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SUSQUEHANNA'S
INDIANS

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the H. Only three IHS rings were found at Conestoga—or somewhat less than 1% occurrence. By contrast, at least 50% of the (26) rings from Strickler bear the IHS mark.

Graves at Conoy Town were also loaded with trinkets, but surprisingly, there were very few utilitarian trade goods buried with the dead. Only two brass kettles were found in 71 graves. Likewise axes, knives and guns were much less frequent. There is every reason to believe that the Conoy had these commodities, particularly brass kettles, in some quantity. The lack of their placement in the graves may be a sign of their impoverished state, but it may also be a reflection of the difference in burial customs between the Conoy and Conestoga. Brass trinkets and their quality at Conoy are quite similar to those at Conestoga. We note almost the same (about 1%) proportion of IHS rings to other types at Conoy Town.

This preponderance of brass items, particularly at Conestoga Town, is not a reflection of the wealth of its inhabitants; perhaps more than anything it is a product of the town's place in both history and geography. Until about 1725 it was pretty much at the edge of Pennsylvania's frontier, and yet close enough to serve as a convenient place of contact for whites and Indians. Throughout the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Conestoga Town was the focal point for a very brisk trade as well as numerous land-sale negotiations with many Indians. Proprietary land buyers, and numerous traders, with the backing of shrewd Philadelphia merchants, could transport large quantities of small inexpensive goods to Conestoga Town, where they were very profitably exchanged for land, furs or hides (principally deerskins). Similarly, the Indians could easily travel to Philadelphia for such exchanges.

The Indians' fascination with, but more accurately their now total dependence upon, cheap European-made (or colonial) baubles as well as utilitarian items often made them an easy mark for unscrupulous land speculators or fur traders. Such gross inequities in the market place are precisely what history has taught us to expect when one culture comes to enjoy, but cannot itself produce, the better products of another. One of the things which can bring a halt to such profitable, but perhaps morally objectionable, markets is that the technologically inferior group may simply run out of goods that the other wants. This is precisely what happened to the Susquehanna's Indians—they soon sold off all of their lands and killed off most of the fur-bearing animals. Now they would either be absorbed by the whites or flee beyond the frontier.

Much of this book is concerned with the impact of these culture contacts and interactions. Other than the few written words about these matters, the items of brass and the other yet to be described "trade goods" are all that we have to remind us of these historical and cultural events.

BEADS

European-made beads have become our most important class of trade objects for dating historic-period Indian sites. The bead types were not presented to American archeologists as precisely datable objects which could be used to determine the age of the Indian sites at which they were encountered. In fact, quite the opposite is true. The chronology of trade beads as we now know it is largely the result of American archeologists having found them in otherwise datable contexts. As the temporal sequences of the various bead types are worked out and refined, the beads themselves become very useful chronometers for other sites in which no more precisely dated objects are found.

Beads have become very important as dating fossils for two reasons: First, they were the most numerous items traded to the Indians; and second, the various styles generally came and went very rapidly among both the manufacturers of beads and the users.

During the past several decades archeologists began to seriously describe glass trade beads, thus generating a growing body of information about their chronologies and numerous types, particularly in the New World. Kinsey (1960: 91), for example, published a typology of beads and their numbers from the Ibaugh cemetery, which is associated with the Washington Boro site. Shortly thereafter, Heisey and Witmer (1962: 117) provided descriptions of additional types from the Schultz, Washington Boro and Strickler sites. Smith and Graybill (1977) presented a typology for a more recent and much larger collection from the Schultz site, including black and white drawings of 65 varieties of glass trade beads.

Peter Pratt (1961) published, in a very limited edition, color photographs of beads from dated central New York Iroquois sites. Thus far this has been one of the more useful tools for dating the wide range of bead types in the northeastern United States. Its drawbacks, like those of other typologies, are in accurately comparing the colors and structures of one's own sample with those illustrated and/or described by Pratt. In addition, there are also certain problems of sample size, so that it is not always possible to determine at which site (or time period) a particular bead type was most abundant, and thereby most closely dated.

Realizing these impediments to the development of good bead type chronologies, the present writer nevertheless endeavored to produce yet another scheme to organize the growing bead sample from Susquehanna Valley sites. This system, employing a numbered "type board" of actual specimens, based on criteria of color, layering, embedding and shape, was found useful for classifying the samples at hand. However, this clearly was still not the answer to the need for a universal typology, primarily because of the absence of any standardized description of the colors, and the lack of

adequate color photographs or illustrations which could be distributed to other researchers.

This problem was largely solved with the publication of Kidd's and Kidd's (1970) "Classification System for Glass Beads," wherein they meticulously describe the various construction features of beads and present generally recognizable color illustrations which can be used to standardize the color designations.

The Kidds made no effort to determine the distributions of their types at any dated sites. Consequently, it remained for others to apply the Kidds' typology to dated sequences wherever they might occur. Until the Rochester Museum and Science Center Bead Conference in 1982, there were very few formal efforts in this regard.

Prior to the publication of the Kidds' (1970) classification system, the present writer had already counted datable samples of over seventy-five thousand beads in more than 150 type groups. Ultimately the sample was increased to over one hundred ten thousand beads derived from 13 sites covering a time span from about 1575 to 1760 A.D. Realizing the widespread applicability of the Kidds' system, the present sample was converted to their type numbers. For economy of space in our early application of the Kidds' typology, their Roman numerals were transposed to Arabic. Unfortunately, but in order to avoid reproducing charts and tables, that transposition has been retained here.

Distributions of the various types are expressed in terms of their percentage of occurrence in the total from each site (Table 8). This chart shows the distribution of all the types at each of the various sites, as well as their distributions through time. It will be noted that a few beads in this sample are not found in the Kidd typology. However, for the most part, these are single or very minor occurrences. Any bead which occurs with a frequency of less than 1% at a particular site is simply indicated as being present (x). Although no description of the types in the earlier Susquehanna Valley (Kent) scheme is provided here, the comparison of the two type-numbering systems is shown in Table 8 and Figure 56 to emphasize certain minor differences in the recognition of types.

For the reader who may not have Kidd's and Kidd's (1970) classification close at hand, we have provided a color plate (Figure 57) of the hallmark, or most popular, beads, together with a chronological arrangement and their percentage distribution at each site (Figure 56, a dot indicates less than 1% occurrence).

The researcher who is comparing his own bead collection with this sequence should obviously consider his total sample as it may compare to Table 8. A few of the hallmark types which appear in Figure 56 seem to occur at only one or two sites of close time periods. These should be considered

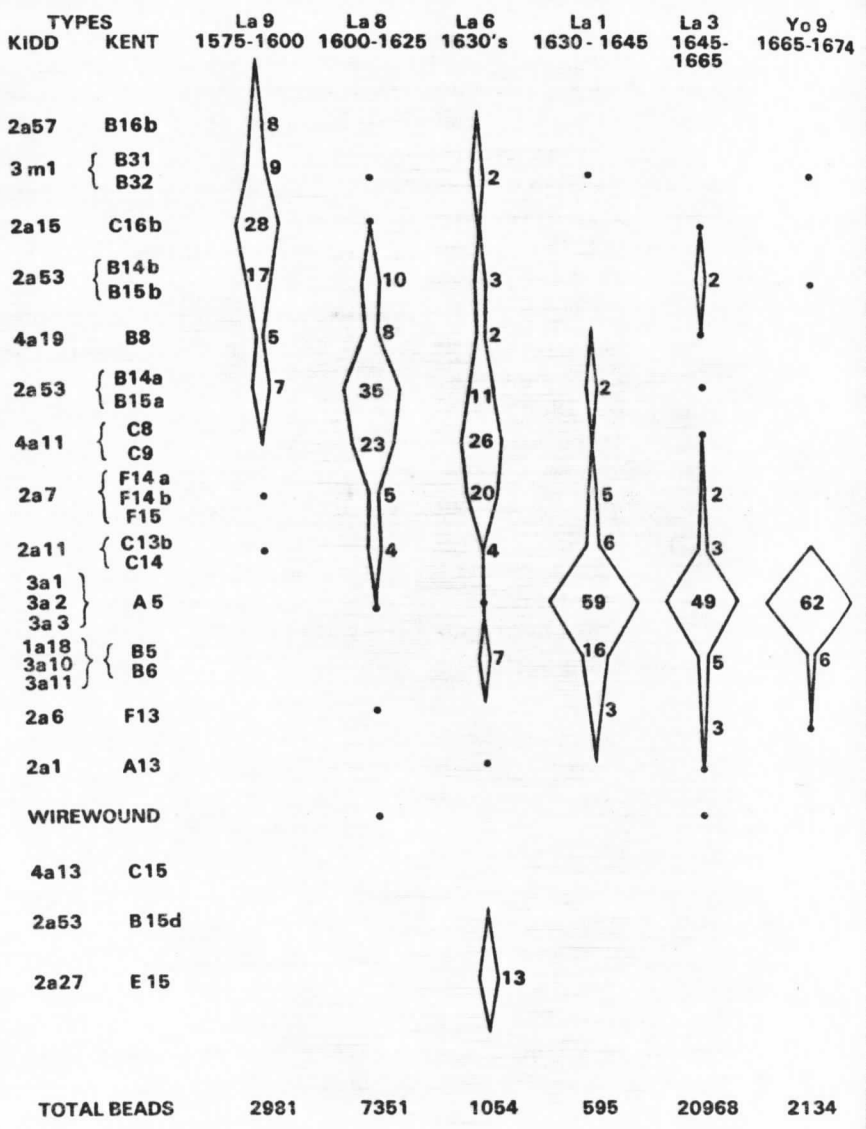
the most important in cross-dating other samples. As a word of caution concerning infrequently occurring types, we should note that Indians, particularly during the eighteenth century, occasionally looted earlier sites to secure beads; and of course, there is always the possibility that the beads may have been heirlooms. Small samples from a site, therefore, should be considered very carefully in this regard. The geographic extent of the applicability of these cross-correlations is uncertain; for example, they may not apply well in the southeastern United States, where various blue beads were widely selected above all others.

Certain hallmarks and/or combinations of types seem to be of paramount utility for purposes of comparative dating. For example, 2a15, a white oval-shaped bead, is the most abundant type at the Schultz site, and occurs almost exclusively at that site. The so-called flush-eyes (4g1), although scarce everywhere, are also most frequently encountered at the Schultz site. Blue beads of the type 2a53, although found at both earlier and later sites, can be considered a hallmark of the period from 1600 to 1630, when they are the most common type from a particular site. Straw beads, especially red ones, and to a lesser extent blue, black and white ones, definitely have their greatest occurrence at sites dating 1630 to 1670. Sites after 1670 produce fewer straw beads and increasing numbers of pea-size, round, solid red (2a1) or solid black (2a6) examples.

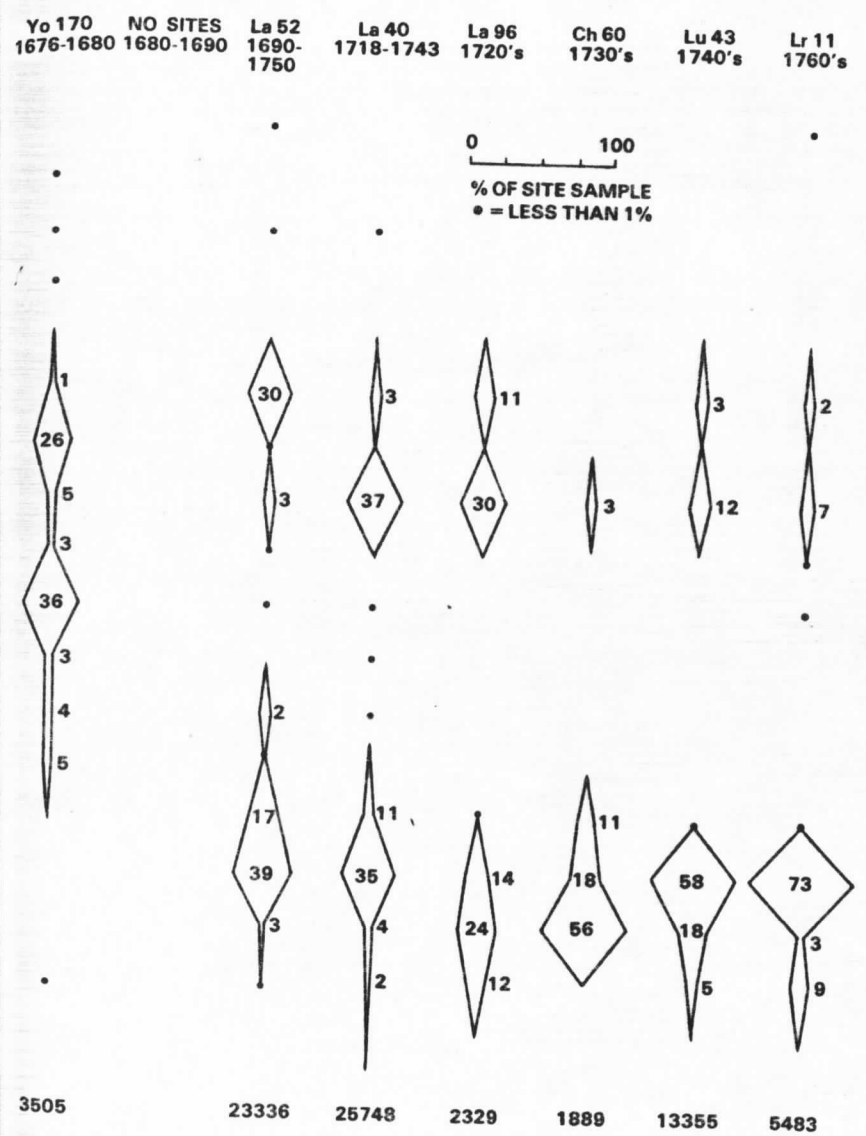
Wire-wound beads (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 62), which clearly exhibit that manufacturing technique, probably do not occur on Indian sites before about 1690. These beads are quite characteristic of sites from the first three or four decades of the eighteenth century. Although not necessarily the most common of the wire-wound beads, the very large spherical whites, the so-called raspberry, and the blue-faceted ones are generally the most outstanding and easily recognized of this period. By at least 1750 small, shiny white seed beads (4a13) become the predominant type.

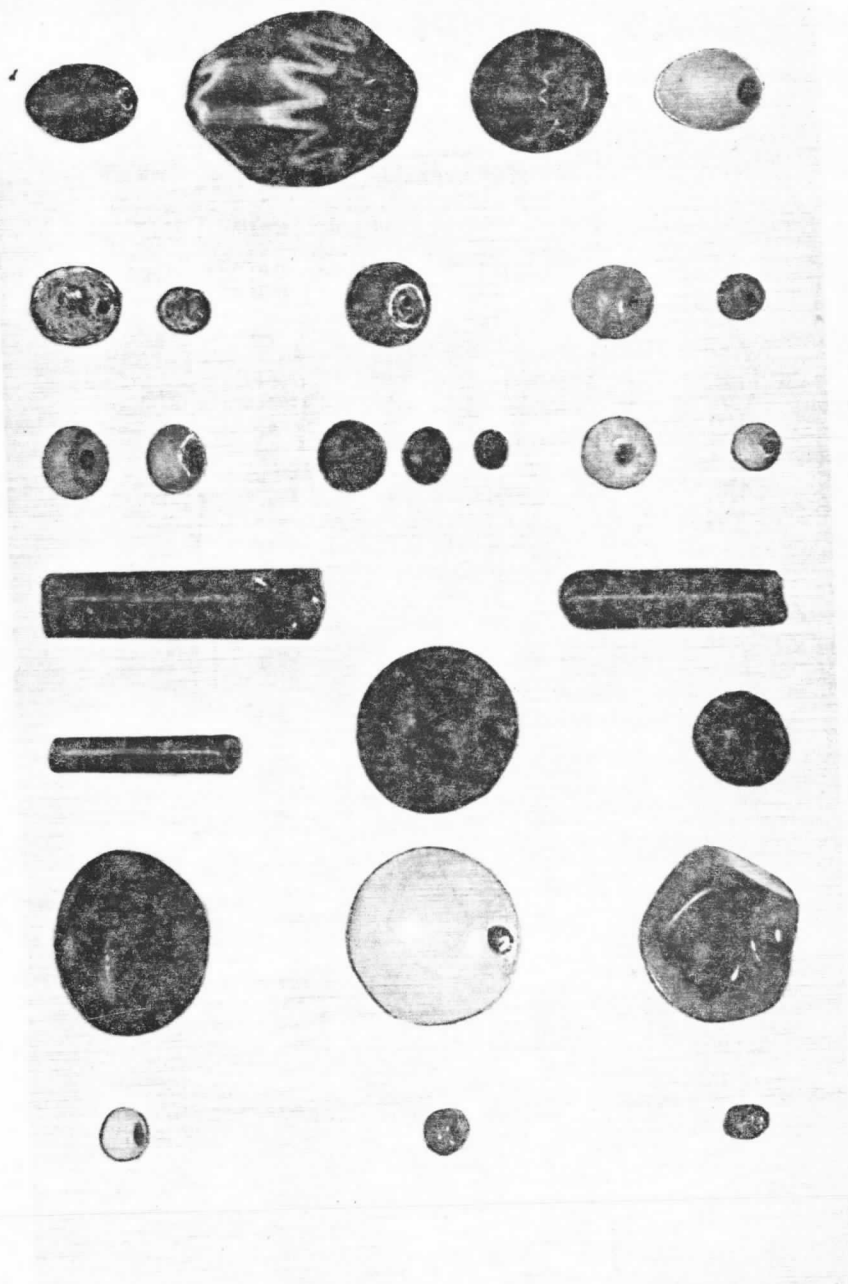
Susquehannock sites dating to before 1575 in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, and at nearby Engelbert site in New York have produced very few glass beads. Those which we have seen were so badly deteriorated that their type could not be identified. Probably fewer than 1% of the Susquehannock graves from this area or time period include beads as burial offerings. At the Schultz site, after 1575, at least 30% of the graves contained beads. These were in positions which would suggest that they were used on necklaces, were sewn on clothing at the waist, and were rarely used on clothing covering other parts of the body. Also at Schultz we find that, occasionally, beads were scattered through the fill of the grave as it was being closed. There were a few examples of this at Washington Boro, less evidence of such practices at Strickler, and a reoccurrence at both Byrd Leibhart's and at Conestoga Town.

FIGURE 56 DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOST



POPULAR BEAD TYPES





In general, the percentage of graves containing beads increases through time. At least 85% of them at Conestoga Town included beads. There is occasional evidence of beads in the hair or on bands worn on the head, particularly at the Strickler site. Necklaces were a consistently popular way to use beads. By at least the time of the Roberts site (ca. 1640) straw beads were being used to make bracelets in wampum-belt fashion, with geometric patterns created by using two or more differently colored beads (Figure 97). Bracelets of this sort continued to be made right up through the period of Conestoga. At Strickler there would seem to be an increase in the use of beads that were sewn onto shirts, but it is admittedly difficult to differentiate these from long necklaces. Occasionally, graves from this site produce a container of beads—usually an iron or brass vanity or snuff box, or sometimes what must have been a leather pouch.

For whatever reason, glass beads were less common (as compared to Strickler) at both Leibhart sites, and particularly at Byrd Leibhart's. This latter site shows an increase in the number of graves in which beads were haphazardly thrown into the grave fill, although, in most cases, the number of beads was only a dozen or so.

Beads were enormously popular at both Conestoga Town and Conoy Town. The total sample from our excavations at these two sites is in excess of sixty thousand beads. At Conestoga Town beads were used for decorating clothing, bags, and some hair or head ornaments. Necklaces and bracelets were exceedingly common. Here too, beads were scattered throughout the fill of some graves, and often they were to be found in caches contained in pouches or iron boxes.

All of the interments at the Conoy Town cemetery (36La40) were bundle burials, wrapped probably in cloth or sacks. In all likelihood there was little use of bead-decorated clothing. The majority of the beads recovered here were either on belts or necklaces. These were placed both on and under (rarely next to) the bone bundles. In many cases the necklaces, and occasionally a belt, could be uncovered as they were actually strung if they were found on the floor of the grave. Unfortunately, most of the necklaces so recovered were composed of one color. In the few exceptions where necklaces of more than one color were found, there was no ordered arrangement or sequence of different-colored beads. Rather, the colors seem to have been strung at random.

Figure 57, opposite. Most popular glass bead types (after Kent, see Figure 56). Top row left to right: B16b, B31, B32, C16b. Second row: B14b, B15b, B8, B14a, B15a. Third row: C8, C9, F14a, F14b, F15, C13b, C14. Fourth row: A5, B6. Fifth row: B5, F13, A13. Sixth row: three typical wirewound forms (D30 [Kidd's type W1d1], C28 [Kidd's type W1b5], B29a [Kidd's type W2C11]). Bottom Row: C15, B15d, E15. All beads shown twice actual size.

Table 8
DISTRIBUTION OF GLASS-BEAD TYPES

<u>Kidd</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>La9</u>	<u>La8</u>	<u>La6</u>	<u>La1</u>	<u>La3</u>	<u>Yo9</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>La52</u>	<u>La40</u>	<u>La96</u>	<u>Ch60</u>	<u>Lu43</u>	<u>Lr11</u>
1a1	Alla		x	2.7		x		x		x				
1a2	F11	x	x		x	12.6		3.4		x				1.5
1a4	C11	5.6				x				x				
"	C11b								x					
1a5	C6													1.7
1a7	D11					x		x						x
1a8	(29)	2.3												
1a12	B11b	x												
1a18	B5					2.7		3.1		x				
1a19	B11a	4.4	x			1.0			1.0	1.5	x			x
1a21	A11b	x				x								
1b3	F23					5.4		x		x				
1b4	F22c					2.2	7.6							
1b5	F23b					1.4								
1b7	C27a					x								
1b8	B27	x												
1b9	C24a			x		x	x	4.0						
1b14														
1bb1	A18	x		x						x				
1c'1	A1					x	x	x						
1c1	A2					x				x				
1c'2	E2					x		x	x	x				
1c'3	B2				x	x		x						
1e'2	E11a					x								
1f6	A29								x					
1f7	B29c								x					
2a1	A13			x		x		4.7	x					
2a2	A15					x								
2a3	A16							x						x
2a6	F12									x				
"	F13		x		3.4	3.2	x	3.8	1.8	x				
"	(70)	1.0		x		x								

<u>Kidd</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>La9</u>	<u>La8</u>	<u>La6</u>	<u>La1</u>	<u>La3</u>	<u>Yo9</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>La52</u>	<u>La40</u>	<u>La96</u>	<u>Ch60</u>	<u>Lu43</u>	<u>Lr11</u>
2a7	F14a	x	4.8	x		1.5		4.6	x	x				
"	F14b			19.5		x			1.0	35.7				
"	F15				5.0				1.9	1.3	30.1	3.5	12.3	7.3
2a8	F16b	x		x										
2a11	C13b		4.2	1.1				1.9						
"	C14	x		2.7	6.0	2.5		1.1	x					x
2a13	C13			x		x				x				
2a15	C16b	28.0	x			x		x	x	x				
"	C16c					x			x					
2a18a	C16a					x			x					
"	C16d					x	x		x					x
2a19	D15			x		x			x			x		
2a19a	D16	x		x		x			5.5	3.2			2.8	
2a21	C12		x											
2a27	E14													
"	E15			13.3					x					
2a28	E13							x	x	1.5	11.6		4.5	9.2
2a39a	B12									x				
2a48	B14c	x	3.2	x					x	x		x		
2a52	B13a	x	5.2	2.4	1.3	x								
2a53	B14a	3.6	33.0	11.0	2.5	x		x	19.4	x				x
"	B14b	7.6	8.8	x		x			x	x				
"	B15a		1.6	x			x	x	x	x		x		
"	B15b	9.8	1.1	3.2		1.5		1.5	11.0	3.2	10.8		3.2	2.3
"	B15d													
2a54	B16a								2.7	3.9	23.7	56.3	18.3	2.5
2a55	B13b	x	x					x		x				
2a56			2.5							x	x	x		
2a57	B16b	8.1				x								
2a60	(4)	1.3							x					x
"	(47)	x												
2b'7	C26	x										x		
2b10	F22b								x					
2b11	F22a	x			x	x	x							
2b15	F26	x												

<u>Kidd</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>La9</u>	<u>La8</u>	<u>La6</u>	<u>La1</u>	<u>La3</u>	<u>Yo9</u>	<u>Yo</u> <u>170</u>	<u>La52</u>	<u>La40</u>	<u>La96</u>	<u>Ch60</u>	<u>Lu43</u>	<u>Lr11</u>
2b19	G22a									x				
"	G22b	x								x				
2b39	C24b		x											
2b52a	E26		x											
2b53	E22a									x				
2b56	B22a		x	x										
2b59	B23	x												
2b61	(55)	x												
2b68	B22c								x		x			
"	B22d								x					
2b72	B25									x				
2bb1	A19a	x				x	x	x						
	(59)	x												
2bb2	A19b		x	x										
2bb13	C27c					x			x	x				
2bb24	B26									x				
2bb27	B26b	1.4												
2g3	(64)	x												
2g4	(38)	x												
2g6	G36		x											
2h1	B34				x			x						
2j3	F37									x				
2j5	F38					x		x	x	x	4.8			
3a1	A5													
3a2			x	x	59.0	49.4	62.0	36.4	x	x				x
3a3														
3a8	C5					4.7	2.0	5.3		x				
3a10	B6			7.2	16.0	2.2	5.5	x		x				
3a11														
3a12	(17)	x												
3b10	B20	x	x											
3bb8	(12)	x												
3c1			x											
3c'3	B1		x			x								

<u>Kidd</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>La9</u>	<u>La8</u>	<u>La6</u>	<u>La1</u>	<u>La3</u>	<u>Yo9</u>	<u>Yo</u> <u>170</u>	<u>La52</u>	<u>La40</u>	<u>La96</u>	<u>Ch60</u>	<u>Lu43</u>	<u>Lr11</u>
3e1	A3													
3e'1	A4					x								
3bb5	A17					x								
3k3	B33		x			x	4.0	x	x	x				
3ml	B31	2.3												
"	B32	6.9	x	1.6	x		x							
4a2	A7							x						
4a3	A8	x	x		x	x		x		x				
4a5	A10			x		x		x	x	x				
4a6	A9	x	2.5	2.0	2.5	x	11.0	3.7	x	x	2.6		x	
4a11	C8		18.8	25.6		x			x	1.2		10.2		
"	C9		4.1					25.9						
4a13	C15									x				
4a19	B8	5.3	8.3	1.8		x			38.6	34.8	14.1	17.8	57.9	73.0
4b5	A22		x											
4b13	C23		x	x										
4b16	C27b		x				x	x						
4b31	B21b		x			1.0		x						
4b33	B21a	1.3	x		2.5	x								
4bb4	A21b			x				x						
4bb8									x					
4g1	B35	x												
4k6	E32	x												
4nn4	C31								x					
4nn5	G31		x											
"	G32	1.2						x						
W1b4	B28													
W1b5	C28								x	x				
"	G28a								3.2	2.6				
"	G28b												x	
W1b5a	C30								1.5	x	x		x	
W1b7	D28									x				
W1b9	E28								x	x	x	1.6	x	

<u>Kidd</u>	<u>Kent</u>	<u>La9</u>	<u>La8</u>	<u>La6</u>	<u>La1</u>	<u>La3</u>	<u>Yo9</u>	<u>Yo170</u>	<u>La52</u>	<u>La40</u>	<u>La96</u>	<u>Ch60</u>	<u>Fu43</u>	<u>Lr11</u>
W1b14	A28									x				x
W1c12	F16								1.0	x	x	5.0		
W1d1	D30									x				
W1d5	G30									x				
W2a1	D40					x								
W2a3	E40					x								
W2c1	F29													
W2c2	C29													
"	G29a													
"	G29b													
W2c5	D29													
W2c11	B29a													
W2c12	B29b													
W2c13	B40													
W2d2	B37													
W2d8	E37													
W2d6	B38													
W2e5	E38													
W2f2	A41													
<u>Total beads:</u>		2981	7351	1054	595	20968	2134	3505	23336	25748	2329	1889	13355	5483

Total beads: 110,728

Parenthesized numbers in column two are type numbers assigned by Smith and Graybill 1977: 57-59.

x' = presence less than 1.0 per cent.

Temporal ranges of occupations:

La9	1575-1600	La52	1690-1750
La8	1600-1625	La40	1718-1743
La6	1630's	La96	1720's
La1	1630-1645	Ch60	1730's
La3	1645-1665	Lu43	1740's
Yo9	1665-1674	Lr11	1760's
Yo170	1676-1680		

It would sometimes appear that Indians had an exceeding fascination with shiny, colorful ornaments, but so do many people in our own society. Indians often used beads and other ornaments in association with certain things of religious or mythological significance, but so do we. Frequently, Indians placed high exchange values on small baubles, but so do we. Certain colors of beads or other things were associated with particular Indian rituals, celebrations or mourning, but so it is for many of us.

Some might say that these similarities are contrived, or perhaps fortuitous; others might feel that they are rooted in some innate sense of all mankind. Reasons for symbolism are among the darkest mysteries upon which anthropology attempts to throw some light. Perhaps, for those who care, someday there will be answers. For the present, our more mundane concern has been largely with the chronometric significance of glass beads and other such things of the Susquehanna's Indians.

GLASS

One shoulder fragment of a thin green-glass case bottle was found amidst a cache of other objects in grave number La1/8 at the Roberts site. This is the earliest site in the sequence to have produced any recorded glass bottles or vessels. A circular glass mirror from the inside of a vanity case was found at Frey-Haverstick, and this represents the earliest recorded mirror in the sequence. Mirrors from later sites are very infrequent until we reach Conestoga Town and Conoy, where such objects, usually rectangular in outline, are rather common. A number of these had molded wooden frames preserved around them, and one specimen from Conestoga was set into a carved board.

Strickler was the next site in the sequence to produce glass bottles. At least two dozen more or less complete, thin-walled, green-glass case bottles are represented in various collections from this site. Thirty-five separate pits from the village area, excavated in 1968 and 1969, produced fragments of such bottles. All of the extant whole specimens have approximately the same dimensions. They are generally seven to eight inches high, about three inches square at the shoulders, and taper slightly toward the base. Sides are straight to barely concave, and the bases have small pontil marks with very small kick-ups. All of them have everted lips. Illustrated in Figure 58 are two bottles found by Cadzow in 1931 at the southwestern cemetery, and one recovered in 1974 from the northeast cemetery. These latter excavations also produced the Susquehanna Valley's earliest-known fragment of a squat bottle. Actually the example is a seal from such a bottle, chipped around its margins by an Indian to remove its sharp edges. The seal bears the raised initials B. M. over a still (Figure 59). McKearin and McKearin (1941) have suggested that squat bottles may date as early