

# BULLETIN

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# The Archaeological Society of Delaware

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**BULLETIN**  
**THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE**

Vol. 4, No. 3

February, 1946

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

***Meetings***

Two interesting lecture meetings were held by the Society last Fall. The first of these on October 6 marked the formal re-opening of the Society's Museum (which had been closed during the War) at the University of Delaware. In honor of the occasion this meeting was addressed by our own Vice President for Sussex County, who is also one of the founders of the Society, Mr. H. Geiger Omwake. Mr. Omwake elaborated on the work already described by him in Vol. 4, No. 2, of the Society's Bulletin dated May, 1945. At the conclusion of his address Mr. Omwake very generously donated to the Society much of the material he had uncovered during the course of his most recent archaeological explorations on the Delmarva Peninsula. The Society is greatly indebted to Mr. Omwake for these additional contributions to its Museum and takes this opportunity of publicly thanking him for them.

The concluding lecture of 1945 was delivered by Dr. Robert P. Elmer on November 24. Dr. Elmer, nationally known archer and authoritative writer on bows and arrows, spoke on *Archery and the American Indian*. Dr. Elmer traced the evolution of the bow from earliest prehistoric times to the present, illustrating his talk with an abundance of exhibits. A large audience, including members of the Wilmington Trail and Archery Clubs, greatly enjoyed Dr. Elmer's speech.

**A MESSAGE FROM THE TREASURER**

No business concern can operate without money, and the same rule holds good for the Archaeological Society of Delaware.

Our revenue has been very much reduced during the past three years, due to several causes. We have remitted the dues of all members who entered the Government service, and due to the exigencies of the war, several of our Patrons have withdrawn their financial support.

In view of these facts, it is more than ever incumbent on our other members to keep their dues paid.

We need, and want, the support of every member, and would urge you to remit to the Treasurer, if you are now in arrears. It would also help greatly if you could influence some of your friends to join the Society. The dues are very moderate, in view of the benefit to be derived from taking part in our activities and receiving our Bulletin.



## CHIEF NAAMAN—NAAMAN CREEK

By ARTHUR G. VOLKMAN

Near Claymont, Delaware, a small industrial town north of Wilmington, the visitor's attention is drawn to a sign (erected in 1932 by the Historical Markers Commission) which is of unusual archaeo-historical interest. It reads:

### NAAMAN'S CREEK

*Named for Indian Chief, 1655. Chief Peminacka of Minqua Tribe deeded large tract of Land along Naaman's Creek to John Rising, Governor New Sweden. Noted Swedish artists, Gustavus Hesselius and Adolph Ulric Wertmuller, lived on Plantations on this creek.*

One's curiosity is aroused. We would know more of Naaman's Creek and the Indian chief whose name is allegedly memorialized by the creek and we seek aid at the Wilmington Institute Free Library. There we learn that Naaman's Creek once unobtrusively gained notoriety. In the Gay Nineties certain discoveries in the bed of Naaman's Creek and about the circumadjacent territory by an amateur archaeologist of Philadelphia, led scientists to believe that here was the "cradle of man" in North America.<sup>1</sup> As a result the eyes of the scientific world were focused on the creek and hence its history is of more than local, transitory moment.

Thus encouraged we search for earlier references to Naaman's Creek, and not without success. Books and papers<sup>2</sup> containing land patents and other information evidence the importance of the creek, both in aboriginal and historic times; and several authors have included something of Chief Naaman's history in secondary works. For instance, Elsie Lathrop,<sup>3</sup> describing an archaic block house standing beside the old Robinson home on the north bank of Naaman's Creek near its mouth states:

*"In this block house, Swedish colonists used to take refuge when warned by the friendly Indian chief Naaman, that the Indians were on the war-path."*

The Swedish historian, Ferris,<sup>4</sup> calls Naaman a "distinguished chief" and adds ". . . as the creek [Naaman] about two miles lower down took its name from the old Indian chief and orator of the Minquas (sic!) tribe, called Naaman."<sup>5</sup>

Anna T. Lincoln makes this contribution: "*The remains of a very extensive weir, which had been built at Naaman's Creek near Claymont was explored and described by Hilborne T. Cresson, A.M.; in 1892. The Lenape word for fish was Names and the Delaware River in those days teemed with sturgeon, rock, shad, smelt, perch, roach, trout, herring. Is it not possible that the Chief Naaman, so called by the whites, was Chief of the Names and not named for the biblical character?*"

These statements, and others which it is unnecessary to quote, all



fascinating, some erroneous, none conclusive, seem apparently to have been inspired by a meeting between the then Governor of New Sweden, John Rising, and a number of Indian chiefs at Tinicum Island on June 17, 1654. There exist only two eye-witness accounts of this meeting. The first occurs in the journal of John Rising and the other written by a subordinate, Peter Lindestrom, in a work entitled *Geographia Americae*.<sup>7</sup> Of the two, Lindestrom's appears to be the more reliable report. Before quoting the section of *Geographia Americae* pertinent to our study, a few words concerning its author, may not be amiss.

*Geographia Americae* was translated into English by Amandus Johnson and published in 1925, but prior to Johnson's translation earlier European authors, and two Swedes<sup>8</sup> in particular, had access to *Geographia Americae* in the original Swedish version. All made liberal and unwarranted use of the material contained within its covers, using certain parts that suited their purpose. Hence excerpts of it (some in their entirety—some mutilated) reached us before Johnson's translation of the complete work. Following the preface to his translation of *Geographia Americae*, Johnson gives a short biographical sketch of Lindestrom from which we learn that Lindestrom was born in Sweden, May 18, 1632, and educated in the same country at the University of Upsala, "studying history and geography and specialized in mathematics and the 'art of fortification.'" On February 2, 1654, Lindestrom, then a young man, left Gothenburg, Sweden, on the ship *Ohrn* (Eagle), aboard which was John Rising (later destined to be Governor of New Sweden), soldiers, colonists, etc., with Fort Christina as their ultimate objective. Lindestrom's official position on this expedition was analogous to one held by Charles Darwin, on H.M.S. *The Beagle*, on its historic trip around the world. He was ranked as an officer but without any special duties or classification, his name not even on the payroll; but like Darwin also, Lindestrom was not lacking in certain valuable qualities. Let us hear Johnson extoll Lindestrom's virtues: "He was a useful man, however, on account of his linguistic ability, and even on the outward journey, he was employed in different ways, as secretary and translator and in parleys with foreign officers. He was a close observer and an ardent seeker for information in many fields,—he would walk miles and spare neither time, trouble nor means to obtain facts and figures about his special subject, the science of fortification." After the arrival of the *Ohrn* at Fort Christina, May 2, 1654, Lindestrom was appointed an "Engineer" and of his subsequent activities Johnson had this to say: "He [Lindestrom] was an accomplished linguist, with a knowledge of Latin, German, Dutch and French, and during his stay on the Delaware he picked up much of the Lenape dialect." Again, "... he located every creek and river that entered the Delaware from its mouth [Cape Henlopen] to the falls [at Trenton] and searched out their native names ..." (italics mine). Further, "... he made numerous soundings of the Delaware Channel and prepared a chart of the River and Bay with minute sailing directions. He apparently visited the mouth of every creek which empties into the Delaware from the Cape to the Falls and ascertained their Indian names." I have dwelt on this at some length in order to establish the credibility and ability of Lindestrom as an observer and reporter. Now we are ready to proceed with Lindestrom's story of his introduction to Chief Naaman as related in *Geographia Americae*.

"The 16th of June [1654] we [Governor Rising, Lindestrom, et al.,] went again in the yacht to Printzhoff, or Tenna-



*konck [at present Tinicum Island in the Delaware River below Philadelphia].*

*"The day after, which was the 17th of June, 10 sachems, i.e., chiefs or rulers of the savage people of our own river [Delaware], assembled at Tennakonck or Printzhoff. Then we spoke to them first on behalf of our great Queen in Sweden [and] thanked them for having so far always kept good friendship with our [people] out here, particularly in these rebellious times. If they would continue to do likewise hereafter, we would show all good friendship towards them, so that in case any enemy would attack them we should warn them in time and seek [by] every means to keep peace. We would also expect the same of them . . . Thereupon it behooved us to remember them with presents, and the presents were laid in a heap on the floor. Then they gave us to understand that they wished the presents might be distributed to each one separately, which we did, giving to each Sachem or Chief, who were ten in number, by name as follows: namely, From Passajung, Ahopamen and his brother Quirocus, Peminacka, Speck, Weymotto and Juncker; from Nittabakonck, Mattawiracka and Skalitzi, from Sipaessingh, Winangene [and] Naaman. Each one [received] one ell of frieze, a kettle, an axe, a hoe, a knife, one pound of powder, a bar of lead and 6 awl points. To the other interlopers, 14 or 15 in number [were given as follows]: to one, a knife and 2 awls, to another an axe, a hatchet, etc. When they received the presents they went out and consulted together, whereupon they came in again, and one [of them] Naaman, by name, rebuked the other savages, that they at times had spoken ill of us and injured us. We were good people. 'See there,' said he, 'what they bring us and how they offer us friendship' and then [he] stroked himself down his arm a few times, as a sign of particular good friendship. Then he thanked us, on behalf of all, for the presents and said that we should hereafter keep a very fast friendship, that if they had hitherto been as one body and one heart during the time of Meschatz, i.e., large stomach (thus they called Governor Prints), therewith [he] struck himself on his breast, so should they hereafter be as one head with us, [and] at this [he] grasped about his head and twisted around with his hands, as though he wanted to tie a fast knot. Thereupon he told us a ridiculous simile [saying], that just as a calabash is a round growth, without a fissure or cut, so should we hereafter also be like one head without a fissure, and if anyone would attack them, we should make it known to them; if they [on the other hand] perceived the like against us, they would indeed give [us] warning [even in] the dark midnight. And when they were told that this was all very well, if they would all affirm and keep it, they all gave a loud shout and consent [to it]. Then salute was given with our cannon, which pleased them very much. 'Pu, hu, hu, makirick pickon,' said they, 'the large gun is now going.' Thereupon wine and brandy were given to them."*

The narrative then continues in a similar vein with other speech-making and festivities, after which their Indian allies departed and the Swedes returned to Fort Christina.



From Lindestrom's account, may, therefore, be inferred the source of the conclusions drawn by later historians. Miss Lathrop's reference to the Swedes taking refuge in the block house when warned by Chief Naaman is sheer fiction, supported only by Lindestrom's remark that "if anyone would attack them, we should make it known to them; if they [on the other hand] perceived the like against us, they would indeed give [us] warning [even in] the dark midnight." History does not reveal that either party ever took advantage of this mutual agreement.

Ferris' statements previously quoted, likewise hint in part of Lindestrom's influence with modifications, doubtless added by Ferris himself, which cannot be verified. Following historians, Scharf, Bevans, Vincent, Conrad, and others took liberties in amplifying Lindestrom's text.

Conceding that Naaman was old and a chief we must also admit, after reading Lindestrom's report, that Naaman was an orator—and a good one. Not only by speech did Chief Naaman demonstrate his oratorical skill in attempting to curry favor with the Swedes by upbraiding his fellow natives for their alleged misdeeds, but he emphasized his friendship for the Swedes with gestures as well. Those who are familiar with Indian histrionics will instantly recognize the significance of the gesticulations that accompanied Naaman's efforts. "He [Naaman] stroked himself down the arm a few times"; "... [he] struck himself on his breast"; "... he grasped about his head and twisted around with his hands." Indeed a few presents seem to have greatly stimulated Naaman's forensic abilities. One wonders if his oratory soared to greater heights when "Thereupon wine and brandy were given to them!"

But returning to Ferris' quotation. Authoritatively it can be said that Naaman was not of the Minquas tribe. The Minquas were Susquehannocks and hence of the Iroquoian linguistic family; the Swedes were in Algonkian territory dealing with the Lenape. Further, Speck<sup>10</sup> "thinks that Naaman is not a Minquas (Iroquois) vocable because there is no *m* in this group of tongues. It is more likely an Algonkian term." Now for Ferris' assertion that Naaman's Creek "... took its name from the old Indian chief ... called Naaman."

After an exhaustive investigation, including Delaware and Pennsylvania state documents and archives, the first mention we can find of Chief Naaman is that contained in Lindestrom's story and the first map on which the creek appears under its present name (Naaman's) is on one prepared by Lindestrom while in America 1654-1655. It may or may not be noteworthy that nowhere in the *Geographia Americae* does Lindestrom insinuate that Naaman's Creek was named after an Indian chief. While silence may be construed as lending credence to the origin of Ferris' speculation that Naaman's Creek took its name from the Chief, it is not conclusive. We have already learned from Johnson that "He [Lindestrom] apparently visited the mouth of every creek which empties into the Delaware from the Cape to the Falls and ascertained their Indian names." Lindestrom's purpose in doing this was not without an object. He was preparing elaborate maps of the Delaware River basin to be presented to the Swedish crown. In the light of this it is only fair to assume that accuracy was Lindestrom's first consideration in cartography and that it was in the interest of uniformity he searched out and preserved the Indian names of rivers and places. This does not by any means imply



that Lindestrom was motivated in naming the creek "Naaman," or that it was even called so by the Indians before the arrival of the Europeans, in deference to Chief Naaman. That the creek and the chief bore the same name may have been a mere coincidence.

On a reproduction of one of Lindestrom's maps<sup>11</sup> Johnson inscribes the following legend concerning Naaman's Kijl:

*"Naaman Creek. Naaman was an Indian chief, hence Naaman's Creek from the fact, perhaps, that he lived on the river at some time, or claimed jurisdiction over it."*

In addition to attributing the name of the creek to Chief Naaman, Johnson here also ventures an explanation of the reason. This elucidation, while it cannot be definitely disproved, is susceptible of strong arguments to the contrary. No positive evidence has yet been adduced to prove that Chief Naaman actually ever lived along or near Naaman's Creek and as far as having jurisdiction over it, let us quote DeValinger:<sup>12</sup> "Shortly afterwards [the convocation of June 17, 1654, at Tinicum Island], on July 8th, the Sachems Peminacka and Ahopameck came to Fort Christina and while there discussed the land between Christina River and Sandhook or present New Castle . . . Peminacka presented to the Swedes Tamakonck and Sandhook and the surrounding lands. In addition he gave all the land already bought from Fort Christina up the Delaware River to Naaman's Point and to Marikes Hook (Marcus Hook). Ahopameck then presented the Swedes with the land from Marikes Hook to Tennakonck (Tinicum Island)." No eating, drinking and speech-making at these negotiations—all business. Thus it will be seen that while Chief Naaman took a prominent part in the earlier meeting it was in reality the chiefs Peminacka and Ahopameck who had jurisdiction over the land both north and south of Naaman's Creek, or it would not have been within their provinces to dispose of it. It is improbable that Naaman claimed only jurisdiction over the creek itself, as someone may be facetious enough to intimate. This finally brings us to the question of Chief Naaman's domicile.

In so far as Lindestrom's report is concerned, he advises that Chief Naaman, together with Chief Winangene, hailed from *Sipaessingh*. "Sipaessingh,"<sup>13</sup> Johnson notes, "refers to parts of Falls Township, Bucks County, Pa., bordering on the Delaware." Lindestrom shows the Indian village *Sipaessingh* on his map as located along the Delaware River some miles above Philadelphia. Horace M. Mann<sup>14</sup> advises he can find no mention of this Indian village by name in the records of Falls township, Bucks County, Pa., but the site may have been deserted at an early date.

From whence, then, did the creek Naaman derive its name? Frankly we don't know and there is no proof that Naaman the chief and Naaman the creek were connected in any way. In addition to Naaman's Creek on the west bank of the Delaware River we also located reference to a river of similar name on the east bank of the Delaware in the vicinity of Salem, N. J.,<sup>15</sup> and farther up the Delaware River below Milford, Pa., we find a Namanock Island,<sup>16</sup> all of which would seem to indicate that *Naaman* was an etymological root in Lenape dialect. It is not likely that Naaman Creek in Delaware and Pennsylvania, Naaman River in New Jersey, and Namanock Island, a great distance up the Delaware River from either



place, all derived their names from Chief Naaman. All efforts to determine whether Naaman was a place name of unquestionable Indian origin have been unsuccessful. Miss Lincoln's understanding that Naaman's Creek derived its name from a biblical character can be discounted on the grounds of what has been stressed regarding Lindstrom's practice of searching out or ascertaining native names of streams and places. Consequently it was Indian names (when available) and not biblical names Lindstrom affixed to place names on his maps, a deduction which I believe a glance at these maps will confirm.

The interrogatory conjecture interposed by Miss Lincoln that Chief Naaman received his name by reason of being chief of the *Names* (fish) might be acceptable were it not for the fact that we have no knowledge of an Indian tribe so-called living in the Delaware River valley (or elsewhere in North America for that matter). Her naive query does, however, unwittingly suggest a possible clue to the solution of the problem—is *naaman* a derivation or corruption of an Indian word having to do with fish or fishing? This thought is prompted in part by the fact that it is now generally believed that the discovery made by the Philadelphia amateur, Cresson, in Naaman's Creek, really constituted a fish weir and it is probable that the creek did swarm with fish. Archaeological work has shown that a native village existed on the south bank of the creek close to its junction point with the Delaware.<sup>17</sup> Namanock Island was the site of an aboriginal village. Schrabisch<sup>18</sup> comments on it as follows: "The flats below Namanock Island, near the mouth of Dry Brook, have yielded abundant testimonials assignable to Indian occupation." Fish, perhaps, provided an item of food for its inhabitants as they did for the Indians on Naaman's Creek and at the same time suggested a descriptive place name for both to the natives. Incidentally the Algonkian word form for fishing line was *aman*.<sup>19</sup> This supposition, if possible of verification, would definitely refute the contention that the memory of Chief Naaman is perpetuated in Naaman's Creek. Speck,<sup>20</sup> however, cannot endorse even this idea. He holds that while the conception of the expression *Naaman* evolving from the Indian word for fish (*Names*) is not absolutely untenable, the "dropping of the *s* is quite a serious point," and that the name *Naaman* "could be a derivation of the stem *na'am* plus some formal ending. It could also be conceived as a metathesis of *Na'hanum* (raccoon) with accent on the first syllable, and *n* changing places with *m* by mishearing on the part of some scribe of the times. That often happens." So here we must let the matter rest.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The relation of the word Naaman to Naaman's Creek and its subsequent association with Chief Naaman must, for the time being, remain among the many other "problematicals" of archaeology and ethno-history.

Discarding literary frills, speculation and pure myths, the facts are simple and undeniable:

1. *Naaman* appears to have been a Lenape chief whose home village was at *Sipaessingh* on the upper Delaware. He did not live in Delaware on Naaman's Creek and so far as we know he may never have visited the stream. He was not a *Minquas*.
2. *Naaman* was an orator and at the meeting with Governor Rising in



1654, he acted as spokesman for the Indians, signifying that he was held in high regard by the natives.

3. There are only two "primary" sources of reference to *Naaman*—Rising's Journal and Lindestrom's *Geographia Americae*. Neither writer associates *Naaman* in any way with the creek. The association came about through speculation of later historians and is without proof.
4. The likelihood is that *Naaman's Creek* was named by the Indians for reasons that are not now known, but probably had nothing to do with the Chief.
5. The historical marker quoted in the opening of this paper gives an erroneous impression by stating that the creek was named for the chief.<sup>21</sup>

1 C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Buried Past*, Phila., 1944, pp. 30-44.

2 Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 1609-1682, Phila., 1850, pp. 151-153; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware*, Phila., 1888, V. II, pp. 900-904; *History of Delaware, Past and Present*, W. L. Bevans, Editor, New York, 1939, p. 90; *The Record of the Court at Upland [Ohester]*, Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681, Phila., 1880, p. 48.

3 Elise Lathrop, *Early American Inns and Taverns*, New York, 1926, p. 200.

4 Benjamin Ferris, *A History of the Original Settlements on The Delaware*, Wilmington, Del., 1846, p. 83.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

6 Anna T. Lincoln, *Wilmington, Del.; Three Centuries Under Four Flags*, Rutland, Vt., 1937, p. 15.

7 Peter Lindestrom, *Geographia Americae*, translated by Amandus Johnson, Phila., 1925, pp. 126-129.

8 Thomas Campanius Holm, *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, translated by Peter S. DuPonceau, Phila., 1834; Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden or The Settlements on the River Delaware*, translated by Wm. M. Reynolds, Phila., 1874.

9 Johnson annotates this passage on p. 128 of *Geographia Americae*, pointing out two discrepancies between it and the entry relating to the same pow-wow contained in Rising's journal. These foot-notes (self-explanatory respecting the variations occasioning their need) read:

"Rising says there were twelve chiefs, but as Lindestrom not only gives the names of the chiefs, but also the location of their villages, he is perhaps more correct. Possibly there were two smaller chiefs present whom Lindestrom neglects to mention. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 563 ff.; *The Swedes in America*, I, 279 ff."

"Rising calls him Hackaman, but Lindestrom is perhaps nearer the correct at reducing the name to phonetic writing. The name has been retained in *Naaman's Kill* (see map)."

10 Dr. Frank G. Speck—Personal letter, August 10, 1945.

11 Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

12 Leon deValinger, Jr., *Indian Land Sales in Delaware*. Monograph, The Archaeological Society of Delaware, Wilmington, Del., 1941, p. 4.

13 Johnson, *op. cit.*, f. n. p. 167.

14 H. M. Mann, Curator, The Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pa.—Personal letter, August 3, 1945.

15 Gabriel Thomas, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707*, A. C. Meyers, Editor, New York, 1912, p. 350.

16 Max Schrabisch, *Archaeology of Delaware River Valley*, Harrisburg, 1930, p. 144.

17 *Archaeological Notes on Claymont, Delaware and Vicinity*, by Archibald Crozier, Bulletin, The Archaeological Society of Delaware, Vol. 8, No. 3, February, 1940, pp. 8-6.

18 Schrabisch, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

19 D. G. Brinton, *A Lenape—English Dictionary*, Phila., 1888, p. 19.

20 Speck, *op. cit.*

21 The author is greatly indebted to C. A. Weslager for assistance.



## "CUDGELLING RABBITS" AN OLD NANTICOKE HUNTING TRADITION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

FRANK G. SPECK

Unwonted surprises seem ever to be lurking below the earth horizons that bound the vision of an archaeologist in the field. No collector, however, welcomes a rare acquisition more eagerly than the ethnologist who rescues some almost forgotten fact of native custom from the lips of the living. Here is an example of the kind recorded in 1945 during a sojourn among the Nanticoke descendants of Indian River Hundred, Sussex County, Delaware, while engaged in field work supported by the Morrow Research and Publication Fund, University of Pennsylvania.

Ellwood Wright, now in his upper seventies and one of the oldest men of the contemporary Nanticoke group, is the source of certain information on the use of the throwing club, or "cudgel" as it was termed in the folk-speech of the neighborhood, for killing rabbits. His account brings the Nanticoke for the first time into the list of those North American tribes known to have hunted in the well-known manner of the Australians by knocking down victims with a club or "boomerang" thrown by hand. The practice he describes coincides moreover with a method of rabbit hunting known to the Powhatan Indians of Tidewater Virginia discussed and illustrated in a monograph on the Rappahannock Indian descendants of Essex County in that state.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto no account of hunting rabbits with throwing clubs or sticks among tribes of the Eastern Woodlands has appeared in print. We are then fortunate in having these instances to place on record as an addition to our knowledge of the hunting methods of Indians of the Middle Atlantic Slope area whose past life is still so little known. Need it be mentioned here that tribes of the desert and plateau regions of Southern California, New Mexico and Nevada employ the selfsame weapon for like purposes?<sup>2</sup>



*Throwing clubs ("cudgels") for killing rabbits, made of persimmon root stocks by Ellwood Wright. (26 and 29 inches.) Nanticoke community, Indian River, Sussex County, Delaware.*

**Material :**

*Persimmon (Diospyros virginiana L.) shoots of young trees, unpeeled and cut so that butt end of sapling forms the club end of "cudgel." A bush fire had scorched the lower part of saplings causing accidental hardening of the heavy ends of specimens obtained.*

**Workmanship:**

*None except whittling away of sharp edges of striking and handle end and removal of twig shoots.*

**Dimensions:**

*Length, 26 and 29 inches, width at head end both specimens 1 3/4 inches, at handle end 3/4 and 7/8 inch.*

**Weight:**

*14 and 10 ounces.*



Turning now to Ellwood Wright's relation of how Nanticoke hunters of the last generation killed rabbits with the throwing club. It began when I found him in a reminiscent mood one day sitting on his wood pile watching a maturing flock of pullets in a pen nearby. The topic changed from poultry raising to hunting—to rabbit hunting in particular because lately I had been giving thought to the "rabbit drive" of the Rappahannock in eastern Virginia. The snowfall of the past winter had been somewhat exceptional for the region and the tracking of animals was an appropriate theme. Ellwood came to mention "cudgelling rabbits." What did he mean? It soon became clear that he was describing something new to our records here how certain men of his boyhood went forth after snowstorms when rabbit tracking was easy and knocked down their game with "cudgels" carried as throwing weapons. It would be another matter to dwell on his manner of speech, its quaint phrases in a high-pitched yet almost inaudible voice requiring close attention to be heard. Ellwood is fond of anecdotes and adventures and tells them vividly with details not omitted.

He recalled how about forty years ago Bill Coursey, an old man of about eighty years, stopped at his father's house on the way to hunt rabbits at the Puddle Hole, a cove on the north bank of Indian River four or five miles east of Millsboro. This Bill was one of three children, Bill, Tom, and Mary, descended from an old Indian family of the Indian River As-sateague band, later known collectively with other tribal survivors as Nanticoke.<sup>3</sup> The Puddle Hole woods had been cleared off a year or two before and old heaps of brush had been left here and there under which rabbits had sought shelter during the cold spell. At such times, he explained, their tracks leading from the fields to the brush piles are plainly shown. Rabbits abounded in "old fields" not in newly cut-over land. Bill Coursey on this occasion was armed with two of the cudgels he had cut as weapons for his expedition. Returning later in the day Bill stopped to rest at Ellwood's home and displayed three rabbits he had struck down, saying that he had lost two others when he tried to club them out of a dense brush heap. Men like Bill who hunted in this way went by themselves when sominded and not in companies or with dogs to drive the animals. In this particular we note a difference between rabbit hunting methods according to Nanticoke tradition and those recorded among the Virginia tribes already mentioned, for the latter (Rappahannock) followed the drive method with dogs, and a company of hunters, and spent some days in combing a specified district and returning to their starting point. When asked if the Indian River people had ever organized parties for the drive on communal hunt, Ellwood stated that he had never heard of it. At times different sections of brush-land were hunted over by individuals like Bill Coursey, and among others Burton's woods was remembered as one of the objectives after the tract had been logged.

The cudgels used at the time of this narrative were of hard heavy green hickory, dogwood, white oak or persimmon wood precisely like those figured. The usual throwing distance, he stated, was about thirty to forty feet, according to the opportunity offered by the animal. Hunters tried to discern their victims while they were sitting, not waiting for them to become alarmed and jump off. Sportsmanship was not a consideration in any sense. The aim at a sitting rabbit was more certain than at a running creature. Carrying usually two or three of the clubs the hunter had a chance to bring down his victim if he missed at the first throw. The manner of heaving the club was by an overhand swing about level with the



shoulder. Ellwood demonstrated the motions and they were found to be similar to those observed among the Rappahannock. Hunters who resorted to this method of food getting at odd times during the winter kept several old clubs in their wood sheds as a provision for other excursions and used the same ones as long as they lasted.

The narrator remembered that the favorite time for "cudgelling" rabbits was on a frosty morning after a light snow had fallen during the night to betray the nocturnal peregrinations of the furry tidbits between field and splash-piles.

Ellwood described in detail the type of cudgel used at Indian River. It was round in cross-section, the bark surface not scraped away, with the root or butt part of the sapling left to form the head, since this was the heavier end. The average length of the weapon, as indicated with his hands, was between two and two and a half feet.

Ellwood, who is over six feet in stature, said that he would prefer for himself a somewhat larger cudgel than either of those figured, for he thought that the weight and length of the club would be determined by the strength of arm and size of the huntsman. He said further that practice with the clubs had made some of the men of a generation ago "straight hitters." While there are no known instances of hunters using the cudgels at the present time, it is not entirely improbable that occasionally a rabbit hunter in poorer straits somewhere in the back roads of Indian River Hundred may still sally forth armed with the traditional weapon to obtain substance for a rabbit dinner. These notes summarize the information secured from my informant.

They contribute to our knowledge of the eastern extension of the range within which the throwing club was and still is known among tribes. From this point we may indulge in some theoretical generalizations.

The observations offered indicate that the custom of hunting rabbits with throwing clubs extended over the Middle Atlantic Slope area as far north as Delaware Bay, coinciding with the method of rabbit hunting followed until recently by the tribes of coastal Virginia. And still more significantly for the whole continent, the use of the throwing club is now to be entered as existing among cultural properties of the East as well as the Southwest and the Paiute (Shosh-onean) and Great Basin areas. While the usual curved and flattened form of the club in the Southwest (suggestive of Australian boomerangs though lacking the "aeroplane" character of some of these) the records make mention to throwing clubs round in cross section like the Delaware and Virginia rabbit cudgels. These occurrences give the latter a wide distribution in the zone of early native agriculture—a point indeed worth noting.

It is tempting to indulge in some speculation on the significance of the data at hand despite the feeling that much remains to be learned of hunting methods in the intervening horizons between the eastern and western areas. The perishable nature of the wooden cudgel through disintegration in the ground may account for its absence in surface sites and excavations examined by archaeologists in the interim zone. And as far as a search has been made among writings by early authors treating Indian life in the East and South there seems to be no indication that it was either



conspicuous or significant enough to have called for description. Under direct questioning, however, who can say that memory of the hunting club or cudgel will not be disclosed among peoples in these regions as the present instance shows. There are still surviving groups in the southern, mid-west, and eastern woodlands where the question has not yet been directly probed.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) F. G. Speck, R. B. Hassrick and E. S. Carpenter, *Rappahannock Hunting, Fishing and Trapping*, Publications of the Anthropological Society of Philadelphia (in press, 1945).
- (2) For those interested in the subject, the following references to authors who describe and illustrate the throwing club or "rabbit stick," used by peoples of the Pueblos, the villagers, and the nomads of the Southwest are offered. The list is merely the result of cursory examination of the general literature dealing with archaeology and hunting methods of the area. *Pueblo tribes* in general (P. E. Goddard, *Indians of the Southwest*, Handbook Series No. 2, American Museum of Natural History, N. Y., 1921, p. 81, fig. on p. 78 unidentified as to tribe but probably Zuni), *Hopi*, club made of Gambrell's oak (W. H. Holmes, article "Rabbit stick," *Handbook of the American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part 2, 1910, p. 348), *Navaho*, cedar, greasewood, and preferably oak (W. W. Hill, *The Agriculture and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians*, Yale University Press, 1938, p. 170), *Southern California*, *Gabrielino*, *Cupeno*, *Luiseno*, *Costanoan*, *Cahuilla*, *Mohave* (A. L. Kroener, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925, pp. 682 (fig. 55) 467, 652, 704), *Serrano*, *Yokuta*, *Mono*, *Miwok* (P. Drucker, *Anthropological Records*, University of California Press, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1937, and B. W. Aginsky, *ibid.* 1943, vol. 3, No. 4), *Panamint Ute* (H. G. Burnett, *ibid.*, 1937, vol. 1, No. 2), *Nevada Shoshone* (J. H. Steward, *ibid.* 1941, vol. 4, No. 2). Significance has been noted by Steward (*op. cit.* p. 354) as inherent in the shape of the "rabbit clubs" whether they are flattened or round in cross section.

That the ancient peoples of Nevada known as Basket Makers used throwing clubs of the curved, ("boomerang") type has been referred to by E. Morris (*Studies in the La Plata District*, Carnegie Institution, 1939, p. 13), F. F. Roberts (*Survey of Southwestern Archaeology*, Smithsonian Institution, Report 1935, p. 517, and E. B. Alvas (*Perishable Artifacts from Huesco Cave*, Southern New Mexico and West Texas Historical Society Publications, Bulletin 44, No. 4, figuring eleven specimens). For the latter references I am indebted to Mrs. Eva L. Butler.

- (3) That the Coursey family was of old Indian extraction in the Delmarva peninsula is shown by Weslager (C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Phila., Pa., 1943, pp. 74-5). He found that Dixon Coursey was an Indian leader of 1742, and then traces the English family name back almost a century earlier to John Coursey, sheriff of Kent County in 1657, and Col. Henry Coursey, 1677, who frequently served as an envoy to negotiate with the Indians of the peninsula.
- (4) Since I held this interview with Ellwood Wright I have had an opportunity to discuss the matter with aged Montauk and Shinnecock Indian hunters of eastern Long Island, N. Y., without affirmative results. Neither did Dr. W. N. Fenton report finding knowledge of throwing clubs among the Iroquois of the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario (correspondence 1945). The quest will nevertheless be carried on in future field work whenever occasion arises.

The upper Mattaponi tribe near Adamstown, Va., according to recent information from Chief Jasper Adams, has used the throwing club for killing rabbits. The band in question is closely related to the Pamunkey, so the occurrence of the weapon here serves to establish its use in the Pamunkey region.

In the quick transitions taking place among rural communities throughout America where an old order of life is giving way to new developments in economy and industry we can scarcely realize how much another generation of students of human customs will expect of us. To have failed to record contemporary observations and memories of how things were done only a generation ago will call for the same kind of censure that we now voice concerning an indifference of those who a century back could have placed their observations on record for our benefit. Fortunate we are that some of these connections between the present and the past can still be traced.



## TRADE GOODS FOUND IN SINEPUXENT NECK ON MARYLAND'S EASTERN SHORE

By H. GEIGER OMWAKE

Extending southward from Ocean City, Md., a seaside town renowned as a summer resort, and paralleling the bay called Sinepuxent stretches a narrow neck of land of rich and fertile forests and fields. Much of the immediate shoreline is marsh punctuated here and there by high points of land which push boldly into the bay and which possess narrow sandy beaches a few yards in width. Each of these high points bears evidence of the Indian settlements which long ago existed on them.

It requires no imagination to understand why the Indians selected all of these places as spots suitable for their camps and villages. The Siney Puxone<sup>1</sup> Bay produces huge natural-growth oysters, abounds in delicious clams, contains crabs of prodigious size, and is rich in fish life. The woodland behind the coastline harbors deer, opossum, raccoon, rabbits, quail, partridges, and to this day the bald eagle has found the feeding good. The soil itself is rich and fertile, much of it being now under intense cultivation for various food canning interests. The climate is mild and the mainland protected from the severest blasts of the Atlantic Ocean by a narrow bar of sand, varying in width from a few yards to a half a mile and extending southward from Fenwicks Island at the southern boundary of Delaware to Cape Charles at the very end of the Delmarva Peninsula. It is this bar which forms the eastern shores of Sinepuxent and Chincoteague Bays. It is beyond imagination to conceive a more delightful, peaceful, and plentiful land than this home of the Assateagues.

A few miles below Ocean City the Sinepuxent and Chincoteague Bays become one. The latter makes its way inland and northward so that a long narrow neck of land has been formed between them. The upper western portion of Chincoteague Bay has long been known as Newport Bay, and the neck of land, taking its name from the eastern water, is called Sinepuxent Neck. It is ancient country, protected from hostile attack by the wide expanses of water on both its sides. One must think of it as the Utopia of the Assateagues.

Into this peaceful country, as into all other delightful places on the Atlantic Coast, the white man early probed his greedy fingers, ever ready to trade his cheap goods for the more valuable products of the forest. The Indian, struck by the variety, the greater durability and usefulness of the white man's goods and by the potency of his "fire water," eagerly seized every opportunity for trade with the adventuresome whites. So say all the history books. Comparatively few, however, have been the finds of goods actually traded. From the surface of Indian village sites have been gleaned pieces of broken white clay pipes and pipe stems, bits of glazed pottery, buttons, and other objects which surely must have come into the hands of the Indian inhabitants by means of trade. Yet few have been the discoveries of trade goods *in situ* alongside objects of genuine Indian manufacture.

### THE PURNELL PIT

Near the headwaters of Sinepuxent Bay on a farm owned by Mr. William Purnell, bordering the bay and about two miles south of Ocean



City, stands a sandy knoll known as Coffin Point. Chicken farmers for years have dug sand from this knoll to cover the floors of their broiler houses. In the course of such digging a shell filled refuse middin was encountered. Not understanding its nature and knowing only that the shells prevented the easy digging of sand, the chicken men partially destroyed the pit to get the shells out of their way. Fortunately, Mr. Purnell mentioned the deposit to the writer during a conversation over a bridge table and investigation revealed its true nature. Mr. Purnell granted permission to dig and a group composed of Mr. and Mrs. Purnell, their guests, Mrs. John Bates and Miss Dorothy Anderson, the writer, and his son H. Geiger Omwake, Jr., began the task.

The former removal of the sand simplified the procedure, since the shell refuse needed only to be thrown backward in order to keep a vertical face. The pit was outlined by removing the top soil and found to be nine feet wide at the broadest point. If the writer's estimate that perhaps a third of the deposit had been destroyed is correct, then the over-all length was about twelve feet. This estimate is based on the six foot distance from the deepest point, three feet six inches, to the undisturbed western end. The general shape was oval and the bottom conical. The top soil was a black sand layer four inches deep and bore grass vegetation and small wild crabapple trees.

Shell refuse was only moderately dense and consisted for the most part of giant natural-growth oysters and a smaller quantity of clam shells. The scales of drum fish were found generally distributed thru out the pit and snail shells appeared. There were a few large conch shells and many crab claws randomly deposited.

A striking feature was a fire bed of burned clay extending from the northern side of the pit almost to the middle, attaining a thickness of ten inches at the middle and tapering to nothing at the edge. Shells were deposited above the clay and beneath it but the clay itself was sterile and contained neither trade nor Indian objects.

A complete list of the objects recovered follows in the order in which they were encountered. The depths below the topsoil are indicated.

1.	neck sherd of glazed pottery .....	15''
2.	handle of glazed pottery .....	2''
3.	bent hand-drawn nail .....	2'
4.	bent iron wire .....	15''
*5.	two sherds of Indian pottery .....	2'
6.	two pieces white trade pipe stem .....	2'
7.	wooden-handled, steel bladed knife .....	19''
8.	trade pipe bowl .....	3''
9.	iron buckle .....	2'6''
*10.	broken slate gorget .....	18''
11.	heavy nail .....	16''
*12.	pitted hammerstone .....	2'6''
*13.	chipped pebble .....	2'
*14.	bone awl .....	22''
*15.	abrading stone .....	3'
16.	trade pipe stem .....	3'
17.	nail .....	2'



18.	trade pipe stem .....	15''
19.	trade pipe stem .....	14''
20.	trade pipe bowl .....	22''
21.	trade pipe stem .....	22''
22.	two glass fragments .....	10''
23.	glazed pottery sherd .....	6''
24.	neck of glass bottle .....	21''
*25.	sherd of Indian pottery .....	22''
26.	trade pipe stem .....	8''
27.	trade pipe stem .....	6''
28.	nail .....	9''
29.	trade pipe stem .....	17''
30.	bone handled, steel bladed knife .....	24''
31.	glazed pottery sherd .....	8''
32.	trade pipe stem .....	15''
33.	glazed pottery sherd .....	19''
34.	small piece of sheet iron .....	10''
35.	glazed pottery sherd .....	10''
36.	glazed pottery sherd .....	8''
37.	trade pipe stem .....	10''
38.	glazed pottery sherd .....	4''
39.	bone comb .....	17''
40.	trade pipe stem .....	10''
41.	trade pipe stem .....	10''
42.	trade pipe stem .....	12''
43.	trade pipe bowl .....	12''
44.	trade pipe stem .....	12''
45.	glazed pottery fragment .....	8''
46.	glazed pottery sherd .....	8''
47.	nail .....	8''
*48.	"Turtleback" .....	9''
49.	trade pipe stem .....	6''
50.	glazed pottery sherd .....	8''
51.	glazed pottery sherd .....	8''
52.	trade pipe stem .....	10''
53.	trade pipe stem .....	10''
*54.	broken bone awl .....	10''

The items marked with an asterisk are of unquestionable Indian manufacture. Comparison of the depths at which these objects were found with those of objects of white manufacture will dispense any doubt as to their contemporaneity. The first items of white origin to have been deposited were the iron buckle 2'6" the bone handled knife 24', a trade pipe bowl and stem 22" the glass bottle neck 21" the wooden handled knife and sherd of glazed pottery 19". The items of Indian manufacture which first found their way into the pit were the abrader 3', the pitted hammerstone 2'6", two sherds of Indian pottery and a chipped pebble 2', a bone awl and a sherd of Indian pottery 22" and the broken gorget 18". These depths harmonize. Near the end of the excavation were found a broken bone awl 10" and a turtleback 9" as well as pieces of trade pipe stem 10" and glazed pottery fragments 8". It seems correct to observe that both white and Indian objects were deposited simultaneously. There was no evidence of stratification to suggest otherwise.

Thruout the pit numerous pieces of broken bones were found. These



were all collected and subsequently identified<sup>2</sup> as remains of raccoon, turtle, domestic pig, domestic sheep, chicken, and cattle.

Samples of the burned clay from the fire bed were collected and examined<sup>3</sup> and were found to contain no diatoms or microfossils which might have given clues to its origin. Apparently it was from some nearby as yet undiscovered deposit.

There was nothing unusual about the Indian material. The abrader was of sandstone, as was the pitted hammer, although of somewhat denser texture. The turtle back was of brown jasper of a type commonly found in the field pebbles of the area. The slate gorget had been drilled at least once and a second perforation had been begun. It was apparently of rectangular shape 1/8" thick. The bone awl and the awl point were of the split and polished bone type, apparently of short length. The three Indian pottery sherds were light brown in color, shell tempered, and the exterior as well as the interior had been smoothed.

Without meaning to indicate an attempt at definite identification of any of the apparent trade articles, a brief description of some of them is in order.

The glass bottle neck offered certain distinguishing attributes. It was three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, a green color, bearing iridescence, as evidence of its long internment. The bottle maker, as he drew his product to a finish had given the neck a twist in a clockwise direction, so that, held to the light, the glass appears to have internal wrinkles in it. The very mouth of the bottle is asymmetrical in shape, not perfectly round like the modern product. Almost half an inch below the rim of the mouth the bottle maker had applied a flat collar, itself as asymmetrical as the mouth, the ends lapped in the fashion of the joint of a pretzel. As the glass cooled, this flat collar had sagged at its widest point, so that in the final product it drooped a bit on one side. The piece was slightly more than three inches in length and was sufficient to permit comparison with photographs of ancient bottles. It was found that the neck of a bottle illustrated by the McKearins<sup>4</sup> was the same as the specimen found, due allowances being made for the fact that no two hand drawn bottles can be exactly alike in every detail. The example cited is attributed to the period between 1700 and 1730. Perhaps this date gives a clue to the antiquity of the refuse deposit in the shore of Siney Puxone, but one must remember that very similar bottles may have been in existence for years before the example illustrated by the McKearins was made and that the portion found in the pit may have been in use many years before it was broken and discarded.

The bone comb found at a depth of 17" apparently offered no possibility of identification or dating. It greatly resembled the combs now made for and sold by shops which supply infants' wear, except that it was made from a single large flat piece of bone. The fragment was not complete in length but its width was 2 3/4". On one side of the 5/8" wide mid-section the teeth were widely spaced, rounded and round ended. On the other side the teeth were close together, flat, and pointed. No illustrations of comparable pieces have been found. There is no doubt that this specimen was of white manufacture. The Indian had no means of cutting the flat teeth so close together.



Of interest was the bone handled knife. It was about the overall length of modern kitchen peeling knives. The blade was long, narrow, and of equal width at both ends. There was a heavy encrustation of rust. The bone handle was hollow. It is possible that a metal end formerly was inserted in it, but the generally crude appearance of the entire piece tends to deny the possibility.<sup>5</sup> Of whatever origin and no matter how highly its aboriginal owner may have regarded the utility of the knife, his dissatisfaction with its simplicity was evidenced by the fact that he had cut the traditional V design with a horizontal groove between the arms of the V on the under side of the bone handle. Again, no illustrations of comparable pieces have been discovered, but a specimen in the collections of the New York State museum at Albany, N. Y., is reported by Mr. C. A. Weslager to bear a striking resemblance.

The white clay pipe bowls were distinctive. One of the three was so badly broken that it could give no information at all. The other two had a delicateness of design combined with a gracefully curving outline. On the back of the bowl of one, facing the smoker as he enjoyed his after-dinner smoke, were engraved two letters, one an R and the other undoubtedly an I or a T. Unfortunately the vital piece had been destroyed and positive definition of the second letter was not possible. The other bowl bore a raised "RT" monogram within a raised circle on the side of the bowl to the right as it was used.

The remaining "trade" objects, consisting of fragments of glazed pottery, a good-handled knife, broken white clay pipe stems, and hand-drawn nails, offered nothing of evidence by way of identification. To the best of the knowledge of the author, these pieces, *in toto*, represent the first recovery from the Delmarva peninsula of what apparently were trade goods.

### THE GENESER PIT

Some miles to the south of the Purnell property, Sinepuxent Neck becomes a narrow strip of land compressed between Sinepuxent Bay and the upper waters of the larger Chincoteague, known as Newport Bay. At one point the breadth of solid land is scarcely a hundred yards. Here, bordering on a section of Newport Bay known as Spence's Cove, stands one of the ancient houses of the Neck. It is called "Geneser," perhaps after the biblical word, or perhaps, as Thomas Robbins in a privately distributed genealogy of his family has suggested, "Genezar—Here I Rest." It is certainly one of the places at which the white made a new beginning in a strange land. Originally the plantation on which the old home stands contained 2200 acres stretching along the banks of Sinepuxent and Newport Bays. There is a story to be told about Geneser in its glory, but that must await another day. This account must begin, at least, to report the contacts of the Indian and the early white man as they were revealed in the banks, the "yallerbanks," of the Newport Bay boundary of the old plantation.

The furious winds that sometime past had driven the waters against the banks must be credited with revealing another "contact" site, and must in the same breath be accused of having destroyed most of the evidence. The waters, whipped to ferocity by the storm of August 1933, had eaten their way into the shore banks, revealing a refuse pit, but at the same time undoubtedly washing much of it into the bay.



Dr. Zadock P. Henry, at present a resident of Berlin, Md., whose boyhood was spent at the Geneser plantation, whose father before him had owned the place, and who recently disposed of the property, has told this writer of skulls washed from the banks and of a beautiful Indian pipe, presumably of bluish grey soapstone, which he had found on the beach.

This writer and his son, accompanied by Mr. Arch Crozier of Kennett Square, Pa., was taken to the site by Col. Harry Purnell of Berlin, Md. The Colonel, a life long resident of the area, at times owner of much of it, an enthusiastic delver into the lore of the Indian, a man whose scientific approach results from training and practice as physician and druggist, knows every square foot of the land of Sinepuxent. In the year 1930 Col. Purnell and his brother Franklin Purnell of Ocean City, Md., had unearthed a skeleton, probably Indian, from the "yallerbanks." He had noted the character of the bank at Geneser and was anxious to learn what secrets it confined.

Here again digging could begin without preparations beyond removal of the top soil. The pit, or its remaining part, was small, extending into the bank slightly more than four feet and having a depth of two feet six inches below the 6" layer of top soil. Its breadth was approximately 4'. It was necessary only to keep a vertical face and to throw the discarded material to the rear.

The make-up of the pit consisted of a few large clam and oyster shells, a few broken bones, much charcoal and dark discolored sandy soil. There was much more earth than shell and digging proceeded easily.

In the order of their recovery are listed the "trade" and Indian objects, together with their respective depths below soil level:

#### TRADE MATERIAL

1. fragment of glazed brick .....	16"
2. white pottery sherd .....	22"
3. nail .....	16"
4. small bit of bent copper .....	17"
5. nail .....	21"
6. bowed handle of iron ladle .....	24"
7. broken tan trade pipe bowl .....	15"
8. broken white trade pipe stem .....	10"
9. broken tan trade pipe stem .....	12"
10. fragment of glazed pottery .....	18"
11. trade pipe stem (white), Fragment .....	17"
12. trade pipe bowl (white), broken .....	22"
13. fragment of green glass .....	24"
14. fragment of trade pipe stem (white) .....	18"
15. fragment of green glass .....	22"

#### INDIAN MATERIAL

1. brown jasper chip .....	16"
2. broken red clay pipe stem .....	21"
3. bone awl .....	22"
4. spall or incomplected arrowpoint .....	21"
5. half of highly decorated pipe bowl .....	18"
6. large pottery sherd .....	17"
7. small pottery sherd .....	18"



Here, as at the Purnell pit, comparison of the depths attests to the contemporaneity of the two types of material. There can be no doubt that both were deposited simultaneously.

None of the white material offered sufficient evidence to permit identification. It resembled in many respects the items uncovered from the Purnell pit. Not listed among the white man's material are twenty other hand-drawn nails which were recovered whole or in fragments thru out the pit at all levels. Only the first two encountered appear in the list.

The portion of tan trade pipe bowl is distinctly tan in color and bears a series of small circles impressed between single rows of small roulette marks. The circles are arranged in a chevron pattern which is bounded top and bottom by a single row of roulette marks running horizontally around the bowl. The stem is undoubtedly a fragment of the same pipe and is undecorated.

The shell refuse was very light, consisting for the most part of medium sized clams and a few oysters. Charcoal was prevalent thru out at all levels. Bone refuse consisted of several mandible fragments, molars, and a hoof of domestic cattle.<sup>6</sup> A single unit deposit of small leg and toe bones was determined by Dr. Raymond M. Gilmore of the U. S. National Museum to be the remains of a very young deer,—fullterm foetus or newborn, probably the latter.<sup>7</sup>

An interesting feature of the pit was the presence of well-rounded lumps of red clay. These appeared at all levels and one, at least, gave evidence of having been rolled between the hands into a smooth unit about the size of a baseball. It still carries the imprints of the lines in the palms of the hands of the person who rolled it. There had not been any admixture of tempering material and the clay had none of the characteristic of the Indian pottery sherds in the pit. This writer, for reasons to be made known in the next section of this account, believes that these balls represented the preparatory steps in the manufacture of pipes.

### GENESER BAY

As stated earlier in this account, the ancient plantation called Geneser was bounded by the Sinepuxent Bay on the East and the Newport or Geneser Bay on the south and west. Here exist some of the largest, most vicious-looking yet most delicious hard shell crabs along the coast and on one of their archaeological reconnaissances the writer, his mother, his wife, and his son devoted some time to catching a pail of them. During the process of enticing a particularly large fellow into the net, the writer noticed, some fifteen feet from the shore line, pieces of white clay pipe stem on the sandy bottom of the bay tumbling about with the motions of the water. Finding several more pieces soon put an end to the crabbing effort. The writer and his son waded about the water, finding here and there more fragments of stems and at last a nearly complete bowl which bore within a raised circle on the right side of the letters RT in relief. There was just sufficient clay mixed with the sand of the bay bottom that walking about made the water cloudy and visibility very poor. It was determined to build a sieve of suitable size and to revisit Geneser Bay at the earliest suitable time, which, of course, was not long in coming.



The second and subsequent visits with the sieve and an ordinary coal shovel produced almost two thousand fragments of stems, more than two hundred stem pieces which had portions of the bowls attached and thirty odd pieces of bowls along with a second complete one, fragments of at least fifty-six different vessels of glazed pottery, pieces of at least fifteen ancient glass bottles, twenty-five hand drawn nails heavily encrusted with rust, a piece of an iron kettle, a flattened lead bullet, and one small metal button. Stranger still was the recovery of three arrow points, one of red, two of brown jasper, a handful of jasper and chert chips, four large Indian pottery sherds, the upper portion of a small gorget, perforated once, eight pieces of the stems of Indian pipes and fragments of four different pipe bowls which may have been Indian. Recall, if you will, the balls of red clay which were found in the refuse pit at this same site, not twenty feet away. Of the eight stem fragments, five were of the same clay, and of the bowl pieces two are of the same red material. These fragments represent the reason for the writer's judgment that the nicely rounded lumps were formed in preparation for pipe-making.

The most intriguing items in the "haul" were the two white clay pipe bowls and a number of the stems. One of the bowls has already been described. The other is a slender, graceful piece, bearing on its right side an indecipherable seal. What a pity that the years of being rolled about on the sandy bottom have destroyed the legend of this seal!

Of the twelve hundred odd stem fragments, eleven must be more carefully described. The reader will please bear in mind that for the present this writer will make no attempt definitely to identify either the sources of these pipes nor the white people who brought them to Geneser Bay, but will take the liberty of suggesting possible ways by which they reached their final destination.

Two of the stems bear the letters LE impressed between two double rows of roulette marks which go around the stem.

One of the stems bears a sequence of small diamond shaped impressions between double rows of roulette marks and another has a similar decoration except that there are two double rows of roulette marks toward the thicker end of the stem. Another stem bears only the double row of roulette marks, which do not run truly around the stem but are placed in a spiral.

One stem, very thin, bears a series of diamond shaped designs between single rows of roulette marks. The complete design spirals up the stem so as to form a continuous decoration over the entire length of the fragment.

Two other fragments are very white in color. One bears the diamond series and has the double row of roulette impressions. Unfortunately this specimen has been broken so as partly to destroy the ornamentation. The other white stem bears a chevron design and is without the roulette markings.

The ninth fragment bears the letters SUBAK. The first letter is obscure even under a glass. Some doubt attached to it until rubbing made it clear. A piece of very thin paper was wrapped tightly about the stem and vertical strokes over the lettered area were taken with an



extra soft pencil, revealing the S. The lettering is not incised but is in relief within a depressed rectangle about the stem.

The tenth and eleventh items are perhaps more interesting and will offer greater possibilities of identification at some later date. These bear the words WIL EVANS impressed between two single rows of chevron markings. The letters do not complete a circle about the stems and the remaining space contains a series of small diamond shaped incisions.

It is not considered possible accurately to determine the entire length of these stems from the fragments recovered. They are, all except one, approximately the same diameter,  $3/8''$  tapering to  $5/16''$ . The very thin fragment is uniformly  $1/4''$  thick. All of the holes thru the stems are about  $3/32''$  in diameter. While the present color is a very light tan, this writer believes that this is due to minerals either in the water or in the sands over which the stems have been rolled for a very long time and that the original color was white. All of the stems show effects of the chafing of the sands.

With almost every shovel full of sand brought up for the sieve there appeared severely worn and badly broken pieces of bone. It was, of course, very brittle from long submersion and not many pieces of sufficient size suitable for identification were found. There were, however, fragments of skull, leg, pelvis, and rib bones of domestic cattle as well as molar teeth, some of which were quite young. There were also various teeth and a fragment of the lower jaw of domestic hog.<sup>8</sup>

The reader must long ago have begun to ask himself how all of these things came to be deposited on the bottom of the bay. Likewise this writer. There are a number of possibilities.

In August 1933 a terrific storm occurred along the middle Atlantic seaboard as a result of which the details of the shoreline were altered, banks destroyed, beaches washed away, other new ones created, swamps and coastal marshlands changed. This writer has been told<sup>9</sup> that from fifteen to twenty five feet of the slight bluff which forms the shore line at Geneser were carried away during the storm. Personal inspection following the hurricane of September 14, 1944 revealed further changes. At some places the clay base which supports the bluff was washed out to a depth of a foot or more, forming great hollows beneath the overhanging soil. From time to time since the hurricane great chunks of the bank have broken off and fallen from above to the narrow beach below. Action of the tides has slowly disintegrated these lumps of earth and the material has been deposited out in the bay only a few feet from the water's edge. Perceptible changes in the character of the bay floor have been observed since the writer first visited the site. The distance for which the bottom consisted mainly of sand has been narrowed several feet and in place of the sand there is a layer of soft slippery clay. Without doubt many objects missed during the sieving operations now lie beneath this clay.

The mere washing away of the bank does not account for the presence of the material in the bay. It seems unlikely to this writer that so many pieces of pipes and so much glazed pottery and glass would have come from washed out refuse pits. Some sort of structure must have existed on the shore, in which quantities of supplies were housed. Immediately there comes to mind the possible existence of a trading post. It must



be remembered that so far as the presence of white people is concerned the Sinepuxent country is among the oldest along the coast, and not too far removed from the area of first settlement. English and Dutch traders had made their way north from Accomack at an early date<sup>10</sup> and it is conceivable that one of them had set up his headquarters at Geneser. In 1637 Thomas Cornwallis was licensed by Maryland Council to trade among the Indians for peake and roenoke.<sup>11</sup>

John Nuttall, who in youth had run away from his master and gone to live with the Chesapeake Bay Indians, was purchased from them by one William Jones. Later in life he became prominent in the affairs of Northampton County and held commissions from the governor from 1661 to 1665 to trade with the Indians.<sup>12</sup>

Randall Revel, John Elzey and Edmund Scarborough were cited on January 31, 1661 or 1662 in a proclamation of the governor relative to trade with the Indians.<sup>13</sup>

In 1662 Randall Revel reported agreements with the Emperor of the Nanticokes, some miles northward, relative to trade between the Indians and the Dutch.<sup>14</sup>

Any or several of these and other traders may have established an outpost on the edge of the bay. Their goods over a period of a few years, thru breakage or by other means, perhaps became distributed about the surface or dumped into piles of waste and by the storm of 1933, or some previous one, had been carried into the bay. No one can ascertain these things to be facts, but likewise none can deny their plausibility.

By the year 1676 the Indian trade had become a well developed commerce and apparently, as our own government has decided within recent years, the Colonial Assembly of Virginia thought that flourishing commerce needed restrictions and regulations. In the following year eight locations, to be open one day in March, April, May, September, and November and to which all Indians at peace with the white people were invited to come with their goods to trade were established.<sup>15</sup> One of these stations was on the Isle of Wight, which under present political boundaries is within the limits of Maryland, but which, no matter, was only a few miles from Geneser and no more than ten from the Purnell site.

In passing, note should be taken of the establishment in 1632 of an outpost and trading station in Kent Island, across the peninsula, in the Chesapeake Bay and some miles to the north. Paul Wilstach, in his excellent account of the settlement and growth of the Maryland Colony entitled *Tidewater Maryland*, gives us the following brief account:

"Just before Sir George Calvert's visit to the lower Chesapeake, one William Claiborne, the Secretary of State of Virginia, had, for his own aggrandisement, undertaken some trading enterprises in the upper bay. For the purpose of trading with the Indians, he had settled stations on two islands: one of them, which thereafter was called Kent, on the eastern side of the bay about half way from the mouth of the Potomac to its head—etc."

These items have been cited here to call attention to the dates rather



than to the localities of the trading operations. It is not intended to attribute the "trade" material of either the Purnell or the Geneser sites to any of these sources.

Not to be overlooked is the possibility that at a very early date there existed a wharf at Geneser at which trading vessels of shallow draft may have discharged their cargoes. Conversations with many of the older natives have emphasized that until two or three generations ago the principal means of communication between the comparatively isolated regions of the Eastern Shore was by waterway and that nearly all commerce was carried on by boat. It is reasonable to suppose that the original settlement at Geneser had its own wharf and that frequently small boats tied up there. Dr. Bowen speaks of a boat trip taken by Preacher Makemie in 1682 during which he and his company put in at Geneser for an overnight visit.<sup>16</sup> If such a pier existed for many years prior to the good minister's visit, it might well have borne many boxes of trade goods, some of which almost certainly would have been by accident dumped into the water. Arguing against this possibility is the fact that so many distinct varieties of the same item were found—at least fifty different sorts of glazed pottery, twelve or more kinds of "trade" pipes including the undecorated types, many different examples of ancient glass. Surely a great many accidents must have happened on the wharf to destroy such an accumulation.

A third possibility must be considered. The writer has received information that as late as 1816-'18 there was a wharf, warehouse, and mill on the plantation and that ships came through an inlet opposite Geneser.<sup>17</sup> The inlet is supposed to have closed about the dates mentioned. Unless such an establishment existed for a great many years prior to 1816, it does not account for the presence of trade material in sites in the bank in direct association with material of unquestionable Indian origin.

Dr. Henry, in whose possession is the original grant for Geneser from Lord Baltimore, has told this writer that the present old mansion at Geneser was built between 1715-1730 by one of his ancestors, John Purnell, who died in 1750, aged 55, and that a public wharf existed in connection with the plantation as early as 1750. This date seems too late to have had bearing on goods traded to the Indians, except possibly to stragglers.

It should be pointed out that the exodus of the majority of the As-sateague Indians from the Sinexpuxent area took place between 1686 and 1705.<sup>18</sup> It cannot, archaeologically, be assumed that the material in the refuse pit in the bank and that in the bay arrived at the same time or by the same means. The bay goods may have arrived separately at a later date.

About ten feet from the shore, covered by more than a foot of water at the present time, there is what seems to be the upper portion of an old barrel. The writer has not been able to determine its exact nature but local tradition calls it a "barrel" and states that it marks the site of the well which provided fresh water for the warehouse and the sailing ships. In view of the known destruction of the bank by the 1933 storm, (the remaining bank being almost seven feet high opposite the "barrel") it does not seem likely that so much earth could have been washed away and the "barrel" deposited end up ten feet from shore, leaving only eight



inches protruding from the sandy bottom and that covered by a foot of water. If the "barrel" marks the site of some ancient well, it seems more likely that the present remains are the lower end of a hollow cypress log which may have been the lining of the well.

This theory is supported by oral statements (Dec. 3, 1944) of Dr. Zaok P. Henry that his father had pointed out the remaining portion and had told him it was all that was left of an old cypress well.

It ought to be pointed out, too, that at the time when the Assateagues left the area the white population was hardly sufficient to support a warehouse and mill.<sup>19</sup> Only the more adventuresome souls had established a few great plantations and of these the chief crop was tobacco<sup>20</sup> for which a mill was not necessary. It seems more probable that the granary which, according to Dr. Henry, did not exist in 1860, came with the later reemphasis upon the development of grain planting.

It seems appropriate here to quote a few lines from Paul Wilstach.<sup>21</sup>

"The first adventurers found the shores endlessly forest-edged, with a few clearings where the Indians had seated their "towns" of one or two hundred inhabitants each. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, when all the land had been taken up, the white man's clearings had made so little effect on the scene that "tho they are seated pretty close one to another, they cannot see their next Neighbor's House for Trees.' But the contemporary writer, just quoted, added: 'Indeed 'tis expected that 'twill be otherwise in a few years; for the Tobacco Trade destroys abundance of Timber, both for Making of Hogsheads and building Tobacco Houses, besides clearing of Ground yearly for planting.'

"Tobacco was practically the do-all and end-all of early agriculture, as it was the currency of the province, 'not but that they have both Spanish and English Money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expenses, and not for Trade, Tobacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others as with the Merchants.' All salaries, fees, fines and taxes were likewise at first paid in tobacco."

The Geneser wharf is said to have been a port of entry in Synepuxon Neck<sup>22</sup> for the fine Philadelphia furniture with which the plantation homes were equipped.<sup>23</sup> At the turn of the century, Philadelphia, to which Penn came in 1681, was a very young city with very limited developed industry. For instance there was no pipe making in Philadelphia prior to 1690<sup>24</sup> and pipes had much greater value to the white settlers of the hinterland wilderness for trade with the Indians than had fine furniture for their outpost homes. It does not seem likely that the trade goods in the bank and much of the material in the bay ever came to such an ambitious undertaking as a warehouse and mill at this site prior to the emigration of the largest part of the Indian population.

The concession must be made that for a great many years churchwarden pipes of clay were in common usage among the white people. In fact it has been only a few years since they have disappeared from the shelves of the country store keeper.<sup>25</sup> I concede that the wharf and warehouse at Geneser existed as early as the year 1750. The Philadelphia furniture trade reached its zenith during the 18th century, some years follow-



ing the Asseteague's general exodus. This writer believes that the determination of an accurate chronology for the "trade" pipes will depend upon definite dating of those stems bearing decorations and incised lettering and not on the date of the establishment of a public wharf. It may be that a very few which bore heels were of an earlier or perhaps a later period than the marked stems. But perhaps much of the plain, undecorated pipe material in the bay did reach Geneser after the Indians had gone and can be considered a part of the furniture trade—pipes for the plantation owner and his slaves.

Of course, the approximate date of the early arrival of the white man's goods at Geneser and at the Purnell site depends upon establishment of the identity of the makers of Wil Evans, LE, SUBAK, and RT pipes and the location of their potteries. Positive identification and dating of the glass fragments and the bottle neck, as well as establishment of a chronology for the glazed pottery ware, will contribute much to our knowledge of the history of the Purnell and Geneser sites. The writer has undertaken to make such studies but at the present time is only able to hint that Wil Evans pipes may have been made in England about the year 1667. Of the several possible modes of arrival, the trading post theory seems the most plausible. From the scientist's viewpoint little archaeological significance can be attached to the material found in the bay because of its disturbed status and the uncertainty of the method of deposit in the water, but most certainly the pipe stems have a story to tell which will reveal many unsuspected secrets. This at some later date.

1. Bowen, L. P., *The Days of Makemis*, Philadelphia, 1885, page 276, "- - - an order that Mr. William Fasset, be joined overseer of the roads for *Seny Puxone* (Sinepuxent) with Mr. John Freeman."
2. Identifications by Dr. James A. G. Rehn, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.
3. Examinations by Dr. Horace G. Richards, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.
4. George S. and Helen McKearin, *American Glass*, Crown Publishing Co., 1941 New York, Plate 220, #5.
5. Opinion expressed by Mr. Rutherford Goodwin, Director Colonial Williamsburg, in letter of June 24, 1944 after examination of knife.
6. Identifications by Dr. James A. G. Rehn, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.
7. Identification by Dr. Raymond M. Gilmore, U. S. National Museum, Washington.
8. Identifications by Dr. James A. G. Rehn, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.
9. Personal conversations with Col. Harry Purnell, Berlin, Md.
10. Wise, Jennings Cropper, *Ye Kingdoms of Accawmacks*, Bell Book and Stationery Co., Richmond, Va., 1911, Page 71, "By the year 1640 Dutch traders had found the peninsula out - - -."
11. Bowen, L. P., *ibid*, page 328.
12. Torrence, Clayton, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland*, Whittet & Shepperson, Richmond, 1935, Index, p. 486.
13. *Id*, p. 486.
14. *Id*, p. 18.
15. Wise, Jennings Cropper, *ibid*, p. 66.
16. Bowen, L. P., *ibid*, page 96 et seq.
17. Letter from Mrs. Mabel E. Gill, Ocean City, R. F. D., Md., a prominent dealer in antiques and student of Sinepuxent Neck history, corroborated by Dr. Zadock P. Henry, Berlin, Md.
18. Marye, Wm. B., "Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware," *Bulletin*, Archaeological Society of Delaware, Wilmington, Delaware, Vol. 8, No. 2, October 1939, and Vol. 8, No. 3, February, 1940. Also published as separate paper, in March, 1940, by the Archaeological Society of Delaware.
19. Wise, Jennings Cropper, *ibid* "- - - the total population of the peninsula (1666) 8816." This refers to the more densely populated areas of Accomack and Northampton Counties of Virginia. The site at Geneser in Maryland was yet a comparative outpost at this time.
20. *Id*, page 237, "while not as much tobacco was raised on the Eastern Shore as in the other counties of Virginia, yet it was the staple crop - - - ." Page 104, "There being no vast wheat and corn fields in the west to put their surplus supply upon the Eastern Exchanges." - - - etc.
21. Wilstach, Paul, *Tidewater Maryland*, Bobbs Merrill, Indianapolis, 1931, pp. 60-61.
22. Old spelling given by Dr. Zadock P. Henry, former owner of Geneser Plantation, at present a resident of Berlin, Md.
23. Letter of November 8, 1944 from Mr. R. N. Williams, and, Acting Director, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., quoting Barber, Edwin A., *Pottery and Pottery of the United States*, Putnam, New York, 1898: "As early as 1690 tobacco pipes were made in Philadelphia."
24. Personal conversations with Dr. Zadock P. Henry, Berlin, Md.



## EVIDENCES OF INDIAN OCCUPATION IN THE SUBURBS OF WILMINGTON, DEL.

By C. A. WESLAGER

Wilmington was already a full grown city before an awareness of Indian archaeology had developed in Delaware. Consequently, we know little of the aboriginal handiwork that may be hidden in the soil beneath the streets, residences, office buildings and factories. The eastern perimeter of the city is an exception. There we have archaeological record of a large prehistoric Indian occupational site in the Crane Hook district, but, it, too is rapidly succumbing to industrialization.<sup>1</sup> From time to time a few items of archaeological interest have been recorded, but unfortunately they were never thoroughly investigated by competent persons. Many years ago some stone relics were unearthed at the Malleable Iron Works including a stone tube, slate gorget and two large spear points of Ohio flint. These specimens are now on display in the Banning Cabinet at the Archaeological Museum, University of Delaware. The inscription accompanying them, written in the late Mr. Banning's hand, reads as follows:

*Gorget—two large flaked flints—one stone relic 6½ long drilled throughout, were found together near Malleable Iron Works by workmen engaged in road making. The material and workmanship of the three latter named specimens suggests that they may have been brought from one of the middle western states—gorget as shown found in both Eastern and Western States.*

We have the testimony of Elizabeth Montgomery, based on stories told by her mother, that Indian relics had been found at the "Rocks," site of the Swedish Fort Christina. The public park which has since been built at this venerable landing place has unfortunately covered all traces of both the Swedes and their Indian predecessors.

The late Anna T. Lincoln, Curator of the Historical Society of Delaware, once wrote in a quasi-romantic publication intended for elementary school use that, "When digging for the Cool Spring Reservoir in Wilmington great quantities of arrows were found there also."<sup>2</sup>

I presumed to ask the author for information to support this statement and was advised it had come from a reliable secondary source, but I was unable to confirm the statement. From time to time it has also been reported that stone arrowheads were found in various fields or gardens along the Brandywine or Shellpot Creeks within the bounds of the city, and I do not have the slightest doubt that Indian camp sites existed there, but have since been destroyed.

Apart from the area encompassed by the city proper, definite proof of Indian occupancy has come to light in the less thickly populated suburbs on the southern edges of the city. I want to place on record for the first time a hitherto uncharted site in the suburb known as Bellemoor in the Richardson Park area, and to call attention to traces of early Indian occu-



pation found elsewhere in this general vicinity. My interest is partially a sentimental one, inasmuch as the particular site which inspired this article is situated on the street where I now reside—Champlain Avenue, formerly part of the large David Lynam farm converted to home lots in 1903. Bellemoor, it should be noted, is on the west side of South Maryland Avenue, one mile south of the city line, situated between Elmhurst and Hayden Park. The street in question is typically residential with houses built close together on either side.

In 1920 Mr. W. S. Betts purchased a frame house at 221 Champlain Avenue and a plot of approximately  $9\frac{3}{4}$  acres of cleared land fronting on the street, with a slight slope toward the west. The nearest running water is a small tributary to Richardson's Run (also called Mill Creek, and noted on Peter Lindstrom's map of 1654-56 as the Little Falls Creek.) about one-quarter mile northwest of the property line. The terrain does not conform to the accepted pattern of aboriginal sites in Delaware. In the absence of running water, and with a contour no different from the more or less level lots in the neighborhood, one would not expect to find any evidence of Indian occupation. Nevertheless, in 1921 while cutting spinach in his garden, Mr. Betts found a stone arrowhead. In subsequent years, he cultivated the entire acreage, and every year during plowing and harrowing he picked up additional specimens from the furrows. Most of them came from a small corner of the property, approximately one acre in size, along the north side. Since Mr. Betts is apparently the only person to have "surface-hunted" on the property during the last twenty years, presumably he has in his possession all of the artifacts that have been uncovered. Moreover, he has so carefully scrutinized the field that it is unlikely that many additional specimens will be plowed out.

Mr. Betts was kind enough to allow me to take an inventory of the specimens in his possession, and I found they were all of the chipped variety—projectile points, scrapers, knives, and a drill. Taken together the identifiable specimens, complete and fragmentary, numbered approximately 85, with a number of chips, flakes, and other rejectage which are not included in the total. The projectiles, as might be expected constituted about 95% of the total.

Lithic materials, which I was able to identify, were as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Argillite and/or shale .....	7
Flint Ridge (?) .....	1
Ryolite .....	1
Quartz .....	32
Quartzite .....	13
Newark Jasper .....	2
Jasper .....	22
Miscellaneous .....	7

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85

The preponderance of quartz, an indiginous stone usually obtained from pebbles, has been noted elsewhere on sites in northern Delaware. The artifact shown as Flint Ridge (?) is a complete arrowhead made of a cream-colored, waxy, chalcedony that seems to resemble the distinctive Ohio flint. The jasper artifacts are thin, broad-bladed projectiles made of



a brown stone that is distinctly exotic, and resembles the products of the jasper quarries of eastern Pennsylvania. The Newark Jasper is of the type of material which occurs in natural veins in the vicinity of Iron Hill.

It is obvious from the chips and flakes found on the surface that these artifacts were fabricated on the site, and it is equally apparent that some of the materials were brought from some distance.

Mr. Betts said that from time to time he had noticed fire-cracked and fire-stained field stones in the field where he had found the artifacts. Only one polished stone specimen is recorded—a stone axe, with an encircling groove, unearthed when a cellar was dug at the edge of the property. This was found by a neighbor, and I did not see it. No potsherds had been recovered.

Based on the relatively few artifacts, and their confinement to a self-contained section of the property, one surmises the former existence of a small camping site. Because of the distance from the creek, the supposition is that the occupants were itinerant hunters. Since the typology of the artifacts is identical with specimens found by the writer and many others at sites in the vicinity of Newport and Stanton, one infers a cultural relationship, which is qualitative rather than quantitative since the series is too small to permit conclusive correlation.

Mr. Betts has recently converted a part of his property to building lots, and a number of new houses have been constructed. No doubt the little site will soon be covered with additional houses, and in a short time the Indian occupation will be forgotten.

\* \* \* \* \*

Approximately one-eighth mile northwest of the Betts property, at the foot of Winston Avenue, an old house stands on a small knoll beside a woods through which winds the aforementioned tributary of Mill Creek. The house is said to have been originally a tenant house on the estate "Rockwell" of John Richardson III. (He was a son of Richard Richardson whose stone mansion house "Glynrich" is still standing on the west side of the pike in Richardson Park) The mansion house of "Rockwell" was built about 1813 and is still standing. About five years ago, the smaller tenant house was occupied by a colored washer-woman known in the neighborhood as "Black Mattie". Some claimed that she had Indian blood. The house at that time was covered with white-washed stucco and was in poor repair. "Black Mattie" planted a garden around her house each spring, raising tomatoes, corn, beans and other vegetables for her table. With her permission, I explored her garden and found several white quartz arrowheads, rejectage from arrowhead making, and fragmentary hammerstones. Undoubtedly, the house had been constructed in the center of a small camping station similar to the one on the Betts' property. Last week I strolled down to "Black Mattie's" house and found that many changes had taken place since my last visit several years ago. She had moved away, and the house had been renovated and repainted, and was occupied by a white family. Moreover, a community of new houses had been erected along the knoll where the colored woman's garden had been. Thus another site has given way to suburban house building.

\* \* \* \* \*

At "Five Corners" in Richardson Park, there is another suburban



development known as "Ashley." The name is a survival of the estate of Ashton Richardson (another of Richard Richardson's sons) who built a mansion house known as "Ashley" about 1806. The house is still standing and is now occupied by J. D. Chalfant, son of the late Delaware artist. The house stands on a hill overlooking Mill Creek, previously described, and incidentally at the back porch is one of the largest sycamore trees in this vicinity. I personally have found no evidence of Indian occupancy on the property, although topographically it seems well suited for an Indian camp. However, in 1914 a writer for a Wilmington newspaper recorded that Indian arrowheads and a stone axe had been dug out of a gravel pit on the "Ashley" estate.<sup>5</sup> I re-record this for what it is worth. Across the stream, opposite "Ashley" arises another hill on which a war housing project known as "Shipside" recently came into existence. On this property, before the erection of the dwellings, I found traces of Indian occupancy. On the Robinson property, immediately behind Shipside, I found a number of arrowheads and other scattered indications of a small Indian camp.

\* \* \* \* \*

Woodcrest is still another suburban community in the Richardson Park district, lying south of Bellemoor. In the early part of the 18th century, James Latimer, a prominent trader of Newport, purchased a large tract of land and farm buildings situated at present Woodcrest. One of the buildings was rented as a tenant house, and in the latter part of the last century was occupied by Rufus Gregg and family. The Woodcrest property remained in Latimer hands until the death of Miss Mary Latimer at which time it was willed to George H. McGovern. About 20 years ago, the old houses were torn down, and a modern development with churches, movie theater, and high school soon came into being. Harvey Gregg, a son of Rufus Gregg, and now an elderly man, told me that during his boyhood, many Indian arrowheads were plowed up on the farm, and he had personally found scores of them not far distant from where Conrad High School is now situated. The school is located approximately one-quarter mile from the little site on the Betts property previously described.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the eastern side of the Newport pike, opposite Woodcrest, is the community known as Hayden Park. The first house on the south side of Middleborough Road is the residence of James Latimer Banning, known as "Woodstock." This was the home of Henry Latimer and the birthplace of his daughter, Miss Mary Latimer, who willed the house and property to Mr. Banning. The field lying between the house and the Newport Pike had long been under cultivation, and in the war years was used by victory gardeners from the neighborhood. Norman Dutton, a Richardson Park collector, found a number of specimens on this property. One Saturday afternoon, while crossing through the field, I picked up a section of a perforated gorget and two or three arrowhead fragments. Apparently, during its successive years of cultivation, the field has been well searched for Indian relics, and little remains. This site is only a short distance from the small site known as "Ragan" and those on the perimeter of the pond in Folly Woods which I have described in another paper.<sup>6</sup>

In concluding this brief account, I want to point out that I do not consider the Richardson Park area in any way unique or different from the other sections of Wilmington. I am certain that careful scrutiny in the other suburbs of Wilmington would reveal similar clues to Indian



occupancy. Indeed, there may have been much larger Indian sites in neighborhoods where modern communities are coming into existence on the northern and western edges of the city. If so, we should make every effort to gather as much information as we can while it is still possible to do so. With the present strides in new house construction, it is certain that the more ancient cultures will be permanently destroyed.

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- (1) C. A. Weslager & John Swientochowski, "Excavations at the Crane Hook Site," *Wilmington, Delaware, Bulletin*, V. 3, No. 5, May 1943, pp. 2-17.
  - (2) Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington*, Phila. 1851.
  - (3) Anna T. Lincoln, *Our Indians of Early Delaware*, 1932, p. 23.
  - (4) I have followed the nomenclature suggested by Horace G. Richards in his "Petrology of the Chipped Artifacts of the State of Delaware," *Bulletin*, V. 3, No. 4, Feb. 1941, pp. 10-15.
  - (5) *Wilmington Every Evening*, Saturday, May 29, 1914.
  - (6) "Unexplored Sites in the Christina River Valley," *Bulletin*, V. 2, No. 6, Oct. 1938, pp. 8-10.

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## AN AMPHIBIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL OPERATION

By ARCHIBALD CROZIER

Have you ever been on an "Amphibious Archaeological Operation?" If not, take my advice and don't go, unless you are as bad a crackpot as certain members of our Society.

About the middle of last October, my wife and I went on a little vacation. The first few days were spent very pleasantly in the Shenandoah Valley, visiting our fellow member Carlton Finter and his family at Stanley, Va. I was fortunate enough to find some unusual specimens to add to my collection from the Valley.

The latter part of our vacation we planned to spend at the Sequoia Inn, Lewes, Del., operated by Ken Givan, an enthusiastic member of our Society, and his charming wife. Ken had reported that there were many middens in his locality, just waiting to be operated on. Well, we did operate on some of them, but about all we got for our work was blisters and sore muscles. With the assistance of Ernie Megee of Rehoboth, we opened one midden about twenty feet long, three feet wide and two feet deep. It was packed with oyster, clam and conch shells, but contained nothing in the way of Indian goods except two small pot-sherds. We operated on some others with about the same success.

Later we had a call from Geiger Omwake of Shelbyville, telling us that Ralph Beers, a charter member of our Society, was back in Bethel, Del. and that he had invited us to come over there for some digging, as he knew where there were middens and burials. This sounded fine, so we arranged for Geiger to meet us in Laurel at ten A. M. on October 22nd. The day opened cloudy and threatening, but Ken, Ernie and I started for Laurel with Ken as skipper. Geiger was late in reaching Laurel, but made the twenty five miles in twenty five minutes flat. We then proceeded to Bethel to pick up Ralph as pilot. He made good on his promise of middens and burials by taking us to a very large sand pit on Broad Creek. We had hardly entered the pit when Ken found a fine bone awl and a very



nice triangular arrowhead, which had evidently fallen from a midden at the top of the sand bank, which had been disturbed by the sand diggers. We investigated what was left of this midden, but found nothing else except a few pot sherds. In the meantime Geiger had gotten busy uncovering a burial. It soon started to rain, and in a short time we were so drenched that we decided to call off the operation and run into Laurel for a hot lunch. After filling up on sandwiches and hot coffee, it was decided to go to another site which Ralph knew of, called the Red House Farm, on the Nanticoke River. To reach this site we had to drive several miles through a forest on a road (?) which had deep holes in it, about every fifty yards, all of which by this time were filled with water, as the rain was coming down in torrents. Geiger led the way, and when we would come to one of the deep holes, Ralph, who had on hip boots, would go ahead and make "soundings" as to the best way to get through. It seemed as though they would surely founder in some of the holes, but Geiger would get through somehow, and Ken valiantly followed, until we finally came to one that he could not navigate. At this point we dropped anchor and decided to walk the rest of the way, nearly a mile through the mud and water.

When we finally reached the river bank, we found Ralph and Geiger busy digging in a midden. By this time, however, we were all so cold and wet that there was very little enthusiasm left, and not much work was done. There seems to be plenty of middens at this site, but apparently they are quite shallow, and contained nothing of interest, excepting a few pot sherds. Further investigation of the site under more favorable conditions would probably be of interest. We soon decided that we had enough, and started the return voyage through the mud and water. Poor Ralph had on a short rubber coat, just long enough for the water to run off into his hip boots, and what he said about that coat will not bear repeating.

It was unanimously agreed that we should call this an "Amphibious Operation," and I for one never want to go another, unless we could borrow a Navy "Duck."

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

*The Iroquois.* By Frank Gouldsmith Speck, Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., No. 23, October 1945, 94 pages, illustrated, \$1.00.

*The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth.* By Frank G. Speck and Jesse Moses. Scientific Publication No. 7, Reading Museum and Art Gallery, Reading, Pa., 1945, 91 pages illustrated, \$1.80.

These two new publications take their places among the essays, monographs, and books on the lengthening cavalcade of Professor Speck's contributions to American Indian ethnology.

*The Iroquois* is intended, in the author's words, "to capture the spirit of Iroquois culture and epitomize it within the proportion of a handbook based upon and illustrated by the collections in the museum of the Cranbrook Institute of Science." This objective is indeed attained in the production of a handy booklet, a fine example of the printing and engraving



arts, phrased so simply that one need have no anthropological background to understand it. Of the 61 beautiful half-tone illustrations, which intersperse the text, the majority picture ethnological material collected among the Six Nations and now on exhibit at the Cranbrook Institute. The text is conveniently divided into sections on social and civil aspects of Iroquois culture, economic and ecologic aspects, arts and crafts, decorative design and ceremonial properties. One who has read the works of Morgan, Hewitt, Parker, Goldenweiser, Waugh, and especially Fenton, who have specialized in the problems of the Iroquois, will find little that is essentially new in this monograph. For those who have not had the opportunity nor the inclination to delve thoroughly into the vast literature on the Iroquois, the new publication brings a birds' eye view in a short and pleasant flight. As such, it fills a definite need, and should be on the shelves of all the public libraries in the country.

*The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth* is a detailed account of a Bear Sacrifice Ceremony of the Munsee-Mohican of the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario, a sacred festival last held about 1850 and hitherto unrecorded in the Eastern Woodland Culture area. On this kind of topic Speck is the grandest of grand masters. He is beyond question the foremost authority on rituals and the religious fervor of the Algonkian tribes as expressed in ceremonies whose origins lie in the shadowy pre-Christian days of the New World. The new study reminds one in many ways of the author's *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances* and *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony*. One recalls that in gathering material for these two prior and highly important works, Speck relied heavily on a native informant, Wi-tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," who dictated the details of the various ceremonies which Speck faithfully recorded both in native text and in free English translation. Similarly, his principal informant on the Bear Ceremony was the late Nekatcit, "Tame Little Fellow," whose Christian name was Nicodemus Peters. The informant, a Delaware-Munsee traditionalist, was born on the Canadian Reserve in 1859 and lived there until his death in 1938. Over a period of several years preceding his death, Nicodemus Peters related to Dr. Speck every detail in the venerable ceremony as practised by his immediate forbears. Speck, in turn, has painstakingly preserved all these details from rattles and drums to brooms and feather wands, and above all, gives us an exact description of the old Big House where the bear ceremony was held, and the part played by each participant. Speck writes, "Subjects like this laid out before us lead us to thought upon the broader values of the life of a people. Through it, we have a short glimpse of a scene cut out of the religious drama of an Algonkian group which reveals the depths of a naive philosophy embedded in nature, at best only a fragment of the whole as it existed until a century ago."

This "fragment of the whole" is sufficiently complete to impress the present writer with the unfathomed depths of Indian philosophy and the richness of native religious imagination and symbolism.

*The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth* is more than the discussion of one ritual, inasmuch as it also contains descriptions of several secular and social dances which followed the main rite. Furthermore, some 26 pages of the monograph treat of the historical migrations of the Delaware and Mahican, the routes followed, and the present ethnic identity of the Canadian band which the author chooses to identify as Munsee-Mahican.



He also traces the line of chiefs in the tribe from 1855 down to the present, as dictated by the late Chief Joseph Montour whose genealogy is also discussed. Of significant interest to students of Indian origins is Appendix III, consisting of notes obtained from Chief Montour which Speck offers in evidence as affirming the authenticity of the Walam Olum as a form of native iconography.

Jesse Moses, himself of Munsee-Mahican extraction, and a resident on the reservation is credited as a collaborating writer, and in this way Professor Speck modestly shares authorship with one of the tribe of whom he writes and one whose assistance was invaluable to him.

*Conrad Weiser.* By Paul A. W. Wallace. Published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pa. 648 pages, 4 maps, \$5.00.

This volume stands both as a monument to the memory of a great Indian ambassador, and as an example of applied historical research at its very best. The author has probed deeply into journals, manuscripts, letters, state records and other primary sources to ferret out his material, and he breathes into it a recency of events that might have happened a few months ago instead of two centuries.

Conrad Weiser, known to all students of Indian affairs, served as official interpreter between the provincial government of Pennsylvania and the Council of the Six Nations Iroquois. It is not generally known how powerful an influence Weiser exerted on the Indian policy of his day. He was not only conversant in the Iroquois tongue, but he had a sympathetic understanding of native philosophy dating back to boyhood days spent in the Longhouse with a Mohawk family. His role as interpreter between the English authorities and Indians required an ability to make the two factions tolerant of their vastly different social, political and economic systems. Time and again his expert advice to the Pennsylvania authorities, founded in his knowledge of native institutions, prevented stupid acts of Indian policy which might have jeopardized the whole colony.

Paul Wallace's discussion of Indian relations in Pennsylvania, the backdrop for his biography of Weiser, is one of the outstanding contributions of the book. This does not minimize in any way the purely biographical parts of the book which are excellent. To date, the best delineation of Pennsylvania Indian affairs, particularly during the critical period following 1741, is a composite of three works: Hanna's oft-quoted, *The Wilderness Trail*, Sipe's prodigious *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, and Joseph S. Walton's *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania*. (Phila. 1900) Wallace makes the reader see nuances in the Indian policy which none of these prior writers has treated in detail. This policy, as he outlines it, was a product of the Quaker, James Logan, Conrad Weiser and Shickellamy—a policy designed to strengthen the Six Nations by encouraging their hegemony over such tributary tribes as the Delaware, Nanticoke, Conoy, Mohegan, Tutelo, Shawnee, and others. Wallace's point of view, essentially that of the ethno-historian, has been sharpened by visits to Indian descendants at Onondaga and on the Six Nations Reserve at Brantford, Ontario.



If you want to read a mature discussion of early Indian affairs, devoid of fictionalized glamor, don't miss *Conrad Weiser*.

If you want to read a biography of one of "the world's great originals, a hot-headed, true-hearted whimsical jack-of-all-trades" who "went everywhere, saw everyone, did everything," this is the book you have been seeking.

—O. A. Weslager

### FEDERATION MEETING

The Eastern States Archaeological Federation, of which the Delaware Society is a charter member, will hold its annual meeting at the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, 657 East Avenue, Rochester, N. Y. on Saturday and Sunday, November 9 and 10. It is hoped that a group of our members will find it convenient to represent Delaware at this first post-war session.

### THE INDIAN BRUSH PILE

In the last issue of this publication, Dr. Frank G. Speck discussed an Indian Brush Pile that formerly stood on the Burton plantation in Dagsboro Hundred, Sussex County Delaware.

William B. Marye has since written the Editor calling attention to the documentation of what is undoubtedly the same heap in the will of Benjamin Burton of "Dagsborough" Hundred, dated June 2, 1824; see Sussex County Wills, Liber F. An excerpt from this will was cited in fn. 61, p. 15 of Marye's monograph, *Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Del.*, published by the Archaeological Society of Delaware, 1940. The testator, a son of Joshua Burton, bequeathed to his nephew and namesake "all the land lying on the south side of a line drawn from the Indian Heap to the road that leads from the Store that Belongs to myself and brother, Miers Burton, to what is called the old landing, etc."

Thus, we can conclude from the above data that the Brush Heap discussed by Dr. Speck was in existence as early as 1824 and had been started sometime prior to that date.