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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF
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Meetings

Since the publication of the last Bulletin, the Society has held three meetings. At its Annual Meeting on January 27, 1948, the Society was addressed by Mr. George J. Woodruff on the subject of "Indian Village Sites in Southern New Jersey."

On May 15, 1948, Dr. J. A. Mason, Curator of the American Section of the University of Pennsylvania, spoke on his Panamanian and Mexican Expeditions. Dr. Frank H. Sommer, Museum Curator, University of Delaware, addressed the Society December 10, at the University. He described the primitive drawings discovered in Upper Palaeolithic caves of France.

New Volume

This issue concludes Volume 4 of our Bulletin series which contained five numbers. It is suggested that members have the five issues bound in a single volume for future reference. As in preceding volumes, endeavor has been made in this one, to contribute to the knowledge of the Indians who occupied the Delmarva Peninsula.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DISCUSSION OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE DELMARVA PENINSULA

By A. R. DUNLAP

Now that the anthropological position of the Indian tribes inhabiting the Delmarva Peninsula in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been clarified,[1] an assessment of our knowledge of the languages of these tribes is perhaps in order.

In the first place, these languages belonged to the Central-Eastern division of the Algonkian linguistic stock.[2] It is true that Indians of the Iroquoian linguistic stock, the Minquas, used rivers in the peninsula as avenues of trade, but since they were not, strictly speaking, inhabitants of the peninsula,[3] their language falls outside the scope of the present discussion. The Algonkian languages for the most part were not well recorded by early students. Of late, linguists have worked extensively with informants speaking one or another of the branches of the parent stock and have set down their findings systematically. These findings have recently been synthesized by Leonard Bloomfield in a brilliant treatment of the sounds and structural aspects of Algonkian.[4] Full bibliographical information about Algonkian and its various branches, including references to such works as Michelson's essay on the fundamental principles of Algonkian languages and William Jones' grammar of Algonkian based on Fox, will be found in the following publications:

1. J. C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 13, Washington, 1891).
2. C. F. Voegelin, "Bibliography of American Indian Linguistics, 1938-1941," *Language,* Vol. 18, pp. 133-139.
3. G. P. Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (Yale Anthropological Studies, Vol. 1, New Haven, 1941).
4. L. Bloomfield, "Bibliography of Algonquian According to Language Groups," in *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 6, 1946), pp. 123-129.

Secondly, the languages of the peninsular Indians fall into three groups. The Accomac and Accohannock spoke sub-dialects[5] of the Powhatan branch of Algonkian; the tribes to the north of these, along Chesapeake Bay, spoke sub-dialects of the Nanticoke branch;[6] and the tribes in that part of the peninsula drained by Delaware River and Delaware Bay spoke sub-dialects of Lenape (or Delaware). Although the dialects of the Assateague, Kickotank, Gingoteague (Chincoteague) and other tribes occupying the area along the Atlantic coast between the southern group and the northern may not be placed with assurance in one or the other of the three linguistic branches named above, their relationship was rather with the Powhatan or Nanticoke than with the Lenape.[7] To what extent the Powhatan, Nanticoke, and Lenape sub-dialects were further divided, it would be difficut to say, but since there is evidence in Lindestrom of Lenape villages along the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers "each with its own peculiar language,"[8] such subdivision in the peninsula can hardly be considered outside the bounds of possibility.

Our knowledge of the Powhatan branch of Algonkian is extremely

limited. Since the few survivors of the Powhatan tribes are now, and have been for decades, English-speaking mixed-bloods,[9] we are chiefly dependent for what little we know of Powhatan upon the brief and inaccurate wordlists of Smith and Strachey.[10] Just after the beginning of the present century, W. R. Gerard and W. W. Tooker engaged in a controversy over the relationship of Powhatan to other Algonkian languages, a dispute which Michelson later decided in favor of Gerard and a closer affiliation of Powhatan with the central than with the eastern division,[11] but these studies were interpretive and added little or nothing to the basic materials. Smith must also be given credit for our knowledge that the dialects of the Indians in the southern part of the peninsula were Powhatan.[12]

The Nanticoke branch of Algonkian has been studied by F. G. Speck with as much thoroughness as existing records permit.[13] After reviewing the Murray-Jefferson and Heckewelder vocabularies and presenting a few Nanticoke terms obtained in 1914 from two informants at the Six Nations' Reserve on Ontario, he concluded by agreeing with Michelson[14] that the Nanticoke sub-dialects belong to the Central-Eastern division of Algonkian, of which the Lenape and Powhatan dialects are also branches. Since the Nanticoke tongue is now extinct, it seems hardly possible to go farther than Speck has gone in the study of these dialects, unless unknown source material is brought to light.

Of the Lenape branch of Algonkian, our knowledge, though small by comparison with what is known of some Indian dialects, is large by comparison with what is known of Nanticoke and Powhatan.

In Chapter IV of *The Lenape and Their Legends,* D. G. Brinton reviews the materials for a study of Lenape that were available before 1885, discussing first the work of Johan[15] Campanius (Holm), the one person among the Swedish settlers on the Delaware to exhibit any great interest in the speech of the native Indians. Campanius, a Swedish chaplain, translated the Lutheran catechism "into something which looks like Delaware [Lenape]" and compiled a short Indian-Swedish word-list in "the Delaware [Lenape] as then current on the lower river." Brinton then quotes Trumbull, as follows: "The translator had not learned even so much of the grammar as to distinguish the plural of a noun or verb from the singular, and knew nothing of the 'transitions' by which the pronouns of the subject and object are blended with the verb"; this is in support of his stricture that "Campanius' knowledge of the tongue was exceedingly superficial." Next comes a comment on the meagre interest in Lenape exhibited by the English, who were actuated not by missionary zeal but by zeal for trade, with the result that what little they recorded is a "trader's jargon [comparable to Pidgin-English] which scorned etymology [and] syntax." Then follows an evaluation of the work of the German missionaries who were students of Lenape: namely, Zeisberger, the principal authority, Heckewelder, whose knowledge was fluent and practical but often untrustworthy, Roth, who made a special study of the Unami dialect, Ettewin, Grube, Dencke, and Luckenbach. Brinton commends especially the achievements of Zeisberger, who was responsible for a good deal of what little we know of the vocabulary of Lenape, and who was a pioneer in the grammatical study of the language. The review concludes with an evaluation of the efforts of Matthew G. Henry, an enthusiastic nineteenth-century student of Lenape, whose work "while often useful, lacks the salutary check of a critical, grammatical erudition, and in its present form is of limited value"; and with the mention of the brief word-lists of Denny, Whipple and Cummings.

In Brinton's time, then, what the student of Lenape had to work with was Zeisberger's grammar, a work of value, but not without its deficiencies;[16] Roth's Unami material; translations of certain biblical passages, and a number of overlapping and more or less inaccurate word-lists, the net total of the words in which came far short of indicating the full lexical resources of the language.

Brinton's own contributions to our knowledge of Lenape include, among other things, Chapter IV of *The Lenape and Their Legends,* i.e., the part following the review of source materials mentioned above, the contents of which are as follows:

1. some general remarks on Lenape—its position in the Algonkian family and the linguistic traits it has in common with other members of that family, e.g., its "holophrastic" character;
2. a discussion of the dialects of Lenape;
3. a discussion of the special structural aspects of Lenape.

But what is more important to the student of Lenape, Brinton gave us an edition of the "Walam Olum," the text of which follows Chapter VII of *The Lenape and Their Legends,* and he also edited an anonymous manuscript dictionary (probably by Dencke). Two observations on the Brinton dictionary are perhaps in order: (1) although it includes comments by the Reverend A. S. Anthony, " a born Lenape," on points of difference between his speech and that recorded in the manuscript, the editor unfortunately did not see fit to bring these differences into focus;[17] and (2) since the work was based largely upon the linguistic collection of Zeisberger,[18] its publication did not mean as great an increase in our knowledge of the Lenape vocabulary as had the publication of the "Walam Olum," a text containing numerous words not elsewhere recorded.

Since the time of Brinton, the principal contributions to our knowledge of Lenape have been made by F. G. Speck and C. F. Voegelin.[19] Speck's publications, in phonetic script, of accounts by surviving Lenape of their ceremonial traditions[20] are a welcome addition to the sparse materials hitherto recorded. Voegelin has concerned himself with two subjects which were given little or no attention by earlier students: the phonemic structure of the language and the differences between the main divisions of Lenape, namely, Munsee, or northern Lenape, and non-Munsee, or southern Lenape. In a study entitled "Delaware, An Eastern Algonquian Language"[21] Voegelin analyzes the non-Munsee speech of Willie Longbone of Dewey, Oklahoma, dealing first with sounds and phonemes and then with the inflectional and compositional features of the dialect. Thanks to this work, a trained linguist may now find his way among the complexities of southern Lenape—even if the amateur must still exercise almost as much caution as before. In an earlier paper entitled "The Lenape and Munsee Dialects of Delaware"[22] Voegelin, using the same materials, contrasted the sounds of the Oklahoma dialect (known locally as "Lenape") with the sounds of Munsee as revealed in the materials set down by Frank Siebert at Smoothtown, Six Nations' Reserve, Ontario, in 1931 and 1938. Since Munsee was not a dialect used by peninsular Indians, we are interested in the second of these two Voegelin studies only in so far as it throws light upon the non-Munsee, or southern division of Lenape.

It has long been customary to divide the Lenape politically into three groups: the Munsee, or Minsi, the Unami, and the Unalachtigo. The validity of this tripartite division, resting as it does upon a confusion of clan or-

ganization with political organization and the principle of territoriality, has recently been brought into question.[23] Whether or not this time-honored political divison stands, the linguistic division, as already indicated, seems to have been twofold, with possible subdivisions of the main branches. Brinton thought in terms of three sub-dialects of southern Lenape: (1) Unalachtigo, (2) Southern Unami, and (3) Northern Unami.[24] If this is acceptable, then there probably were, in the Lenape section of the peninsula, two sub-dialects, namely, (1) and (2). The Swanton-Michelson map of the Algonkian family of languages, which appears at the end of the Michelson report cited above, makes the Lenape section of the peninsula entirely Unalachtigo, but it is now generally agreed that the northern portions of the State of Delaware were occupied by Unami,[25] so that Southern Unami may well have been spoken in that part. Such subdividing of the non-Munsee branch of Lenape, however, is pure speculation, and is likely to remain so, for there is little or no evidence, other than archaeological, upon which to base a conclusion.

1. C. A. Weslager, "The Anthropological Position of the Indian Tribes of the Delmarva Peninsula," *Bulletin*, Arch. Soc. of Del., Vol. 4, No. 4, November 1947, pp. 3-7, and "Indian Tribes of the Delmarva Peninsula," in Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 25-36 of the same journal.
2. Truman Michelson, *Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of the Algonquian Languages* (28th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912), pp. 221-290.
3. C. A. Weslager, "Indian Tribes," pp. 32-33. See also, by the same writer, "The Minquas and Their Early relations with the Delaware Indians," *Bulletin*, Arch. Soc. of Del., Vol. 4, No. 1, May 1943, pp. 14-23.
4. Leonard Bloomfield, "Algonquian," in *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 6, 1946), pp. 85-129.
5. The word *dialect* is used in this paper in the sense of a branch developed from a root language.
6. The Nanticokes, to speak precisely, were a tribe living in the Nanticoke River drainage. The name *Nanticoke*, as applied politically, was generalized after about 1742 to include the Choptank and other tribes of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, as well as the Conoy (Piscataway) of the Western Shore.
7. Colonel Norwood, the only one of the narrators to have visited the Kickotank and Gingoteague, implies that the Powhatan tongue was the one used by these tribes. See Henry Norwood, *A Voyage to Virginia*, in Peter Force's *Tracts*, Vol. 3, No. 10, pp. 43 ff.
8. *Geographia Americae* (ed. A. Johnson), p. 170.
9. See F. G. Speck, *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia* (Heye Foundation, New York, 1928), p. 232 and pp. 250-251; and cf. p. 44 (ftn. 1) of the study by the same writer cited in ftn. 13 below.
10. *The Works of Captain John Smith* (ed. E. Arber, Birmingham, 1884), and William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (ed. R. H. Major, London, 1849). Speck, in *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia* (Heye Foundation, New York, 1925), p. 53, makes reference to a few Powhatan terms that have come to light in recent times; these are more fully discussed in *Chapters on the Powhatan*, pp. 252-253.
11. See W. R. Gerard, "The Tapehanek Dialect of Virginia," *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 6, 1904, pp. 313-330. Tooker's reply appears in the same volume, pp. 670-694. See also Truman Michelson, "The Linguistic Classification of Powhatan," *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 35, 1933, p. 549.
12. *The Works of Captain John Smith*, Vol. 1, p. 55. Cf. p. 110.
13. F. G. Speck, *The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, New Series, Vol. 1, 1947). Cf. Weslager's comment on this study in *The Nanticoke Indians* (Harrisburg, 1948), pp. 115-116.
14. *Preliminary Report*, p. 290.
15. Brinton says "Thomas" by mistake. With Brinton's comment on Campanius compare the recent study by Nils G. Holmer entitled *John Campanius' Lutheran Catechism in the Delaware Language* (Upsala, 1946).
16. See Brinton, *The Lenape and Their Legends*, p. 105, and cf. Michelson, *Preliminary Report*, p. 275.
17. Cf. Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 44 (ftn. 1).
18. D. G. Brinton, *A Lenape-English Dictionary*, Philadelphia, 1888, p. iv.
19. For a full list of the recent studies see the sections on Lenape in the bibliographies cited above.
20. See F. G. Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony*, Pub. of the Penna. Hist. Commission, Vol. 2, 1931; *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Dances and Feasts*, Memoirs of the Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. 7, 1937; and *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth*, Reading Public Museum, 1945.
21. In *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 6, 1946), pp. 130-157.
22. *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 49, 1940, pp. 34-37.
23. A. F. C. Wallace, "Woman, Land, and Society: Three Aspects of Aboriginal Delaware Life," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 17, 1947, p. 20. It should be noted that search has failed to find survivors of the Unalachtigo group, either in Canada or in Oklahoma. See M. R. Harrington, "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1908, pp. 408-418, and "A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1913, pp. 208-235.
24. *The Lenape and Their Legends*, p. 97.
25. C. A. Weslager, "The Anthropological Position . . .," *Bulletin*, Arch. Soc. of Del., Vol. 4, No. 4, November 1947, p. 5.

THE INDIANS OF LEWES, DELAWARE
and an unpublished Indian deed dated June 7, 1659[1]

By C. A. WESLAGER

In the spring of 1631 a small vessel the *Walvis* (Whale) under command of Peter Heyes landed 28 settlers at the site of present Lewes. The vessel also carried provisions, a stock of cows and horses and a cargo of bricks. The sponsors of the expedition were Dutch patroons desirous of establishing a foothold in the Delaware Bay region. At the landing place the colonists found a navigable stream abounding in oysters which they called Blommaert's Kil in honor of one of the patroons. This stream was later to be known as the Hoeren-kil (Harlot's River) modified to Whorekill, and is identical with the present Lewes Creek.[2]

Five additional colonists, probably from New Amsterdam, joined to bring the total number to 33. A small brick house, surrounded by palisades, was erected as a fort and Gillis Hosett was placed in charge. The *Walvis* returned to Holland leaving the little band to its destiny.

David Pietersz de Vries, whose name has long been associated with the colony, was one of its sponsors but was *not* a member of this first expedition.

To prepare the way for the settlers, the Dutch patroons had previously purchased land at the capes from the Indians.[3] The actual purchase was made June 1, 1629 *prior* to the launching of the expedition, and a strip of land along Delaware Bay, approximately 32 miles long (from Cape Henlopen to Bombay Hook) and two miles wide was purchased from the natives.[4]

The following year the Indian chiefs were summoned to New Amsterdam to confirm the sale. One paper was drawn up July 11, 1630 in which it is stated "that this day as underwritten presented themselves and appeared before us *Quesquaekous, Eesanques* and *Siconesius* and inhabitants of their village situate on the Southhook of the Southriver-bay."[5]

The second dated July 15, 1630 is quoted by Hazard as follows: "Before us (the Directors &c) in their proper persons came and appeared *Quesquakous, Ensanques,* and *Sickonesyns,* and inhabitants of their villages, lying in south corner of the Bay of South River, etc."[6]

The same document appears in another source and the above excerpt is given as follows, "on this day the date underwritten came and appeared before us in their proper persons *Queskakous* and *Essanques Siconesius,* and the inhabitants of their village, situate at the south cape of the Bay of the South River."[7]

The above Indian names are generally accepted as designating three sachems. Careful examination of a third document, a contract dated Feb. 7, 1635, recording the transfer of the lands to the West Indian Company by the patroons, suggests otherwise. This document enumerates certain details and then continues "by virtue of their two distinct sealed patents obtained before council of New Netherland, resident of the island of Manhattan, dated 15th July 1630 and 3rd June 1631, in pursuance of letters and conveyances passed by *Queskakous* and *Ensanckes, Siconesyns,* and inhabitants of their village, etc."[8]

This would indicate that Siconesyns was inserted as an appositive to identify the two chiefs and was not intended as the name of a third. Apparently the scribes intended to record the names of two chiefs only, and that Siconesius (also given as Siconesyns and Sickonesyns) was not a person, but the name of a village or band. This will be referred to again.

Although the village was in the neighborhood of Cape Henlopen the exact location is open to question. Maps made by de Vries and Herrman show stylized Indian huts to mark the site, but both maps are projected on too small a scale to permit placing the town with geographical accuracy.[9] None of the other contemporary maps that have come to attention shed light on the question of specific location of the village.

Prior to the purchase of 1629 the Dutch had been in contact with the Indians at the cape. This is pointed out in an early source which records that Dutch traders under a certain Mr. Dodijn had penetrated the region to establish Indian trade but "they had never obtained more than 20 to 30 skins a year in that region before the colony was started."[10]

A year after the colony was founded, de Vries himself set sail from Holland in the *Walvis* and the *Squirrel* with additional colonists. The following excerpts from his account describe his landing at Lewes. Italics are supplied to emphasize his remarks relating to the Indians:[11]

> The 2d December 1631 threw the lead in fourteen fathoms, sandy bottom and smelt the land, which gave a sweet perfume, as the wind came from the north-west, which blew off land and caused these sweet odours. *This comes from the Indians setting fire, at this time of year, to the woods and thickets, in order to hunt;* and the land is full of sweet smelling herbs, as sassafras, which has a sweet smell. When the wind blows out of the north-west, and the smoke, too, is driven to sea, it happens that the land is smelt before it is seen. The land can be seen when in from thirteen to fourteen fathoms. Sandhills are seen from the thirty-fourth to the fortieth degree, and the hills rise up full of pine-trees, which would serve as masts for ships.
>
> The 3d of the same month, saw the mouth of the South Bay, or South River, and anchored on sandy ground at 14 fathoms; because it blew hard from the northwest, which is from the shore, and as we could not in consequence of the hard wind, sail in the bay, we remained at anchor.
>
> The 5th, the wind southwest, we weighed anchor, and sailed into the South Bay, and lay, with our yacht in four fathom water, and saw immediately a whale near the ship. Thought this would be royal work—the whales so numerous—and the land so fine for cultivation.
>
> The 6th, we went with the boat into the river, well-manned, in order to see if we could speak with any Indians, but coming by our house, which was destroyed found it well beset with palisades instead of breastworks, but it was almost burned up. Found lying here and there the skulls and bones of our people, and the heads of the horses and cows which they had brought with them, but perceiving no Indians, the business being undone, came on board the boat, and let the gunner fire a shot in order to see if we could find any trace of them the next day.
>
> The 7th, in the morning we thought we saw smoke near our

destroyed house;—we landed on the opposite side. On this side the river before the beach there is something of a sand hill. Coming to the beach, looked over the river near the house where we had been the day before, and where we thought in the morning we had seen signs of smoke, but saw nothing. As I had a cousin of mine with me from Rotterdam, named Heyndrick De Liefde, and as a large gull was flying over our heads, I told him to shoot it at once, as he had a fowling piece with him, and he being a good shot on the wing, brought it down. *With it came a shout from two or three Indians, who were lying in the weeds on the other side of the river by the destroyed house.* We called to them to come over to us. They answered that we must come into the river with our boat. We promised to do so in the morning as the water was then low, and we would then talk with them, and we went back to the boat. Going aboard, we resolved to sail in the river with the yacht, as otherwise in an open boat we might be in danger of their annoyance.

The 8th of December, we sailed into the river before our destroyed fort, well on our guard. The Indians came to the edge of the shore, near the yacht, but dared not come in. At length, one ventured to come aboard the yacht whom we presented with a cloth dress, and told him we desired to make peace. Then immediately more came running aboard, expecting to obtain a dress also, whom we presented with some toys, and told the one to whom we had given the cloth garment, that we had given it to him because he had the most confidence in us—that he was the first one who came in the yacht, and should they come the next day with their chief *Sakimas* we would then make a firm peace, which they call *rancontyn mareuit.*

An Indian remained on board of our yacht at night, whom we asked why they had slain our people and how it happened. He then showed us the place where our people had set up a column to which was fastened a piece of tin, whereon the arms of Holland were painted. One of their chiefs took this off for the purpose of making tobacco-pipes, not knowing he was doing anything amiss. Those in command at the house made such an ado about it, that Indians, not knowing how it was, went away and slew the chief who had done it, and brought a token of the dead to the house to those in command, who told them that they wished they had not done it, that they should have brought him to them, as they wished to have forbidden him not to do the like again. They then went away, and the friends of the murdered chief incited their friends—as they are people like the Italians who are very revengeful—to set about the work of vengeance.

Observing our people out of the house, each one at his work, that there was not more than one inside, who was lying sick, and a very large mastiff, who was chained—had he been loose they would not have dared to approach the house—and the man who had command standing near the house, three of the stoutest Indians, who were to do the deed, *bringing a lot of beaver skins* with them to exchange, sought to enter the house. The man in charge went in with them to make the barter; which being done, he went to the loft where the stores lay and in descending the stairs, one of the Indians seized an axe, and cleft his head so that he fell down dead. They also relieved the sick man of life; and

shot into the dog, who was chained fast, and whom they most feared 25 arrows before they could dispatch him. They then proceeded towards the rest of the men, who were at their work, and going among them with pretensions of friendship, struck them down. Thus was our young colony destroyed, causing us serious loss.

The 9th, the Indians came to see us with their chiefs, and sitting in a ring, made peace. Gave them some presents of duffels, bullets, hatchets and various Nuremberg trinkets. *They promised to make a present to us, as they had been out hunting.* ..They then departed again with great joy of us, that we had not remembered what they had done to us, which we suffered to pass because we saw no chance of revenging it, *as they dwelt in no fixed place.* We began to make preparations to send our sloop to sea, and to set up a kettle for whale oil, and to erect a lodging-hut of boards, etc.

De Vries' statement that the Indians "dwelt in no fixed place" infers a nomadic life, but we know this it be incorrect for the peninsula tribes. Although they moved seasonally from one place to another to hunt and fish, there can be no doubt that they returned to fixed village sites. We have evidence that the Nanticoke took an entire village population to the woods during hunting season which gave the whites the impression that the natives had deserted their town.[12] De Vries' remark that the Indians "had been out hunting" is the clue to why he assumed they lived in no fixed place.

The Algonkian name for the Indian village at Lewes was variously recorded as Sikonesse, Siconece, Sickoneysincks, Sikonessex, Sikonesses, Checonessex, Checonesseck, etc.[13] The name given in the documents previously referred to and generally accepted as a personal name, i.e., Siconesius, was without question another variant of the village name. These forms were also used loosely by the whites when speaking of the Indian inhabitants, following a common European practice of referring to natives by one of their town names.

The Indian name was borrowed by the whites and in 1671 the records state there were 47 white occupants of the white settlement called "Sekonnessinck on Horekill".[14] Elsewhere the whites referred to Lewes Creek as Sickoneysincks Kill.[15]

At least two important Indian trails connected the Indian village with nearby points. One called the Useful Indian Path ran from Lewes to the Assateague Indian towns in Worcester County, Maryland.[16] The second, the Whorekill or Wiccomiss Path, ran northwest from Lewes to the head of Sassafrass River, probably intersecting the north-south Choptank Path.[17]

Following de Vries' visit there are only meager references to these "Sickoneysinck Indians." A Dutchman wrote in 1632 that "there are quantities of whales in the South River and the savages of those quarters wear on their heads mostly small feathers made of whalebone."[18] Archaeologists may still hope to uncover whalebone artifacts in southern Delaware if this is an accurate commentary.

A note made by Van Sweringen relates to Dutch traders who came to Lewes in 1648 to renew trade with the Indians and entered into loose relations with the Indian women[19] The present writer has previously suggested that the archaeologist should expect to find Indian remains with pathological changes attributable to this intimacy in the Lewes area.

In 1657 two small boatloads of Englishmen from Virginia landed in

the neighborhood of Cape Henlopen "who were there attacked by the savages." The Dutch authorities at New Castle (then called New Amstel) sent a messenger "who ransomed the remaining Englishmen from the Indians and brought them here together."[20] The massacre of the Dutch colonists and the attack on the English should be sufficient evidences that the "Sickoneysincks" were not receptive to white incursions in their territory.

In 1659 the Dutch, fearing the English were designing to settle in the vicinity of Cape Henlopen, instructed Peter Stuyvesant to authorize the buying of land from the Indians, even though the records of previous purchases already testified to Dutch ownership.

Following Stuyvesant's orders, Vice Director William Beekman from Fort Altena (present Wilmington) and Capt.-Lieut. Alexander d'Hinoyossa from New Castle with 20 soldiers were sent to Cape Henlopen with a large quantity of gifts to negotiate with the Indians. They "sent out a savage for the chiefs of that country there that they should come down to make an agreement with them."[21] The Indians were referred to as a "nation."[22] An agreement and bill of sale was drawn up June 7, 1659, but the original in the Dutch language is indecipherable and its contents have been unknown.[23]

A contemporary English transaction of this document, whose existence was not suspected, has just come to light, and because of its significance is published below for the first time:[24]

Copia.

> Wee UntherWritten Owners of the Landes Lyinge between Boempies Hook and Cape Hinlopen doe acknolidge this: Neckosmus or Teotacken Great Upperhed, Meoppitas & Meas Brothers unto ye Sd Upperhed Kocketoteka Lyckewys Great Upperhed and Owner of the Hoerekil (Called in the Indian Lingo Siconece) & the Land thar aboud, Mocktowekon, Sawappone and Mettomemeckas his Neare Relations and also Upperhed Katenacku Esippens & Sappeton Sackemakers (ther Land is Called Quistin) Pochocton Queogkamen and Hohatagkon also Upperheds (ther Land Lys Next Unto Boempies Hook—Mameckus & Honkarkus Upperheds of Tarackus ther Land is Called Peskamohot, Hemmagkomeck also Upperhed his Land is Called [K?] wickenesse—Matapagsickan his Land is Cald Seckatackomeck—Wee doe declare hereby In the Psence of a Great Quantite of Indians and the following witnisses that we have Sold and Transported and Made over unto the Honorble Direct. Ginneral and Counsils of New Holland as beings fully empowered by the Reight Honorable West India Company off Amsterdam (and to all those that shall here after obtain ther Interests by Vertu here of) all the Above Mensioned Land, Viz: the Land between Cape Hinlopen and Boempies Hook Lyinge in the South River of New Holland, stritsing 2 or 3 days Walking up Into the Country or about therty Myls, Wee doe Transport the Said Parsell of Land fri and Without Incomberance and doe desist here by off ower Reights & Properties for Ever, Withoud Reservation off any Reight part Interest or Dominion thar in, Oblidging Ower Selfs to keep this ower Transport Irrevocable and to perform the Same Acordinge to Law Thar for provided, forthermore We doe promise When these Lands shall be possessed and Cultivated, then as well the Men as beast shall dwell and Live in Unity and peace; and Iff by axsident any

dammith should happen; Such shall be Communicated Unto the Upperheds or Sackemakers And they Will take care that Reparation shall be Made, We the disposers off this Landes doe forthermore Own and Confes to have Received full Satisfaction for the Prmisses and Quarters here of this Whas Acted and dun in the Psence off the Interpeter, Sander Boyer Mr. Peter Alrich, Schipper Michiel Poulussen, Jan Broersen, Henrick van Bylevelt and Jacob Jacobsen as Witnesses Requyerd here unto Dated the Kill of Siconece Upon the South River in New Holland this 7 day of June 1659 (Whas Seingned)

As Witnessis
Alixander Boeyer
Pieter Alrichs
Michel Poulussen
Jan Broersen
Hendrick van Bylevelts
Jacob Jacobsen

(Untherstoot)
In my presence
Willm Beeckman, Commissioner
& Vice Director in ye [?]
Companies Service

Alixander d: 'Hinojossa

Mark of Neckakosmus
Mark of Meoppitas
Mark of Meas
Mark of Koketotoka
Mark of Mocktotockas
Mark of Sawappone
Mark of Mettomemeckas
Mark of Katenagka
Mark of Esipens
Mark of Sappataon
Mark of Pochoeton
Mark of Quegkamen
Mark of Hoatagkony
Mark of Mameckus
Mark of Hockarus
Mark of Matapagsikan

Although this bill of sale is ungrammatical and obscure in phraseology it contains information of inestimable importance in our understanding of the "Sickoneysinck Indians." The first signer Neckosmus or Teotackan, was unquestionably the head chief or "emperor" of the "nation" whose territory lay between Cape Henlopen and Bombay Hook, at the mouth of Duck Creek. It is equally clear that the headquarters village was at "Siconece", i.e. Sickoneysinck, the town at Lewes and that the chief of this village was Kocketoteka. But there were other villages and hunting territories in the immediate area, each of which were under the command of separate chieftains, all of whom were under the jurisdiction of the "emperor." Thus we have the hitherto unpublished Algonkian place-names in Delaware: Quistin, Tarackus, Peskamohot, [k] wickenesse and Seckatackomeck. One hopes that future study will enable us to define these names with both etymological and geographical certainty.

The kinship of the chiefs signing the bill of sale is also worthy of note inasmuch as the statement is made that Meoppitas and Meas were brother to Teotackan and that Mocktowekon, Sawappone and Mettomeckas were "near relations" of the chief Kocketoteka.

Neither should it pass unnoticed that the paper was drawn up in the presence of "a great quantity of Indians" which indicates that there was still a respectable Indian population between Bombay Hook and Cape Henlopen as late as 1659.

Returning to Teotackan, we recall that in 1654, immediately following his arrival on the Delaware, Governor John Rising conferred with Delaware (Unami) chiefs at Tinnicum Island. The Indians believed that the Swedes had unintentionally brought a bad Manito on their boats. One of the chiefs asked Rising for the loan of a small boat which could be used by two In-

dians who wanted to go down "to the Hornkill" (Sickoneysincks) "to Tentackan, a great Sachem and beg him to take away again that bad Manito, i.e., the evil one whom he sent in our ship."[25]

The chief given as Teotackan in the above quoted bill of sale is without doubt the same one as Tentackan whose magical powers had spread far among his northern Unami neighbors. He was probably the same person who was affronted in 1676 by Peter Smith, an Indian trader at Lewes. During a barter of skins Smith aroused the sachem's resentment to the point of almost provoking an open conflict. The chief was described as *"ye Imperor of those indyans,* a very subtle fellow and one who bears the greatest command and keeps his indyans in ye greatest aw in this parte of ye worlde."[26]

The bill of sale in 1659 proved to have little value in retaining Dutch ownership inasmuch as the English ultimately gained control of the Delaware River region. During the English period there appears to have been considerable trading in furs with the "Siconeysinck Indians," but little of importance was recorded. In 1665 Peter Alrichs was granted permission by Governor Nicholls to trade with the Indians at the Whorekill; in 1668 Captain Martin Creiger was appointed by Governor Lovelace as customs collector at "Hore Kill" and it was stated that he is well known "to ye people there both Christians & Indians;" in 1673 John Garland was licensed to trade, etc.[27]

Lest the impression grow that the Sickoneysincks of Lewes were principally hunters and traders, it is well to bear in mind the statement made by Lindestrom that "it is a powerful nation rich in maize plantations."[28]

The identity of the Indians lying between Bombay Hook and Cape Henlopen has long been open to discussion. Some historians have loosely referred to the occupants of this region as Nanticokes, but we now know this to be incorrect. The Nanticoke are now delimited to a specific territory on the bayside of the peninsula and should not be associated with the occupancy along Delaware River and Bay. This is corroborated in a deposition made in 1678. An Indian of Sickeneysincks was accused of murdering a white family in Maryland. Upon investigation it was found that he had gone over to the Chesapeake Bay region to trade and that "he was an Indian belonging to the King of Checonnesseck [variant of Sickoneysinck] and in no way allied to the Nanticokes."[29] The deposition adds that he did properly belong to the said town and not to the Nanticokes, "nor was he a Wiccomiss" which also eliminates from consideration any suggestion that the Lewes Indians were affiliates of the latter tribal group.

The Indians at Lewes were obviously not affiliates of the Pocomoke-Assateague and allies, themselves refugees in southern Delaware having moved to this territory from Maryland in historic times.[30] Neither could they have been Unami, who lived *north* of Duck Creek, nor Munsi, who lived north of the Unami. The Unami territorial dividing line at Duck Creek is cited in a number of land purchases made by the early Swedes and the later representatives of the Penn government.[31]

That the Sickoneysincks and others of the same "nation" living between Cape Henlopen and Duck Creek were of Algonkian affiliation, and neither culturally nor linguistically related to the Iroquois is equally apparent.

Amandus Johnson's conjecture that the Lewes Indians were "possibly a branch of the Shawnee" has no ethnic nor historical basis. Johnson ar-

rives at this hypothesis by attempting to define Lindestrom's designation for the tribe, i.e. *Sironesack,* with a word meaning "southerner," thus, Shawnee.[32] Actually if the letter "k" is substituted for "r" Lindestrom's designation becomes *Sikonesack,* and the relationship of this word to Sickoneysinck becomes immediately apparent.

Who, then, were these Sickoneysincks of Lewes and their member bands who occupied the territory between Cap Henlopen and Duck Creek? Documentary sources point to close ties with the Indians of southern New Jersey. De Valinger has already shown that Mehocksett, a southern New Jersey sachem, and his brother Petequoque both owned land in southern Delaware. Of the tribal affiliation of these two chiefs, as well as other Indians of southern New Jersey, particularly of the Cohansie Creek region, there can be little question that they were Unalachtigo Delawares. Speck has already suggested (See p. 15 *Big House Ceremony*) that the New Jersey people identified on contemporary maps under the name "Naraticons" were all Unalactigo ("people who live near the ocean"). In this Unalachtigo community of southern New Jersey there is record of a village named Sikoness—phonetically the same designation as the village of Sickoneysinck at Lewes.[33]

Circumstantial evidence is sufficiently strong to permit the suggestion that the region from Duck Creek to Cape Henlopen was once well populated by Unalachtigo Delawares. Under Minquas pressure the Unalachtigo were forced to leave the territory and move across to New Jersey, although there was probably intermittent movement back and forth across the Delaware River as time and circumstances dictated. By the time the first whites appeared on the scene, this exodus had reached important proportions. Thomas Yong in 1634 observed at the mouth of the river that "the Inhabitants had wholly left that side [west] of the River which was next to their enimies and had retired themselves on the other side farre up, into the woods, the better to secure themselves from their enimies."[34]

These remarks should not be interpreted to mean that the Unalachtigo of New Jersey had come from Delaware. Quite the contrary, it is more plausible to think of southern New Jersey having been populated from the north, and that the Unalachtigo wave diffused to southern Delaware from New Jersey. In time, meeting Minquas resistance, the Unalachtigo who had settled in Delaware retreated to New Jersey. Conversely, it can be stated almost categorically that the Unami came into Delaware via a northern entrance, although their population centers remained in Pennsylvania (in the vicinity of Philadelphia) and in northern New Jersey. Unami influence had spread to as far south as Duck Creek, but the Minquas pressure never permitted the group to establish itself in any large numbers in the state of Delaware.

We may conjecture that the Siconeysincks community at Lewes was the last Unalachtigo stronghold on the western bank of the Delaware River. This situation perhaps prompted Lindestrom to observe that, "From the Sandhock [New Castle] downwards to Cape Henlopen on the western bank, the soil is very good, and fertile but unoccupied and uncultivated by either the Swedes or the savage nations."[35] He did not mean to convey the impression that the area had *never* been occupied by Indians and archaeological evidences are sufficiently abundant to establish the existence of the prewhite occupancy.

Having remained steadfast in the face of Minquas pressure, the Unalachtigo community at Lewes was finally dissipated as a result of white in-

trusion. By 1724 the Reverend Beckett wrote from Lewes, "We have but few Indians & these seem obstinate to the means of conversion."[36] Although incontrovertible evidence still remains to be presented, we may speculate that the Sickoneysinck survivors of Delaware found haven with other Unalachtigo bands somewhere in southern New Jersey.

1. This article is based on a paper originally read before members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware at the Sequoia Tea Room, Lewes, Delaware, May 10, 1947. It has been rewritten to include the newer data which have since come to light.
2. The question of the origin of the word Hoeren-kil has been discussed by a number of students, but none of the present theories is completely acceptable. The writer is currently preparing a separate paper on this topic.
3. The purchase was doubtless made by Gillis Hosett for the patroons. See *Van Rensselaer Bowier Mss.*, Albany, 1908, p. 171.
4. The original document has been lost, but the date is cited in later confirmatory documents.
5. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. 12, edited by Fernow, Albany, 1877, p. 16.
6. Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, Phila. 1850, p. 23.
7. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. 1, p. 43.
8. Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Dr. A. R. Dunlap, who has also given considerable study to the records pertaining to the Whorekill, is in agreement with the writer's interpretation expressed above.
9. See de Vries map "De Zuid-Baai in Nieu-Nederland" in the H. T. Colenbrander edition (1911) of *Korte Historiael*, facing p. 154. For Herrman's map, see P. L. Phillips, *The Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland by Augustine Herrman*, end pocket.
10. *Van Rensselaer Bowier Mss*, p. 246.
11. The excerpts quoted are from Henry C. Murphy's translation of *Korte Historiael*, published in 1853 by James Lenox and in 1857 by the New York Historical Society in its *Collections*, second series, Vol. 3, 1-129. Myers in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, also extracts from the translation but introduces revisions from the original Dutch text. However, there are no important differences between Myers and Murphy in the sections quoted above.
12. C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*, Harrisburg, 1948, p. 51.
13. The references are too numerous to cite here, but among the earliest ones are Sikonesse (1659) *Fernow*, p. 272; Sickoneysincks (1659) Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County*, p. 12; Sir(k)onesack (1654) Peter Lindestrom, *Geographia Americae*, Johnson translation, p. 154; Ciconicing (1663) *Turner, op. cit.*, p. 11; Sekonnessinck (1671) *Fernow*, p. 522; Checonesseck (1677) *Maryland Archives*, V. 15, p. 146.
14. *Fernow*, p. 522.
15. *Turner, op. cit.*
16. *Duke of York Records* (Original Land Titles in Delaware 1646-1679) p. 68.
17. Wm. B. Marye, *The Choptank Indians*, *Bulletin*, Arch. Soc. of Del., Vol. 2, No. 5, 1937; also "The Wiccomiss Indians of Maryland," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 4, 146-152, 1938.
18. Van Rennselaer to de Laet, *Van Rensselaer Bowier Mss*, p. 197.
19. The deposition is given in *Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. 3, p. 342; also in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 5, p. 411. In the latter version, the name of the Indian village is given as Sisouestinqud, but in the former it appears as Siconescinque, another variant of the forms given previously.
20. *Fernow*, pp. 201, 215.
21. *Fernow*, p. 242.
22. Alrichs wrote Stuyvesant requesting a quantity of trade goods to be supplied so that negotiations could be opened at the Whorekill "with that nation" of Indians, *Fernow*, p. 230.
23. *Fernow*, p. 243. His exact words are "too defective to be readable."
24. Acknowledgement is made to R. Norris Williams of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for permission to reprint. The document was actually discovered in the Society's files by Mr. Fred Gorman, although its significance was not then apparent. It was photostated with other papers and forwarded to Mr. Clark Mc Knight of Wilmington for whom Mr. Gorman was gathering land records. Mr. Mc Knight kindly permitted the present writer to review all of the material for the purpose of ascertaining if there were new data relative to Indian history. The significance of the paper then became apparent to the writer and to Dr. A. R. Dunlap who made the above transcription.

    The English translation was probably made by a Dutchman which explains the poor spelling, bad grammar, absence of punctuation and the use of literal terms such as "Upperhed" to equate the Dutch word "Opperhoofd" meaning chief.
25. *Geographia Americae*, p. 130.
26. *Fernow*, p. 546.
27. *Fernow*, p. 459; *Hazard*, p. 380, 404; also *Minutes Executive Council of the Province of New York*, Vol. 2.
28. *Geographia Americae*, p. 154.
29. *Md. Archives*, Vol. 15, p. 146.
30. Wm. B. Marye, *Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware*, 1940.
31. Minuit's purchase from the Indians in 1638 was for land as far south as Bombay Hook, i. e. Duck Creek. See Leon de Valinger, *Indian Land Sales in Delaware*, 1941. Chas. S. Keyser *Penn's Treaty With the Indians*, Phila. 1882 lists on pp. 22-31 a series of Indian land titles of which two give Duck Creek as the southern boundary of the Unami territory.
32. *Geographia Americae*, fn. 5, p. 154.
33. The New Jersey village Sikoneses is cited in Robert Evelin's letter and quoted in Plowden's "Description of New Albion," *Peter Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. 2. Plowden himself speaks of two Indian groups "And about the South cape two small Kings with 40 men a piece called Tirans and Tiascons." He also says that a third is "reduced to 14 men at Roymont." He identifies the latter "by the Dutch called Hoarkill, by us Roymont and by the Indians Cui Achomoca." He says further about it ". . . . and there is a poor Indian [town] of 14 men only and weak to hinder any."

    I do not incline to accept Plowden seriously because of his obvious inaccuracies such as his statement that Sir Walter Raleigh left 30 men and 4 guns at Roymont, i. e., Lewes.

    For additional remarks on Sikonesse see Frank H. Stewart, *Indians of New Jersey*, 1932, p. 32. "The Siconesses lived on the Cohansie."
34. Thomas Yong in *Myers op. cit.*, p. 38.
35. *Geographia Americae*, p. 173.
36. *Turner*, p. 185.

LENAPE BASKETRY IN DELAWARE

By ARTHUR G. VOLKMAN

Basketry was very closely connected with the agricultural pursuits of the Lenape Indians who inhabited Delaware. In this association baskets served to carry seeds that were being sown; harvesting corn and other crops; hulling corn; as receptacles when picking berries; storing food above ground and preserving it underground; and as sieves or sifters.[1] Specialized types of baskets were also used to catch fish and as fish containers. In addition baskets were commonly utilized for convenience in transporting articles and stowing personal belongings and clothing, much as we employ traveling bags and trunks today.

There is no evidence to indicate how long baskets were put to these uses by the Lenape Indians prior to the advent of the Europeans.[2] Nor are we even certain that the Lenape knew how to make splint baskets before they reached the banks of the Delaware.[3] Pending a solution to these problems we are obliged to proceed on the premise that originally the Lenape had, at least, knowledge of elementary plaiting and made a type of basket found pretty generally distributed among nearly all tribes of the Atlantic Seaboard. Presumably this knowledge was later complemented by the infiltration of Southern basketry techniques, diffused northward among seaboard tribes. From the Iroquois in the north, too, came ideas of more complex basketry.[4] It has been postulated that the Iroquois also acquired the craft (though circuitously) from the South.[5]

Regardless of their provenience, however, early Europeans found Eastern Indian baskets of superior quality and workmanship and eagerly sought them.[6] Efforts were eventually made by the colonists to imitate and commercialize the Indian baskets. Notwithstanding this competition native basketry continued to survive (even today Indian baskets are still in demand), to some extent, among remnants of the Eastern tribes. Some of these baskets are now to be found in public and private collections. A study of the Iroquois and Algonkian baskets in these collections reveal little difference structurally in the plainer baskets made by descendants of these two groups. Both achieved a variety of styles by several methods—varying the material, size, shape, weave and decoration (painting and block-stamping).[7] The practice alone of diversifying the number and width of warps and/or wefts, account for any number of patterns.

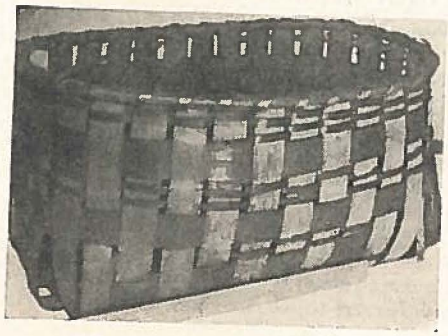
Concerning Lenape basketry specifically the writer was fortunate in locating two specimens[8] made at least 150 years ago, by a Lenape squaw[9] called Indian Hannah. She is often referred to as the "last Delaware Indian" in this vicinity.

According to a county record[10] (dated July 28, 1797), "Indian Hannah, alias Hannah Freeman, . . . was born in a cabin on William Webb's place in the township of Kennett,[11] about the year 1730 or 1731. The family consisted of her Grandmother Jane, Aunts Betty and Nanny. Her father and mother used to live in another cabin at Webb's place in Kennett in the winter and in the summer moved to Newlin to plant corn . . . The country becoming more settled the Indians were not allowed to plant corn any longer. Her father went to Shamokin and never returned. The rest of the family moved to Center [now Centreville] in Christiana Hundred, New Castle County, and lived in a cabin on the Swithin Chandler place.

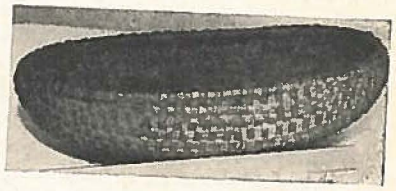
They continued living in their cabins sometimes in Kennett and sometimes at Center till the Indians were killed at Lancaster soon after which they being afraid moved over the Delaware to New Jersey and lived with the Jersey Indians for about seven years . . . She [after returning from New Jersey] worked a few weeks in some other places at Gidion Gilpin's then went to her Aunt Nanny at Concord but having almost forgot to talk Indian and not liking their manner of living so well as white places she came to Kennett and lived at William Webb's working for her board sometimes but getting no money except for baskets. She lived at Sam Lewis three years, that is made her home and worked sometimes for her board, received no wages but made baskets. Since this time she has been moving about from place to place making baskets and staying longest where best used but never was hired or received wages except for the baskets and at Center amongst the Chandlers." Indian Hannah died in 1803 and her grave is marked by a stone on the grounds of the Chester County Home at Embreyville, Pennsylvania.

From Joseph J. Lewis, a Chester County historian, born two years before Indian Hannah passed away, we learn some additional facts concerning Indian Hannah and her basketry[12] (the italics are mine) :

> "Her principal abode after she set up for herself was a wigwam upon the Brandywine on the land of Humphrey Marshall, or rather on her own land. During the summer she traveled much through different parts of the country and distributed her baskets. These were fabricated chiefly after the manner of those now in use by our own schoolboys, *and painted with various colors, red, orange, green and purple. The colors with which she variegated her work were derived chiefly from stones found by the borders of the brooks, and it is a little remarkable that although her red and yellow were known by some of the whites, none were able to discover her fine green and beautiful purple.*"



Photos by J. Richard Hackman



Baskets made by Indian Hannah owned by Chester County Historical Society. These are the only authentic Lenape baskets reported from this area. Type above is called "melon" basket. Both were doubtless intended originally as food receptacles.

The first of the two baskets made by Indian Hannah bears a label reading, "Basket made by Indian Hannah, last of the Lenni-Lenape Tribe, and sold by her to Hugh E. Steele, Laurel, Chester County. Presented by Mrs. Edwin L. McKinstry." As will be noted the plaiting is the ordinary over-one, under-one weave. Beneath the plain top rim are three narrow wefts, thence a wide weft followed again below by three narrow ones, and so on down to the base. All the wefts are colored brown. Lacking an analysis I would guess the basket was made of white oak splints.[13]

The other basket is of the type familiarly known as a "melon" basket (on account of its shape). It is simply labeled "Charcoal basket made by Indian Hannah." Whether it was so designated by the Indians or put to such prosaic use by white purchasers, is unknown. This basket appears to be made of ash. It is unpainted.

The emphasis placed by Lewis on the quality of Indian Hannah's paints seems to call for some comment. There is little secret (as Lewis seems to intimate) about the source of these dyes. While Indian Hannah was still living, a paper prepared by one Hugh Martin, was read before the American Philosophical Society[14] entitled "An Account of the Principal Dies [sic] Employed by the North-American Indians." The author of this paper wrote, "The Indians die [sic] their red with a slender root, which is called in the language of the Shawanoes [Shawnees] *Hau to the caugh* [Blood-root-*Sanguinaria Canadensis*] . . . The Indians pound the root of the *Hau to the caugh* in a mortar, with the addition of the acid juice obtained from the crab apple [*Malus Coronaria* (L.) Miller]. They, then throw the whole into a kettle of water along with the substance to be died [sic], and place the vessel over a gentle fire, until the color is properly fixed.

"The orange color employed by the Indians, is obtained from the root of the *Pocoon* [Pokeweed—*Phytolacca americana* (L.)], the outside being pared off, and also from the plant called Touch-me-not [Jewel-weed—*Impatiens pallida* or *I. biflora*]. The vegetable acid, before mentioned, is likewise used as a fixer to the color of these two plants. I found by mixing the red color of the *Hau to the caugh* with the yellow color of the plant of which I am next to speak, I made orange.

"The Indians die their bright yellow with the root of a plant which grows spontaneously in the Western woods, and which might, very properly, be called *radix flava Americana* [Orangeroot—*Hydrastis Canadensis*] . . .

"Their green is made by boiling various blue substances in the liquor of *Smooth Hickory* bark . . . There are other substances which die a yellow color, and with the Indigo will form a green; but as they are found inferior to the *radix flava,* or yellow root, in making a yellow, and with the Indigo a green, nothing need be said of them.

"The blue are so well known to be made by the Indigo of our own continent [?] that nothing need be said concerning them here. Upon this head, however, I beg leave to observe, that the wood is the natural produce of our Western soil, and that without it no deep or lasting blue can be made.

"The Indians died their black with the Sumach of the country. They, likewise, made a beautiful black with the bark of the White-Walnut [Butternut], and the vegetable acid; for they had no knowledge of the mineral acids. With this bark I have seen them die their woolen clothes, and the intestiries of various species of animals, as bears, &c."

The purple color Lewis mentions was no doubt a mixture of the blue and red dyes described by Martin.

All these paints were probably applied by the Indians to their baskets with a frayed splinter of wood. The purpose for which the baskets were intended presumably dictated the decoration, painting being reserved for the finer ones.

The "stones" referred to by Lewis were the colored clay nodules to be found in southern Chester and northern New Castle counties.[15] These clays,

composed of kaolin (white), hematite (red), limonite (yellow) and smaltite (blue), along with mineral impurities, were used for the color pigments. They were reduced to powder and mixed with some vehicle such as bear fat to yield a color paste or stain. Powdered charcoal and soot treated in a similar manner produced a black. The Indians could have used their bare fingers in spreading these stains over the basket.

In the exodus from their native land—at the turn of the 17th Century—it is more than likely that the Lenape squaws carried their scanty belongings in all the remaining baskets they possessed. Evidently any baskets they left behind soon vanished (being of a frangible nature) for none from that or an earlier era appear to have survived. Together with these baskets and the Lenapes went the answers to such questions as: Did pre-Columbian Lenape baskets have handles (either side or overhead)? Did any of them have lids or covers? Were the baskets decorated by block-stamping or painted designs? Such refinements are at present oftentimes seen on Eastern Indian baskets but they may be traits which the native basket maker borrowed from the white man. If these modern specimens properly typify the Lenape basketry art of 300 or more years ago, it must be admitted the craft reached a degree of skill and artistry generally unappreciated.

1. Capt. John Smith records of the Virginia Indians, "They use a small basket for their Temmes [kernels], then pound again the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receive the flower [sic] in a platter made of Wood, scraped to that forme with burning and shels." *Hakluytus Posthumus*, Samuel Purchas, Glasgow and New York, 1906, Vol. 18, p. 436.
2. Ritchie reports the presence of a carbonized fragment of twined basketry on the Castle Creek site (W. A. Ritchie, *The Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State*, Rochester, N. Y., 1944, pp. 66-87). In a personal letter Dr. Ritchie writes, "I would conservatively date the Castle Creek station around A. D. 1400 (perhaps a little earlier) and would place it in the Late Woodland period prior to the full development of the Iroquois in New York, to the formation of which I believe the Castle Creek contributed. Although we have as yet found no specific traces to support the contention, I strongly suspect that the earlier Owasco forebears of the Castle Creek folk, going back several centuries before 1400, also made similar textiles and perhaps even coiled baskets, for I have found impressions on early (Canandaigua focus) Owasco potsherds which seem to have been derived from the application of a segment of coiled basketry to effect the surface treatment."
3. It has been contended that basketry preceded pottery in the cultural development of the American Indian. See *Indian Basketry*, G. W. James, New York, 1902, p. 13.
4. One source of contact between the tribes of the Iroquoian and Algonkian groups relevant to an understanding of this study was the Susquehanna River waterway. For instance an early Virginia narrator (1606-1610) writes, "Seven Boates full of these Massawomekes [Iroquois-(Senecas?)] the discovers encountered at the head of the Bay [Chesapeake]: whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and every thing, shewed they much exceeded them of our part . . ." Purchas, *op. cit.*, Vol. 18, p. 446.
5. See "Decorative Art and Basketry of the Cherokee" by Frank G. Speck—*Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 2, July 27, 1930, pp. 66-67.
6. One Virginia colonist (1606-1610) complains, "They [English soldiers and sailors] knew as well (and as secretly) how to convay them to trade with the Savages, for Furres, Baskets, Mussaneekes, young beasts or such like Commodities, as to exchange them with the Saylers, for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, Aquavitae, Beere, Bisket, and Oate-meale . . ."
7. For a detailed description of these features as well as the Indian technique of manufacturing splint baskets see *Seneca Splint Basketry*, Marjorie Lismer, Chilocco, Okla., 1941. Also *Eastern Algonkian Block Stamp Decoration*, Frank G. Speck, Trenton, N. J., 1941.
8. In the Museum of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Penna.
9. Making baskets was one of the duties of the squaw. Hesselius writes, ". . . The principal occupation of the men [Lenape] is to hunt and fish, but that of the women folks is to make baskets or so called *tassar* as well as rugs and other small things of wooden strips . . ." Dwelling on the word "tassar" the translator states that it is "undoubtedly a corrupted Indian word for basket adopted by the Swedes. The usual Delaware word for basket was *Michquinotees*, while a basket made of 'wood strips' was called *Bahhuhachuquea*." "The Journal of Andreas Hesselius, 1711-1724," translated by Amandus Johnson, *Delaware History*—September, 1947, Vol. 11, No. 2, Historical Society of Delaware, p. 87.
10. Owned by the Chester County Historical Society and in its museum collection at West Chester, Penna.
11. The location at Longwood, Penna., on Route 52, close to its intersection with Route 1, has been prominently marked by the Chester County Historical Society.
12. Quoted by W. W. MacElree, *Among the Western Brandywine*, West Chester, Pa., 1909, p. 109.
13. Black Ash, Maple, Yellow Pine, Tulip Poplar and Hickory were some other woods used by the Indians in making splint baskets. (Hickories are native only to North America. The name is believed to be a derivative of the Indian word for them—*Powcohiscora. Delaware Trees* by W. S. Taber, Dover, Del., 1937, p. 68.) Baskets are also reputed to have been woven of cat-tails, rushes, Indian hemp, roots and corn husk.
14. On October 4, 1782. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 1 Ser. Vol. 3, Philadelphia, 1793, pp. 222-225.
15. Brinton writes the clays from this area ". . . were in such extensive demand that the vicinity of these streams are now called the White Clay Creek and Red Clay Creek, was widely known to the Indians as *Walamink*, the place of the paint." D. G. Brinton, *The Lenape and Their Legends*, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 53.

INDIAN POTTERY OF DELAWARE

By A. CROZIER

(Synopsis of a paper read before the Annual Meeting of The Eastern States Archaeological Federation at Newark, Delaware, November 9, 1947)

In his magnificent work on *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States,* W. H. Holmes[1] devoted a single paragraph to our region, as follows: "Collections from the upper Maryland and Delaware districts are extremely meagre, and it is impossible now to trace in detail the transitions that take place between the drainage of the Potomac and that of the Susquehanna, and between the latter stream and the Delaware."

At that time (1903) this statement was only too true, as our knowledge of Delaware pottery was confined largely to the collections of Joseph Wiglesworth, S. W. Robinson and the writer, and to sherds from Naamans Creek collected by Hilborn T. Cresson.[2] With the exception of the latter, the sherds were all surface finds. During the last twenty years much has been added to our knowledge. In the upper Maryland region, Richard L. Stearns[3] has made valuable contributions by excavating many sites and publishing the results. In Delaware, D. S. Davidson[4] of the University of Pennsylvania, excavated a site on Slaughter's Creek, Sussex County, Delaware, in 1933. This was the largest Indian site found in the state up until that time, and subsequent to Davidson's excavation, several members of the newly formed Archaeological Society of Delaware were guided to the site by him and J. Alden Mason, and many refuse pits were excavated resulting in the recovery of a large collection of sherds. We were successful in restoring a number of pots. Several of these excavated and restored are on exhibition in our Museum at the University of Delaware.

The refuse pits from which this pottery was recovered contained mostly oyster, clam and conch shells, with the oyster shells predominating. The pits also contained many animal bones, and the soil was blackened by decayed vegetable matter. Very few artifacts were found, the most interesting ones being bone awls and bodkins. In one of the pits four burials were located. One skeleton was almost completely articulated, while the other three comprised a bundle burial. This find was reported in detail by Davidson.[5]

The pottery recovered from pits at this site represented vessels of all sizes, from small cups to ones a foot or more in height. The clay for these vessels was evidently found locally, and shell seems to be the only tempering medium. Some of the ware shows a very heavy shell content, and is almost as heavy as stoneware. It occurs in many colors, from light red to almost black. Much of it was evidently made from black alluvial clay from the banks of Slaughter's Creek, with a wash of a lighter colored clay.

Most of the pots were decorated near the rim with designs which are mostly modifications of the triangle, sometimes accompanied by parallel lines or chevrons. Walls of Troy and rectangular designs occur sparingly. Curvilinear designs are absent, to the best of my knowledge, as are all trace of life forms. Many of the sherds show crude free hand tracings made with a pointed bone or other tool. Cord and net markings seem to be the favorite

finish for the outside of the pots, with occasional designs made by corn cobs. Punctate markings are rare. The usual drilled sherds are found, evidently to repair a cracked or broken pot. The ware varies in thickness from very thin sherds to ones that measure an inch or more and from fine to crude, heavy material. Some are so poorly constructed that one wonders how the vessels withstood any handling. Most of them seem to have been constructed by the coil method. Much of it has been smoothed on the inside by a comb like tool, resulting in a neat finish. Some of the tops of the rim sherds are decorated with a stamp or cord design, and some are slightly castellated. There is no trace of the high collars and handles that characterize so much of the Iroquois ware. In general the vessels have rims that are straight or slightly flaring, and with bottoms that are pointed or rounded. A rather interesting feature on a few sherds shows a band of clay superimposed near the rim of the vessel.

At the Moore shell heap near Rehoboth, Sussex County, Weslager[6] and other members of our Society found ware that closely resembles the Slaughter's Creek sherds.

Perhaps the largest and finest pot collection in Delaware was found and restored by State Forester William S. Taber. It was found a few years ago in the Redden State Forest, Sussex County.

A few years ago Dr. Frank Morton Jones of our Society, in returning from a visit to lower Delaware, noticed pot sherds protruding from the bank where a road had been widened near Bethany Beach, Sussex County. Upon investigating he recovered several sherds, all of the same pot. He did not have the time or facilities for digging, so he very kindly turned the sherds over to me with a sketch showing the exact location where they were found. Upon successive visits to the location, I found a goodly portion of the pot, enough to restore it. It is of about two quarts capacity, well made, but of rather coarse ware.

New Castle County is represented in our collections only by small sherds, for with the exception of some digging at the Crane Hook site on the Delaware River near Wilmington, no major excavations have been made. The terrain is distinctly different from that in Kent and Sussex Counties, being rocky and hilly, whereas the others are low and sandy. The sherds from this county are interesting on account of the variety of tempering material used, for here we have found mica, tourmalin, steatite, pyrites, and quartz, in addition to sand and gravel. The ware is of various colors and thickness, as in the other two counties, with one notable exception. In this county there were vast deposits of kaolin, a fine variety of clay, which were worked for many years by pottery companies of Wilmington and Trenton. Our Indians made use of this superior clay, and many sherds are found that are practically white. The sherds so far collected from this county are not as well decorated as those from Kent and Sussex, although there are a few with Walls of Troy, chevron and diagonal line designs. Along the Delaware above Wilmington many sherds have been found, mostly of crude, heavy ware. At Claymont and Marcus Hook, however, a few delicately made and decorated ones have been collected. Some well made and tastefully decorated sherds have been recovered by John Swientochowski.[7] The sherds recovered from the Clyde site near Stanton are mostly crude and with little decoration.

The pottery from Kent County is much like that of New Castle County, heavy, coarse ware with cord wrapped decoration, tempered with mica, crushed quartz and small pebbles. A notable find was made in April, 1934,

near Willow Grove, Kent County, by William O. Cubbage.[8] He recovered about one third of a pot which is thirteen inches in diamater at the top. For a distance of four and a half inches from the top, it is decorated with the most complicated design so far noted on any pottery from Delaware. In one place there is a design strongly suggestive of a thunder bird.

A few clay pipes have been found in Delaware, mostly from Sussex County, one owned by Elwood Wilkins having a conventionalized design of a thunder bird.

An interesting find was made by John Swientowchowski at Crane Hook. A good portion of an elbow pipe of clay was found in close association with a grooved axe and a five hole gorget.

(Since the above paper was written, an important site was located near Lewes, Delaware, by H. Geiger Omwake, Kenneth D. Givan and the writer. Considerable quantities of pottery have been uncovered which will add further to our knowledge of local ceramics.)

1. *Twentieth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology.
2. *Report on Pile Structures in Naaman's Creek*, Papers of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. 1, No. 4.
3. *Proceedings*, The Natural History Society of Maryland, Baltimore, Md.
4. *Bulletin*, Arch. Soc. of Del., Vol. 2, No. 2.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 3, No. 2.
7. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 3, No. 5.
8. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, No. 4.

THE BEAVER VALLEY ROCK SHELTER NEAR WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

By SEAL T. BROOKS

Not since Hilborne T. Cresson excavated a rock shelter located near Claymont in 1866 has this particular type of habitation been reported in Delaware.[1] This scarcity of natural shelters can be attributed to the geological formation of the state, and the absence of large rock formations south of Wilmington. The northernmost area of the state is characterized by gently rolling hills which form the watersheds of numerous fresh-water streams, and there are several examples in the area of rock outcrops traditionally known as "Indian Caves." One of these features was explored during the past summer by an excavating committee of the Archaeological Society of Delaware.[2]

Before describing this work the writer would first like to summarize Cresson's work so that the reader may compare Cresson's findings with those made in the Beaver Valley shelter.[3] During the years 1866-1867 Cresson found what he believed to be evidences of a pre-Indian man in a stratified rock shelter not far from where Darley Road crosses the B&O railroad tracks near Claymont. Due to the finding of the so-called "paleoliths" in the Trenton gravels, during this period, geology was being emphasized in the dating of lithic material. Cresson's work at Claymont added weight to the Abbott theory and in fact, the material from the rock shelter was thought to pre-date the material found in the Trenton gravels. That both Cresson and Abbott were incorrect in their conclusions is now well established.[4]

The interesting aspect of Cresson's work is that at the lowest level excavated, which was approximately eighteen feet, he found only a few argillite implements. In the level above was found fragments of a skull and a rib in association with stone implements. The material used being exclusively argillite. However above this level Cresson found implements of both argillite, jasper, and quartzite. In the top level, beneath the leaf mold, argillite implements, although found, were in the minority.

The abundance of material found, over one thousand specimens being reported, is not unique, but the alleged depth of the material is, indeed, remarkable.

Cresson's integrity as a scientist has been questioned, and his methods and conclusions criticized.[5] Although an element of mystery surrounds Cresson and his work, there is no doubt that a study of the material he excavated, which is now in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, might answer many of the present day questions about the people who once lived in the Claymont rock shelter.[6]

The natural route for the foot traveler going from the "Great Bend" on the Brandywine to the Delaware River above Claymont would be to follow Beaver Run north to its source, which is less than a mile from the south branch of Naaman's Creek. Then down Naaman's Creek to the Delaware. An Indian path is said to have followed this route, connecting the Unami Delaware village of Queonemysing in the Great Bend of the Brandywine to an unnamed village on Naaman's Creek. Thus, Beaver Valley, through

which Beaver Run flows, was, doubtless, very familiar to the native Delawares.

The water power supplied by Beaver Run was used to operate a number of mills that sprung up on its banks during the colonial period. Evidence of a once busy community, known locally as Chandler's Hollow, which was sheltered in the valley during the last century, has almost entirely disappeared. Today the casual driver would not suspect that in 1880 this same area would merit the following description, *"a rapidly growing village, 8 miles from Wilmington, with all the improvements common to a young town of 300 inhabitants."*[7] Today the man-made embankments, the remains of millraces, and several mill foundations can still be observed, but these are the only reminders of this once thriving community.

For many years Beaver Valley has served as the locale for several interesting legends, which have become part of Brandywine folklore. The scene of these legends has centered about a rock formation overlooking Beaver Run, known locally as Wolf Rock, Wolf Rock Cave, or the Indian Cave.[8] It was suggested by Weslager that the cave should be excavated to determine if there had been an Indian occupation at the entrance. Permission to make tests was obtained in June, 1948, and the work was done during July and August of that year.[9]

The so-called "Indian Cave" is located on an abrupt slope east of the road which goes north through Beaver Valley to the Concord Pike. The cave overlooks Beaver Run and faces west, offering excellent protection from the elements. The mouth of the cave is nearly twenty feet wide and five feet from the roof to the floor, gradually tapering back for a distance of fifteen feet. At the rear a small fissure in the rock, once said to have been large enough to permit the entrance of a man, goes back for an undetermined distance.[10]

The floor of the shelter was covered with leaf mold and stone debris, with large boulders protruding through the surface. Directly under the leaf mold was an uneven layer of dark humus extending to a maximum depth of ten inches. Below this humus was a yellow clay whose depth could not be determined, nor were we able to learn whether there was an earlier occupational layer beneath.

As the work progressed on the shelter, it became apparent that the extent of the excavation would be limited by large boulders which were impossible to move by hand tools. It was felt that it would be impractical and unsafe to attempt their removal by machine. Therefore circumstances restricted work to the upper humus layer, and almost the entire floor of the entrance was excavated by trowel. Although not indicative as to what lay beneath the humus, the work proved conclusively that there had been Indian occupation.

The excavation brought to light five specimens of primitive stone industry, and considerable numbers of cracked pebbles, chips, and flakes. The finished specimens were notched type projectile points. One measuring three inches in length could probably be placed in the spearhead classification. Two of these specimens are of the same material Cresson knew as argillite, the other three being more like shale. All of the specimens could be easily duplicated in type and material from most surface collections made in New Castle county.

Three clay potsherds were recovered. These sherds were all cord impressed, the impressions bisecting each other producing a crosshatched pat-

tern. None of the sherds were rim portions and no design or decoration was observed. The ware is very coarse, and the tempering agents, quartz and mica, is very finely crushed. All sherds were typical of the pottery found in New Castle county.

A few fragments of bones were found. These are at this time at the Smithsonian Institute being identified.

If it were practical to excavate this shelter completely, it would probably yield additional artifacts. The small number recovered do not permit conclusions. The paucity of material in the top humus suggests that this shelter was not used extensively. Probably the only visitations were made during the hunting season. The specimens uncovered can be identified with those described as broadly as Coastal Aspect, Woodland Pattern.

The most significant contribution of this very limited work was to support the tradition that the cave had been occupied by Indians, an issue which has long been a controversial one.

1. Hilborn T. Cresson, "Early Man in the Delaware Valley," *Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History*, Vol. 14, May 1889, pp. 141-150.
2. Members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware who participated in the work were: A. Crozier, C. A. Weslager, H. Layman, John and Stanley Swientochowski, Elwood Wilkins and son, E. Carperter, H. Lang, myself, and several students from the University of Pennsylvania.
3. For a more comprehensive study of Cresson's work see C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Buried Past*, Phila., 1944.
4. Dorothy Cross, *Archaeology of New Jersey*, Vol. I, Trenton, 1941, p. 207.
5. Henry C. Mercer, *Researches Upon the Antiquity of Man in the Valley of the Delaware*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, Vol. 6, Phila., 1897.
6. A general description of the material from this shelter may be found in "Museum Inventories of Delaware Artifacts," *Paper No. 4, Archaeological Society of Delaware*, December 15, 1941.
7. *Industries of Delaware*, Wilmington, 1880.
8. The writer feels that these legends, although not concerned with archaeology, should be recorded. The following seem to be the versions most retold.
   a. A miserly farmer, who lived near Beaver Valley, once hired several farmhands to aid him in farming. When their work was nearly finished the farmer ran to the fields crying, "the redcoats are coming, the redcoats are coming." The laborers being afraid of the British soldiers, as the farmer knew they would be, took alarm and ran for their lives, taking refuge in the Wolf Rock Cave. Thus the farmer did not have to pay the wages due the men. A version of this story is told by H. S. Canby in *The Brandywine*, 1941, p. 101.
   b. It is said that a party of Indians once attacked a house which stood in Beaver Valley. The mark of their hatchets could be seen on the door of this house until a few years ago.
   c. Tales of buried treasure associated with this cave are told with many variations. It is told that during the retreat of Washington's army from the Brandywine engagement several troopers took refuge in this cave to hide from the Hessian regulars. They hid a quantity of loot in the cave and never returned to get it. Another version of this story is that the local inhabitants, fearing the British soldiers, cached their valuables in the cave.
9. The Archaeological Society of Delaware is indebted to Woodlawn Trustees, Inc., the present owners of Beaver Valley for their permission to explore this site. The writer wishes to thank Mr. J. M. Rhodes, Farm Lands Manager, for Woodlawn Trustees, Inc., for his cooperation and interest.
10. This narrow opening and the inner recesses beyond were not explored for reasons of safety, at the request of the owners.
11. The writer wishes to thank Irwin W. Pyle and Christian C. Sanderson for their historical information on Beaver Valley. The Society also acknowledges the assistance of Dr. Ferd Schulze and Richard Schulze.

A MAKER OF EEL-POTS AMONG THE NANTICOKES OF DELAWARE

By FRANK G. SPECK

Ellwood Wright is a maker of eel pots. Why is this avocation so exceptional as to deserve mention in a separate notice at this time? From the far north down the whole Atlantic coast to the Indians of South Carolina, the basket trap known as an "eel-pot" was made and used by Indian fishermen of a generation ago. It was not an exclusive piece of handiwork of Indians, however, as negroes and some whites in the Atlantic coastal area made their own eel-pots before the opening of the industrial era. We cannot say positively from what source the original American prototype emanated. The eel-pot, of varying size and material, is of loose checker-work weave in the shape of a truncated cylinder; its wide end, into which the victims enter, is furnished with a funnel-shaped, in-turned section fitted tightly to the outside. An opening in the funnel leads into the body of the basket and is so constructed that a circle of sharp splints permits the fish to enter without being able to escape by picking their way delicately through the narrow end of the funnel and regaining the open water. (The illustration shows the principle of construction, which is nothing more than what is known as a trap made of wire and called a "fly-trap" by manufacturers.)

Nanticoke Indian, Ellwood Wright, in third stage of making pine splint eel-pot. Photos showing earlier and later stages have been presented to the Society by the author.

Ellwood Wright, now seventy-seven years old, hearty in appetite and robust in frame, is a Nanticoke Indian of the Indian River band in Sussex County, Delaware. He comes from one of the families of the Nanticoke settlement whose lineage represents the nearest approach to the "fullblood"

type. Besides his appearance, his mannerisms and mental attitude conform to what may be observed elsewhere among Indian descendants as the "Indian mind." Ellwood's craft possesses the distinction of being the sole instance, to the writer's knowledge, where eel-pot manufacture has not ceased among Algonkian tribes of the Atlantic seaboard from one end to the other.

Ellwood is a river man. He is a river man of the American type which developed both on the coast and inland in North America whose life is marked by the buffeting of waves at night and in storms in fishing boats, on rafts, on scows, and in fishing smacks. One thinks of Mark Twain's men in his *Life on the Mississippi.* Ellwood might be considered a hard man, but his heart is that of a gentle man, generous, considerate of others and helpful. He and his brothers and sons are men of a similar breed. They turn to the river, and they are Indian-like in physique and mentality. Who is there in the tribe of the Nanticoke scattered along the shores of some 15 miles of Indian River who knows better than he the places where fishing nets are launched into the river to be hauled for their finney catch? Such places on both sides of the river are known as "hauls" and Ellwood can name and locate an even 100 of them. From boyhood he hauled nets as the seasons rolled on, with the old men and the young men of the tribe and now that he is old he has the knowledge and the lore of the river and its activities which we are all eager to tap. His knowledge of setting nets beneath the ice, of handnetting for crabs, of setting fykes and fish pounds is a source of reminiscence from which his ethnological friends are constantly drawing. His home is a hospitable haven for those who engage in recording the past and present life of his people.

Ellwood is doing something for posterity in creating his eel-pots of pine splints after the fashion of the Indian groups from the province of Quebec south to the Carolinas in the whole Atlantic slope area. He is preserving a craft tradition of the Nanticoke, true to form, which he finds most suitable for his purpose, despite the innovations which industry has brought to most fishermen of these days. Chicken wire and commercial cord nettings have been put aside by his hands for the making of his eel traps out of strips of yellow pine which he himself gathers in the woods and prepares in his house yard for the set-up of weaving. A series of photographs of Ellwood plying his craft were made in March 1948 and are now in the Society's archives. They show the first steps of material preparation in the making of flat slabs of yellow pine, (*Pinus echinata*) drying in the sun as they lean against hogsheads. Next to these sections are other slabs soaking in the hogshead to render them soft so that they will not crack when bent to form the uprights and side filling of his eel pots. Next, he is shown standing at his mold, setting the splints in position to form the standard or upright. The mold itself is a solid block of pine shaped like the finished eel pot wider at the entrance than at the mouth and about two feet in length. The mold revolves on an iron axle so that he works on the topside. In the next pose he is beginning to place in position the splints which alternate with the uprights to form the side walls of the eel pot. Ellwood enjoyed the interest shown by the writer and a group of his University students who admired his skill and understanding of the process of Indian eel pot making in Eastern North America, a process which has not been previously possible to observe and to photograph throughout the wide area where it was once so common. Museum collections have many finished articles from tribes in the area, articles made by craftsmen now passed away, whose methods were not directly observed. At the time these observations were made on Ellwood's industry he had finished three dozen of his eel pots and they were hanging in his

wagon shed waiting to be used in Indian River during the spring activity of taking eels which were then entering the river through the Inlet from lower Delaware Bay. Ellwood expected to reap considerable profit in setting his eel pots.

Yellow pine is an unusual material for basket making. Its employment in the capacity for which Ellwood intended it is the result of deliberate choice, for the pine splints, when soaked, are heavy enough to sink without further weighting—the reason being that there are no suitable stones in the tidewater territory of extreme southern Delaware to be found and used as sinkers. Few would be apt to realize that this deficiency in the natural environment would lead to the adoption of weaving material like pine splints, otherwise not employed in basket making. Today, there are no active basket makers in the Nanticoke community who build baskets of white oak splints for farm and domestic use as was done a generation ago. Yet, Ellwood could revive the basket industry there if he so desired, since the weave he uses to construct his eel pots is the checkerwork or over-one, under-one process characteristic of basket working.