Indian families. That was the first impression gotten in the return to the community. But I found it soon in the home of Winona Wright. Her Indian tradition is strong and real, as we shall shortly see. Charles, the son of old Chief Clark, the second since his father's demise to hold the Chieftaincy, is another, loyal-minded to a degree at times emotionally displayed. He is now perplexed by the secession of some families among his followers of the Indian Association. His perplexity is the result, as I see it, of economic change in the life of the group and by a social turn-over in the local status of dark people in educational opportunity. Inwardly he is loyal to his father's charge. Then by contrast there is Joshua, an elderly man of pronounced Indian type discovered for us by the historian Anthony Higgins. Joshua knows he is nearly all Indian and has the Indian heart. I had never seen him before.

One of the significant discoveries in the return to the Indian River people, was that Winona Wright, née Jamison, who has been mentioned before, has reason to claim descent from the supposedly extinct Susquehannock, or Conestoga. The recent agitation of a claim to such descent by a family of Indian ancestry near Harrisburg was the cause of legislation in the State to make restitution to the Susquehannock claimants for the massacre by the Paxton lynch mob of their ancestors who sought refuge in the Lancaster calaboose almost two centuries ago. The act of restitution was approved and ready to be carried out. Out of a clear sky the decision was abnegated by the authority of an official historian, who pointed out that according to historical records, the Susquehannock were *totally* exterminated that bloody night, hatcheted to death, man, woman and child by the Paxton "boys". Winona's family tradition states that her ancestors were not in the Lancaster jail when the deed was done. They were fugitives hiding in the mountains! Her family Bible genealogical entries contain the evidence of their Susquehannock descent. I never yet discovered a lie on the tongue

of one of her folks. They have a saying that no lasting benefit would come of one. So an Indian River family of distinct Indian type may now have the answer to a problem of Pennsylvania history, I advised Winona to produce the records she referred to and to press her evidence of identity, if for no other reason, for clarification of history.

Childrens' Games

In 1902-3, Culin published a monographic study of Indian games[2]. He listed games for thirty Algonkian tribes among which the Nanticoke were unmentioned. The nearest region to the latter was the Powhatan area of Virginia for which he noted three games described in early narratives, the "stick game," "shinny," and "football."



Examples of the sling arrow (3), the see-saw (4) and the whirligig (2) used as children's playthings among the Indian descendants living on Indian River, Delaware.

Culin recognized then, as we do today, the importance of games and play in the socialization of the child. They must be considered as an element in the culture pattern of a tribe.

A revised interest in the occurrence of a series of games and mechanisms for the amusement of children led the writer to make inquiries along these lines on his recent visits to Indian River. The distribution in eastern and western America of the crossbow, the popgun, the arrow sling, the stone sling, buzzer and bull roarer has been a long neglected theme among ethnologists. The reasons for ignoring these devices may be found in the knowledge that all of them are well known among whites and Negroes as well as among Indian tribal centers from and including the Eskimo boundaries of Labrador to the Catawba and Cherokee of the Carolinas; and furthermore that they are not to be regarded as aboriginal to the Indians themselves.

Culin included in his treatment a section of games of European derivation, but overlooked the plays and mechanisms for amusement dealt with in this paper. Among the toys to be described, we find in his book mention of the "buzzer" listed among twenty-three tribes and the bull roarer

among twenty-seven tribes of North America. They are both widely distributed over the country. The buzzer is also given for thirteen Eskimo groups and the bull roarer for ten. Other authors (Birket-Smith and Jenness) have since added to the series.

Whatever the answers to questions of historic origin may be, we are now first of all pressed to investigate and record facts concerning them from all possible sources in the mixed populations of the country. The writer has begun the collection of data and specimens from one end of the area of distribution to the other. And now the Nanticoke come in for their share of attention as a filler in the gaps in our knowledge.

Any contemporary record of child amusement made among the Nanticoke descendants in the Six Nations of Canada calculated to show distinctive character would reveal nothing positive whatever. For almost two centuries they have fused with the Iroquois through intermarriage and adoption of Tuscarora and Cayuga customs. Consequently the Nanticoke remnants in Delaware, as descendants of southern Delaware Indian peoples, represent an important, and perhaps final source of data.

Cross Bow

The bow gun, as it is called, is known as a familiar toy to most of the old men of the Indian River group. Ellwood Wright, now in his seventies, relates the manner of its use when he was a boy. The youngsters played fox and hounds. One of them would be chosen the fox. The others would form a group of hounds to start him running and then chase him about. Some of them would have the bow guns and would stand at a point where the boy imitating the fox would be driven. There they would shoot him with their arrows to bring him down. And rough play it was, according to the narrator. When the fox was killed, the boy playing hound who was nearest him when he fell would have the privilege of being fox the next time. The boys raced hard to become fox.

Edgar Morris made a cross bow of the form known to him when his old father made them. Old Edgar was a handy man with his tools, a carpenter and also a bow and arrow maker when the writer knew him about 1916. The cross bow Edgar Jr. made was hewn from a discarded cherry table top. The bow itself was of white oak, a flat oval in cross section and 36 inches long. The gun stock was 48 inches long. The stock was cut in the outline of the regular shotgun. A deep groove was furrowed along its upper side from the trigger point to the end. The bow was set perpendicularly in a hole cut through the stock. The trigger and string mechanism were the most interesting features. To the middle of the bow string an auxiliary string was tied. A stationary red cedar pin was set into the stock just behind the trigger. Over this pin the auxiliary string was drawn to hold the bow string taut. Thus the bow string was drawn about half way. The stringing details are shown in Fig. 1 as Edgar was cocking the weapon. The trigger release was a cedar pin passing through a hole in the stock and extending far enough below the stock to be raised by an upward pressure of the trigger finger. The top of the trigger was cut to form a broad T the top of which lay in a transverse groove in the stock immediately in front of the stationary pin. By this arrangement, the auxiliary string could be forced up and over the stationary pin by an upward push from below the T pin, discharging the arrow.

The arrow itself was a twelve inch shaft of cedar with a single feather at the nock where a notch took the bow string. Edgar had tied a small jasper arrowhead by a cross lashing to the head of his arrow to make it more interesting for exhibition. It was an arrowhead he had found while plowing. Ordinarily a plain dart was shot from the bow gun. Edgar did not know that the weapon had ever been used on small game. It was a toy according to his knowledge. His specimen was able to throw the arrow about a hundred yards.

In commenting upon the trigger and release mechanism, we can point out that its advantage lay in the idea of its being cocked and so held until a movement of the trigger finger lifted the string over the pin and released it. It would stay cocked until deliberately discharged. Whatever the history of the device may be, and we shall probably never know more of it, we may grant that it has answered the requirement of not springing itself by accident. In this instance the same difficulty has been overcome that the early Chinese encountered and solved by the invention of the three piece trigger described by H. H. Dubbs[3] to which Dr. Dirk Bodde has called my attention.

That the bow gun was contemporaneously known to the white people of the region was learned from L. B. Moore of Millsboro. He was well acquainted with the older generation of Nanticoke people and had observed the weapon among whites and Indian descendants. The bow gun that he had played with as a boy was, however, different from that described above in having a simple notch cut in the stock for the tension of the drawn bow string. There was no trigger arrangement, the string being released from the notch by pushing it up from the notch with the thumb (thumb release). The proportions of his cross bow were about the same as those given by the Nanticoke, Edgar Morris.

Whirligig

The bull roarer known as whirligig is familiar to all the older people as an amusement for children, although it is not now seen in their hands. The blades of the specimens made by those who once had them, are of cypress shingles, about eight inches long, oblong in shape with rounded edges. Notching of the edges has not been in evidence on any so far seen. Some popularity for the toy has been awakened since Edgar Morris constructed the object for the collection of old-fashioned tribal crafts, and some of the boys of his family have recently whittled out their own whirligigs. See Fig. 2.

Sling Arrow

Subsequent listing of occurrence of the sling arrow will need to include the Indian descendants of Sussex County, Delaware, whose memory is clear concerning its make and use. Their testimony indicates the same form of the arrow, made of an old shingle broadened at the rear and pointed at the opposite end: the green switch about two feet long of some shrub or small tree near at hand, and the attached cord with knot at end to catch in the notch near the center of the arrow, as found everywhere in America. It is a toy for the amusement of boys and not for more serious purposes. The arrow is slung without difficulty to a distance of two or three hundred feet. In making the arrow it was noticed that the place where the notch was cut was determined by balancing it on the blade of a knife, which located the midsection. The arrow is suspended by the string from the knot set into the

FIGURE 1

Edgar Morris, a Nanticoke Indian descendant, shown cocking the crossbow which he made for the author. The crossbow was used as a child's toy.

notch just mentioned, by steadying the arrow in the air, then with a wide swing of the stick the arrow is cast. See Fig. 3.

The sling arrow is equally well known to the whites in the lower part of Delaware ,and no one seems to have a definite opinion as to its origin.

See-saw

The buzzer, or buzz-button, known locally as see-saw, was and still is an amusement for children. (See figure 4). The common coat button has here, as in most places, replaced an older form of rotater. Chief Charles Clark, knows of the use of yellow pine bark for the see-saw, its size being about four inches across. He had also seen a disc of stiff shoe leather serve the same purpose. The pine-bark disc was also reported by others. Some of the men recalled how they teased the little girls by spinning the see-saw against the hair causing it to become so tangled that it could not be removed without cutting off some locks.

The writer's attention was drawn to the subject of games and pastimes among the Nanticoke residents of Indian River Hundred as early as 1912-14, when the people were first contacted in the investigation of tribal descendants of the Delaware and Chesapeake bay regions. At the schools attended by the Indian children there, groups of youngsters were photographed in their play during recesses. These were published in the report embodying the results of several years initial field work on Indian River. The notes then made indicated the kind of pastimes observed at that time. They are quoted as follows, referring to the community prior to 1914.

"Besides the ordinary games of white children, the Nanticoke play some group games which may have an element or two of originality. One is 'Bear-in-the-ring.' Within a circle of boys holding hands stands another boy who is the 'bear'. His object is to break through the ring and escape. Should he succeed, the one to catch him has the privilege of being the 'bear' next time. Another game is 'Toad-in-the-meadow.'

"Cat's-cradles are generally well known among these people. The figure known among the Southern Indians as "crowfoot" is common here also as 'crow's feet.' Another is Job's Coffin and is regarded as symbolic of the constellation of that name. String-figures in general among the Nanticoke, it is interesting to note, are regarded as representations of star groups."

These summaries may be compared with observations made recently in the same community. During the past winter, the writer spent time in the homes of four different families in which there were children of playing age. None of them could perform the string figures. Most of the parents, however, recognized the figures when shown them and could name them readily. Another string figure was named "cup-and-saucer," but it could not be reproduced. Presumably, this is the same as the figure known to the Rappahannock of Virginia under the same name. It would appear from these remarks that the past thirty years have witnessed the obliteration of string figure plays among the people. The forgotten figures were taught them by the writer.

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1. F. G. Speck, *The Nanticoke Community of Delaware,* Contributions from the Musuem of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, N.Y., Vol. 2 No. 4, 1915.
2. Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indians,* Twenty-fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Wash., D. C.
3. *A Military Contact Between Chinese and Romans in* 36 *B.C.* Toung Pao, Vol. XXXVI, 1, pp. 69-72.
4. Speck, *op cit.*, p. 28

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE DELMARVA PENINSULA

By C. A. WESLAGER

There is need for a concise presentation of the identities of Indian tribes who occupied the Delmarva Peninsula. This phase of the peninsula's background has been only superficially treated. Nowhere is there any account which can be accepted as authentic and complete[1]. This lack of reference can not be attributed to the absence of data inasmuch as the documents pertaining to the area contain many allusions to the natives. It is true that these records are scattered through numerous volumes and are not easy to find nor to interpret. However, enough material has been uncovered to clarify issues of identity which to date have been vaguely treated.

The Delmarva Peninsula should be considered as a single geographical unit, although it represents the State of Delaware and portions of Virginia and Maryland. The Indians moved about as their needs dictated, oblivious of present day boundaries. Consequently, one must treat the entire peninsula, and not merely a part of it, to arrive at a comprehensive picture of Indian life.

In this discussion, material will be used from original study as well as that gleaned from the research of others. More information is at hand than can be treated in this paper, and it is hoped that it will in due time be presented in its proper place to add further to knowledge of Delmarva tribes. The immediate task is one of laying the groundwork for future discussion by first identifying the several groups of Indians who occupied the peninsula at the time of white colonization. To achieve that end in the least devious manner, I have drawn upon only a small part of my notes and must of necessity omit references to the cultural aspects of the people. The reader should remember that our present concern is *identity* and only those references necessary for tribal identification have been used.

Starting at the southern extremity of the peninsula and proceeding northward, let us consider each Indian group and comment brifly on their relative positions.

Accomac and Accohannock

These two tribes occupied present Accomack and Northampton Counties on the Eastern Shore of Virginia at the southern extremity of the Delmarva Peninsula. They were observed by Captain John Smith in 1608 when he explored Chesapeake Bay and also by John Porry, Secretary of the Virginia Colony[2].

The aged chief of the Accomac, Debedeavon, was known to the English as "the laughing king." His younger brother, Kicktopeake, functioned as his "prime minister." Debedeavon was friendly to the English, and at the time of a revolt of the Indians on the Virginia mainland, refused to turn against the whites. In 1650, the Accohannock "king" was Okiawampe[3].

The Accomac, according to Smith, numbered 80 men, or warriors, and the Accohannock could "make 40 men." Basing the total population on three individuals per man, this would mean that both tribes numbered approximately 400, including men, women and children.

Both Accohannock and Accomac fell under the domination of Powhatan,

who had gathered 30 tribes of the Virginia mainland into a confederacy which paid tribute to him. It is presumed that Powhatan's warriors had crossed the Chesapeake by canoe to conquer the two Eastern Shore tribes. However, the bay was so broad and the journey so arduous that Powhatan could not exercise full control over the Eastern Shore tribes. The Accomac and Accohannock spoke the same language as Powhatan which was one of many Algonkian dialects.

Other bands of Indians, living in the two Eastern Shore Counties of Virginia took their names from the rivers on which they resided. In 1700, the historian Beverly records the following Indian towns: Pungoteague, Onancock, Chisconessex, Ocahannock, Metomkin, Kicquotank, Matchapungo and Nandua. He writes that the Gangasccoe (Gingaskins) were the most numerous of the Indians[4].

The town Nandua mentioned by Beverly was situated near the present town of Bridgetown, Virginia, and was the seat of the Emperor. This town is also called Nanduge. Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of Ethnology has it that Nanduge was an Nanticoke town[5]. This is incorrect and shows a misunderstanding of the true position of the Nanticoke as I shall bring out later in this discussion. The Indians of Accomack and Accohannock Counties must be considered separately from the Nanticoke and other tribes living north of them.

Pocomoke and Assateague

Captain John Smith also sailed up the Pocomoke River which he called the Tants Wighcocomoco[6] and he tells us that the Indians living on that river were small in stature and did not speak Powhatan's language. They could make 100 warriors and were not friendly with the Accohannock and Accomac peoples. It is obvious that Powhatan's conquests had not reached as far as the Pocomoke River.

In the Maryland records, some of the people living on the Pocomoke River were called Pocomoke Indians, but another related people occupying the headwaters of the river were known as Assateagues. The latter also occupied villages along the seaboard. Their name is identical with Assateague Creek, a tributary of the Pocomoke. These border Indians were under extreme pressure from the whites and were the victims of attacks launched by the Virginians.

I am inclined to consider both the Assateague and Pocomoke as a single political unit. One of their villages, Queponqua (also called Queponco) was located on a stream by that name northwest of present Newark, Maryland[7]. Another village, Askimokonson, was near present Snow Hill, Maryland, and in 1686 was occupied by the Pocomoke and their affiliates, the Annamessex. Manoakin, Nassawattex and Aquinitica. These minor tribes originally lived along various Eastern Shore streams, but banded together to protect themselves from white encroachment. In 1678, articles of peace were drawn between Lord Baltimore and "Emperor of Assateague, the Kings of Pocomoke, Yingoteague, Nusswattax, Anamesse & Acquintica, Morumsco & for all the Indians under their subjects[8]."

It should be noted that an Emperor ruled over the Assateague and their allies. One Emperor was named Choatam; a later one, Amonugus, and in 1718, Monason was the leader of the Assateague[9]. The English used the

term Emperor to mean a head chieftain who exercised authority over less important chiefs of bands, or villages, called Kings.

Nanticoke

A very important Indian community was situated on the Nanticoke River, which Captain Smith called the Kuskarawaoke. He recorded the names of five Nanticoke villages in existence in 1608; namely Nautaquack, Nause, Saropinagh, Arseek and Kuskarawaoke—the latter village had the same name as the river. Smith stated that there were 200 warriors on the river which means that it was probably the most populous community on the Eastern Shore. In the Maryland Records of 1696, the Nanticoke were said to have ten towns, which would imply that Smith's observations were not complete[9a]. There were doubtless small villages on the Nanticoke tributaries which he did not see.

The term Nanticoke has been used loosely by many writers. After about 1740, when the northern migration of peninsula Indians to Pennsylvania began, the word Nanticoke became generic and was used to include all Eastern Shore Indians no matter where they had originally lived. In fact, it was also used to denote migrant Conoy who joined the Eastern Shore people in Pennsylvania. The Conoy, needless to say, were residents of the western shore!

This broad application of the word Nanticoke is perhaps unimportant as applied to the expatriated peoples torn away from their native backgrounds and brought together by adversity. However, I should prefer to insist upon its specific and delimited use as applied to the peninsula Indians prior to the migration. It was used originally by the Marylanders to refer *only* to those Indians living on the Nanticoke River and its tributaries. When the provincial authorities spoke of Nanticokes, they referred specifically to the Indians on the river by that name. They considered the Choptank, Pocomoke, Assateague and Indian River Indians as separate and distinct entities, and referred to them by name[10]. Let us then call a halt to the careless use of the favorite term Nanticoke and demand that those who use it in the future define their usage.

The Moravian missionary Heckewelder wrote that the Nanticoke from the Eastern Shore carried the bones of their dead through the streets of Bethlehem in 1750-60[11]. He, too, employed the term in its broadest aspect, and although the Indians he observed were unquestionably from the Delmarva Peninsula, one wonders if they had moved up from the Nanticoke River. Similarly when he speaks of the Nanticokes as poisoners and sorcerers, one can not be sure of which specific group he spoke, since *all* of the migrant peoples were loosely named Nanticokes. I do not doubt that the true Nanticoke treated the bones of their dead with veneration and moved them from place to place, nor do I question that they were practiced poisoners. However, I have affirmative information, which will be presented in a later discussion, that the Choptank and Assateague also scraped the bones of their dead and treated these remains with ceremony; and also that they, too, were rated as poisoners.

Very little has been written of the true Nanticoke prior to 1740. From Captain Smith we have the following brief description as of the year 1608:

"The next day they came unarmed with everyone a basket, dancing

in a ring to draw us on shore, but seeing there was nothing in them but villainy, we discharged a volley of muskets charged with pistoll shott; whereas they all lay tumbling on the ground, creeping some one way some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by where their Company lay in Ambuscado. Toward the evening we wayed (anchor) and approaching the shoare discharging five or six shot among the reedes. We landed where there lay many of baskets and and much bloud but we saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side of the river we rowed thither where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire; there we left some peeces of copper beads, bells and looking glasses, and then went into the bay; but when it was dark we came back againe[12]."

From this excerpt it is clear that the Nanticokes were prolific basket makers; that they occupied small huts with inside hearths. Elsewhere, Smith tells us that they were the "best merchants" of all the other savages. They seemingly had plenty of furs and roenoke (shell bead money) for use in trade.

Under pressure from the whites, who settled on their lands, the Nanticoke Indians were driven upstream. Those who had occupied the lower villages on the Nanticoke Rover joined forces with those living in the upstream towns. During the provincial period, the Nanticoke seemed to have consolidated in two settlements. The larger called Chicacone Town was on the north bank of the river at the junction of Chicone Creek, near present Vienna, Maryland. This village had been occupied as early as 1668 and was the headquarters of the Nanticoke Emperor[13]. The second village was on Broad Creek, near present Laurel, Delaware, and its inhabitants were frequently called Broad Creek Indians.

In 1698, land was assigned to the Nanticoke by the Maryland authorities, but it was inadequate to supply their needs. In 1711, commissioners were appointed to lay out 3000 acres of land along Broad Creek as a Nanticoke Reservation.

By 1768, most of the Nanticoke had removed to Pennsylvania to live with the Iroquois. A few, however, were left behind in Delaware and Maryland.

Unnacokasimmon was the first Nanticoke Emperor recorded by the whites. He lived to be a very old man and was succeeded by his brother, Ohoperoon, also called Opeter, about 1687. It was thought by some that Unnacokasimmon had been poisoned by his subjects because he was too friendly with the whites. After Ohoperoon's death, Asquas, a son of Unnacokasimmon, fell heir. He was considered an enemy by the English and fled his kingdon to settle with the Indians on the Susquehannah River. Subsequently, in 1693, the English appointed Panquas as"Captain General and Commander in Chief" of the Nanticoke and Annoughtought as "Second and Assistant in the Rule". An Indian named Felton was at one time a pretender to the "throne" but the Marylanders denied him the right to reign. Panquas fell into bad graces in 1742 when he conspired against the whites. After his dethronement, various Indians attempted to fill the time-honored position as Emperor[14]. The story of the Nanticoke Emperors and the attendant white intrigue is irrelevant to the present discussion, but some day it may be written in detail.

There is little agreement over the meaning of the word Nanticoke. Brinton says it is derived from Unechtgo meaning "tidewater people". Heckewelder said that the proper term was Nentico, but that it had been corrupted to Nanticoke.

Ozinies

Another Indian community, situated on the Chester River, was called Ozinies by Captain Smith. The number of villages is unknown, but he wrote that the Ozinies had 40 warriors.

Marye in an important but little known paper suggests that the Ozinies may have been the Wiccomiss Indians, a tribe mentioned in Eastern Shore records whose identity has long been a mystery[15].

The Wiccomiss were also called Wiccomocos, and at least some of their people also lived along the Wicomico River. A group of Wiccomiss settled at Chicacone, the Nanticoke town where they became "subjects" of the Nanticoke. They were exterminated in an all out war with the English. In this war, the Nanticoke, Choptank, Assateague and Susquehannock Indians aided the whites. Apparently the Wiccomiss were not popular even with their Indian neighbors.

Tockwhogh

Another settlement on the Sassafras River was occupied by the tockwhogh, according to Smith. One of their villages was situated 7 miles within the river on the south bank and was palisaded. They could make 100 men and their language was different from that spoken by Powhaten. I have found no further reference to Indians by this name either in the Maryland Archives or in the early Delaware documents[16]. Brinton says that Tockwhogh means "bridge builders."

Choptank

Captain Smith apparently did not explore the Choptank River; at least he said nothing of its inhabitants. However, a very important tribe lived on the Choptank where, in the 17th century, there were three and possibly four Indian towns, according to Marye[17]. These towns were as follows:

The first in the neighborhood of the mouth of Whitehall Creek, was known as Transquakines (also Tresquegue). It was also known as King Ababco's Town, after the Choptank chief by that name.

The second in Locust Neck, probably on Goose Creek, was called the upper town. This was also known as Tequassino's town after a Choptank chief by that name.

The third was a palisaded village on Fort Branch, a stream flowing into the head of Secretary's Creek. (This Creek is known today as Warwick River). The town was also called Hatsawap's Town after a third chief. His name was eventually corrupted to Hard Swamp. Many years after his death, the Indians of his town were called the Hardswamps.

A possible fourth town was situated in Indian Neck on the south side of Choptank River between Secretary's Creek and Goose Creek. This seems to have been above Locust Neck, according to Marye, although it may have been an extension of it and not a separate village[18].

The Indians occupying the above towns were called Choptanks by the whites. They were also known by the names of their village chiefs, e.g., Ababco's Indians, Tequissino's Indians and Hatsawap's (or Hardswamp's) Indians. I might say parenthetically that Ababco's son was the chief Wynicaco erroneously called "the last Nanticoke king" by Murray in 1795[19]. The Choptank were frequently confused with the Nanticoke by the whites. They did not, however, fall under the jurisdiction of the Nanticoke Emperor.

The Choptank Indians were frequently attacked by Seneca, Oneida and other of the Five Nation Iroquois who came down the Chesapeake on predatory excursions. Many of the Choptank men and women were carried away as captives by their attackers. Moreover, they and other Eastern Shore Indians paid tribute to the Five Nation Iroquois. However, after 1740, the Iroquois welcomed the Choptank and other Eastern Shore Indians and gave them protection against their enemies[20].

Indian River Indians

The Indian River Indians were originally a band of Assateagues who lived at Buckingham near present Berlin, Maryland. Under extreme white pressure, they were forced from their homes and moved to a place on Dirickson's Creek called Assawoman. Then, about 1705, they settled along Indian River in Sussex County, Delaware. The Maryland authorities in 1711 laid out 1000 acres of land on the south side of Indian River called Askecksy for them. However, by 1742 the land set aside for them had been acquired by white people.

The Indian River Indians were ruled by a Queen Weocomoconus at the time of their migration to Delaware. One of their Kings, contemporary with the queen was known as "Robin the Interpreter"[21]. Unquestionably the Indian River Indians were ancestors of the mixed bloods living on Indian River today who, in 1922, formed the Nanticoke Indian Association.

The Assawomats (also called Assowomacks) were Indians living along the coast, possibly at Assawoman. Like the Kickotank, and Gingoteague mentioned by Colonel Norwood[22] their identity is not clear. It is likely, however, that their affiliation was with the Assateague-Pocomoke. Two other Eastern Shore bands, the Monoponson and Matapeake, lived near or on Kent Island during the first part of the 17th century. None of these people were numerous nor of great importance in the history of the peninsula.

The Lenni Lenape (Delawares)

The Lenni Lenape occupied the upper reaches of the Delaware River, including Delaware, Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. They were called "Delawares," "River Indians," "Renappi," and the English called them "Mathes" or "Mathwas."

It is not possible to state definitely how much of the State of Delaware was occupied by this nation. It has been recently shown by de Valinger, that Indians of Lenape affiliation owned and sold land in southern Delaware[23]. This contradicts an existing misapprehension that New Castle, Delaware or Duck Creek marked the southern extensions of Lenape claims. It is my belief, based on a study of the records, that the Lenape hunting grounds extended across the northern part of the peninsula from Delaware Bay to Chesapeake Bay and at least as far south as present Lewes, Delaware.

The Lenape are generally mentioned in terms of three entities: Minsi, Unami and Unalchtigo. Brinton considers these as sub-tribes and enumerates them as follows[24]:

1. Minsi, Monseys, Monteys, Munsees, Minisinks
2. Unami or Wonamey
3. Unalachtigo.

The same writer defines these terms as follows: Minsi, people of the stoney country; Unami, people down the river; Unalachtigo, people who live near the ocean.

Each of the three subtribes, in turn, contained clans whose totems were wolf, turkey and turtle. Some writers have assigned the clans to places within bounds of the State of Delaware which is without historical or ethnological basis[25]. Leading ethnologists hold that the terms refer to the functions and privileges of ceremonial life, rather than to geographical divisions. However, the totemic significances are not yet wholly understood[26].

There has been undue speculation and too little authenticated data pertaining to the Lenape as applied to the State of Delaware. For example, it has been said that a Unalachtigo village called Chickohoki was located near present Wilmington. Even the esteemed historian Bozman falls into this error[27]. This assumption is derived from the fact that the name "Chikohokin" appears on Captain Smith's map, although the location is indefinite and Smith never visited the village. It has been *assumed* by others that the Unalchtigo Delaware, and not the Minsi or Unami, occupied the State of Delaware. This lacks corroborative data.

Turning from theory to incontrovertible historical reference, we find that Lindestrom who visited the Delaware in 1654 said:

"And six different places are settled under 6 sachems or chiefs, each one commanding a tribe of people under him and each tribe with its own peculiar language, there being several hundred strong under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker. As for instance *Poaelquessingh, Pemipacka, Wickquuenscke, Wickquakonick,* which are situated along the river, but *Passajung* and *Nittabonck* are situated up at the Menejackse River and these chiefs have their own names after the name of the country which they rightfully own[28]."

This is concrete information by a reliable witness that the Indian population on the western shore of the Delaware in 1654 was concentrated in six major villages—all in the area surrounding present Philadelphia. (There were, of course, many villages on the east bank in New Jersey which are not part of this discussion.)

In his text, Lindestrom does not cite Indian villages in present New Castle or Kent Counties. He wrote that a large village at Lèwes called Sironesack was occupied by natives rich in corn fields. This village is also known as Checonnessex or Sikonesses in other documents and its inhabitants were apparently the murderers of the Dutch colonists who settled there[29]. The village at Lewes was not under the jurisdiction of the Nanticoke and from my data, I infer that it may have been a Lenape town[30].

Governor Rising, another eyewitness, says of the Lenape living on the

western shore of the river that *Passayunk* was "the principal place where the greatest number of them live[31]. The occupants were known as Passayunk Indians[32].

The Lenape also resided on the Brandywine River, but none of their villages thereon can be considered as part of the Delmarva Peninsula. A village *Minguanan* on White Clay Creek, near present London Tract Church, could muster 40 warriors. Allusions to this town are very meager[33].

When Peter Minuit landed at Wilmington in 1638, he purchased land from several sachems, including Mattahorn. This chief later deposed that he had a house near where Minuit landed. It is apparent from other transactions that he was one of the Passayunk village chiefs and lived on the Schuylkill River[34]. The chiefs Peminacka and Ahopamen (also called Ahopameck) were also chiefs of Lenape villages on the upper Delaware who also sold land to the whites within the present limits of the State of Delaware[35]. This tends to support the contention that much of northern Delaware was not occupied by permanent Indian residents, but was used as hunting and fishing territory. Archaeological evidences also support the premise that large village sites were extremely rare in New Castle County, but that smaller hunting camps were common.

Minquas

The Minquas Indians were the Susquehannocks who are also known as the Susquehanna-Iroquois. They were strong and warlike and were enemies of the Lenape of Delaware Bay. They also warred against the Five Nation Iroquois, a hostility that lasted for many years and finally lead to the defeat and subjugation of the Minquas.

In the early Swedish, English and Dutch accounts the Susquehannocks are called Minquaas, Minquaos, Minquesser, Mynkussar, Andastes, Andastogherons, Gandastigues, etc. In later years they were called Conestoga Indians. The Susquehannocks were also known as White Minquas to distinguish them from the Black Minquas "who are thus named because they wear a black badge at their breasts and not because they are really black[36]."

Both Black and White Minquas spoke the Iroquoian tongue which differed from the Algonkian language spoken by the Delmarva Peninsula Indians. However, neither were members of the Five Nation Iroquois, a political federation. This distinction is less confusing when we remember that Iroquois and Algonkian are terms that refer to *language* and not cultural groups. Thus an Indian might speak the same language as another and still be his enemy.

The White Minquas (Susquehannocks) lived on the Susquehanna River and its branches[37]. The Black Minquas lived west of the Alleghenies and were probably the band of Erie known as the Honiasont who wore black gorgets at their breasts. The Black Minquas were also called Arregahaga[38].

When the white traders referred to the Minquas country, they were speaking of land north and west of the Delaware River from 50 to 100 miles inland and about 3 days distant from Wilmington. This land abounded in beaver and otter and the Minquas were expert huntsmen. It was this quest for peltries that caused friction between Dutch, Swedes and English for ownership of the Delaware Valley. The valley controlled the trails leading

to the Minquas country. Whoever held the forts on the Delaware could monopolize this profitable fur trade.

Some commentators, failing to grasp the full import of Indian social and political organizations, insist that the Minquas Indians lived in Delaware. This misapprehension arises from the frequent references to Minquas in early Delaware records. However, the Minquas did not live in Delaware, although at times they came to New Sweden to barter their furs. They did not have villages on the Minquas Kill (Christiana River). This river was so named because it was used as an avenue when they came on trading expeditions[39].

The land bordering both banks of the Delaware was owned and occupied by Lenape who were primarily fishermen and farmers—not hunters. Most of them had fixed locations on streams. There they planted corn, fished and raised their families. Hunting was, of course, practiced, but merely filled the gap between the gathering of one crop and the planting of the next. The Dutch and Swedish records inform us that the River Indians had little to trade except fish, hops, corn and some tobacco.

In the clashes between the ambitious war-like Minquas and the sedulent, peace-loving Lenape, the Minquas were eventually victorious in a war which began before 1630 and continued for many years[40]. The Lenape were defeated and subjugated and forced to accept Minquas overlordship. In the land sales made by the Lenape to whites, the Minquas overlords were frequently present to exercise their authority over the vanquished. Delaware chiefs functioned as owners of land "both by ownership and by descent and *appointment of Minquas* and River Indians[41]."

The Lenape, living happily in the Delaware River, were attacked by marauding bands of Minquas from the Susquehanna region. Their corn fields were destroyed and their families murdered. Many were driven from the west bank of the Delaware to the east bank.

The Minquas simultaneously made war against the Five Nation Iroquois. In this war, the Minquas were defeated and fell under the domination of the Five Nations. Since many of the Lenape tribes were at that time subjects of the Minquas, they automatically became subjects of the Five Nations. Other Delaware tribes in Pennsylvania were directly conquered by the Iroquois.

As a conquered people, the Lenape were dishonored and insulted by the Iroquois and were called "women." It was not until the French and Indian Wars that the Lenape broke the bonds of serfdom and once more declared themselves a free people. With the Shawnee they assaulted the frontier settlements. But that is another story.

Other Indians

The *Seneca* are mentioned in early Delmarva documents. They were one of the Five Nation Iroquois and their home was in northern Pennsylvania and New York. Occasionally they came down the Delaware to trade with the whites. They generally created some disturbance on their visits and were accused of murdering a number of whites.

The *Massawomekes*, mentioned by Captain Smith, should be considered as the Five Nation Iroquois under another name. It can not be said

definitely whether they were Oneida or Seneca or whether Smith used the word loosely to describe all of the Five Nations. They, too, came on warring parties down the Chesapeake.

The term *Mingoe* was used by the Delaware Indians to refer to Indians of Iroquoian-speaking tribes. It is not synonymous with Minquas.

The *Shawnees* (called also Sawanoes) were a southern tribe who settled with the Susquehannocks in the colonial period. In 1742, the Shawnee sent a war party to the Nanticoke River to invite the Eastern Shore Indians to join them in an attack against the English. The Shawnee, however, did not have villages on the Delmarva Peninsula.

While the information presented in this discussion does not exhaust my notes, I hope it is sufficiently complete to add to knowledge of the identities of Delmarva tribes.

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1. Amandus Johnson (1911) a reliable commentator on the Indians confines his remarks largely to the upper Delaware valley. Scharf (1888) is reasonably accurate, but he limits himself to the State of Delaware. George Johnston (1881) is a dependable authority but he writes only of Maryland Indians. Likewise, Bozman (1837) and Semmes (1937) scholarly commentators, are interested only in Maryland Indians. Jennings Cropper Wise (1911) limits himself to the Eastern Shore of Virginia, neglecting the upper parts of the peninsula. Ferris (1846), Acrelius (1874), Vincent (1870) and Conrad (1907) are widely quoted as Delaware historians, but their chapters on the Indians are inacurrate and conflicting.
2. *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith,* Vol. 1 and 2, ed. by E. Arber, Edinburg, 1910; also *The Observations of Master John Porry, ibid,* pp. 567-569.
3. Okiawampe died in 1657 and his will is on file in the *Northampton County, Virginia Records,* Vol. 1657-1666.
4. Robert Beverly, *History of Virginia.*
5. Part 2, p. 25.
6. I agree with Bozman (J. L. Bozman, *History of Maryland,* Baltimore, 1837) that the *Tants Wighcocomoco* is identical with the stream now called the Pocomoke River; also that the *Kuskarawaoke River* shown on Smith's map is the same as the present Nanticoke River; that the *Ozinies* is the Chester River, and the *Tockwhogh* the Sassafras River. Bozman's opinion is borne out by a comparative study of the location of Eastern Shore Rivers on Smith's map and modern maps. Smith's map is a remarkable example of cartography. Dr. Maurice Mook finds it amazingly accurate for the western shore of Chesapeake Bay, and it has been very helpful in the writer's explorations on the Eastern Shore.
7. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 5, pp. 479, 480, 518; also Vol. 15, p. 213.
8. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 5, p. 479. Askimokonson is also snown on Augustine Herrman's famous map of 1670.
9. For references to Choatam, see *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 17, pp. 348, 349. For references to Amonugus, *ibid,* Vol. 15, p. 142. For Monason, see Vol. 33, p. 157. There are other scattered allusions to Assateague Emperors which need not be cited here.

9a. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 20, p. 434.

10. The distinction between the several groups is made in numerous official records. While the following records are incomplete they will serve to prove the point; *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 28, p. 274; Vol. 17, p. 95; Vol. 6, p. 132; Vol. 34, p. 129. At a conference held at Easton, Oct. 8, 1658, among the Indians present were the "Nanticokes and Conys, now one nation". See *Minutes of the Provincial Council,* Vol. 8, Thos. Fenn and Co., 1852, p. 176.
11. John Heckewelder, *"History of the Customs, Manners, etc.",* Phila., 1876.
12. Smith, *op cit,* p. 415.
13. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 15, p. 142.
14. The above information does not appear in one document, but has been collected from several sources The data cited can be found in *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 8,

pp. 432-533; Vol. 13, p. 323; Vol. 23, p. 456; Vol. 26, p. 442; Vol. 29, pp. 228, 244, 273.

15. William B. Marye, *The Wiccomiss Indians of Maryland,* American Antiquity, Vol. 4 No. 2, 1938, p. 146; the second installment appears in Vol. 5 No. 1, 1939, pp. 51-52.
16. All that is known to the writer about the Tockwhogh can be found in Smith, *op. cit,* pp. 55, 71, 117, 118, 349; 351; 367; 422-24.
17. William B. Marye, *The Choptank Indians,* Bulletin Archaeological Society of Delaware, Vol. 2, No. 5, Oct. 1937.
18. Marye, *ibid,* for description in detail of the village locations.
19. For this letter from Murray to Thomas Jefferson, see Frank G. Speck, *The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians,* Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, p. 41. The Choptank remnants in 1795 were called Locust Neck Indians from their place of abode.
20. The *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* 8 volumes, *op cit,* clarify the amicable relationship that existed between the Eastern Shore Indians and the Five Nations after 1742.
21. William B. Marye, *Indians of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware,* Archaeological Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1941.
22. Norwood's account, called "A Voyage to Virginia," can be found in Churchill's *Voyages and Travels,* Vol. 6, London, p. 145, 1732.
23. Mehocksett, Petequoqe, Socoroccet, Lenape chieftains, sold land to the English in Kent and Sussex County, Delaware which they "owned". Leon de Valinger, Jr., *Indian Land Sales in Delaware,* Archaeological Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1941.
24. D. G. Brinton, *The Lenape and Their Legends,* Phila., 1885.
25. Anna T. Lincoln, *Our Indians of Early Delaware,* Wilmington 1932, says p. 7 that the "Unami or turkey clan occupied Delaware." This can not be supported. The same author makes other questionable statements. Brinton, *op cit,* p. 37 says that the Unalactigo had "their principal seat" near Wilmington which is also without historical basis. I could cite many other errors and conflicting statements which other authors have made.
26. M. R. Harrington, shows this distinction in his delightful ethno-historical story, *Dickon Among the Lenape,* 1941. He also discusses clans and phratries in *Religion and Ceremony of the Lenape.* Indian Notes and Monographs, Heye Foundation, N. Y. 1921; also in *A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture,* American Anthropologist, n.s. Vol. 15, No. 2, 1913, p. 208; also in *Some Customs of the Delaware Indians,* Journal Musuem of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1, No. 3, Phila., 1910, p. 52.
    Further references can be found in Frank G. Speck, *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances,* American Phil. Society, Phila., 1937; also in *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony,* Penna. Hist. Commission, Harrisburg, Vol. 2, 1931.
27. Bozman, op cit, f,n., p. 122. He quotes Charles Thompson and the Historian Proud, both of whom fell into the same error.
28. Peter Lindestrom, *Geographia Americae,* trans. by Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1925, p. 170. See also Thomas Campanius, *A Short Description, etc.,* trans. by du Ponceau, Hist. Soc. of Penna. 1884, p. 146 for references to those villages. Doubtless the younger Campanius took much of his information from Lindestrom, although he was guided by the notes of his grandfather who had visited America and who had translated Luther's *Catechism* into the Algonkian tongue.
29. Peter de Vries, *Korte Historiael,* 1630-1633.
30. Krawcom, an Indian accused by the whites of murder was described as "an Indian belonging to the King of Checonesseck, a Town upon the Horekills....and he belonged properly to that town and not to the Nanticokes", see *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 15, p. 146.
31. *Narratives of Early Pa., West N. J. and Del.,* ed. by Albert Cook Myers,New York, 1912, p. 564.
32. The chief Pinna, who signed the treaty with the English at Odessa, Delaware, Sept. 29, 1661 was one of the prominent Passayunk Indians of his time. He did not live in Delaware. For events leading up to the treaty see *Documents Relating to the Dutch and Swedish Settlements,* B. Fernow, Vol. 12, Albany, 1877, p. 356.
33. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. 23, p.444. In Vol. 29, p. 520 it is stated (1679): "That the Delaware Indians live at Minguannan about nine miles from the head of Elke River and fifteen miles from Christeen and thirty Mile from Susquehanna river and

are about three hundred red men and are tributary to the Senecars and Susquehannaks fifty of them living at Minguhannan and the rest upon Brandywine and Upland Creeks."

34. *Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New York,* Brodhead, Vol. 1, 1856, p. 598.
35. de Valinger, *op cit.*
36. Adriaen Van der Donck, *A Description of New Netherlands,* Collection N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d series, Vol. 1, N. Y., 1841, p. 209.
37. For a splendid presentation of historical references to the Minquas see H. Frank Eshleman, *Lancaster County, Pa. Indians,* Lancaster, Pa.,1908. I am indebted to Archibald Crozier for the loan of this and other invaluable references.
38. William N. Fenton, *Problems Arising From the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois,* Smithsonian Miscell. Collections, Vol. 100, May 1940, f.n., p. 159.
39. In the "Report of Andries Hudde", p. 256 in the *Instruction for Johan Printz,* trans. by Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1930, it is said: "Further up the river about three miles on the west shore on a creek called the Minquas Kill, so named because it runns quite near the Minquas country, etc."
40. For a description of the war between the two groups, see "Relation of Thomas Yong, 1634" in Myers, *op cit.*
41. A Fairly complete discussion of this relationship can be found in W. A. McLeod, *The Family Hunting Territory and Lenape Political Organization,* American Anthropologist, n, s. Vol. 24, No .4, pp. 448-463, 1922.