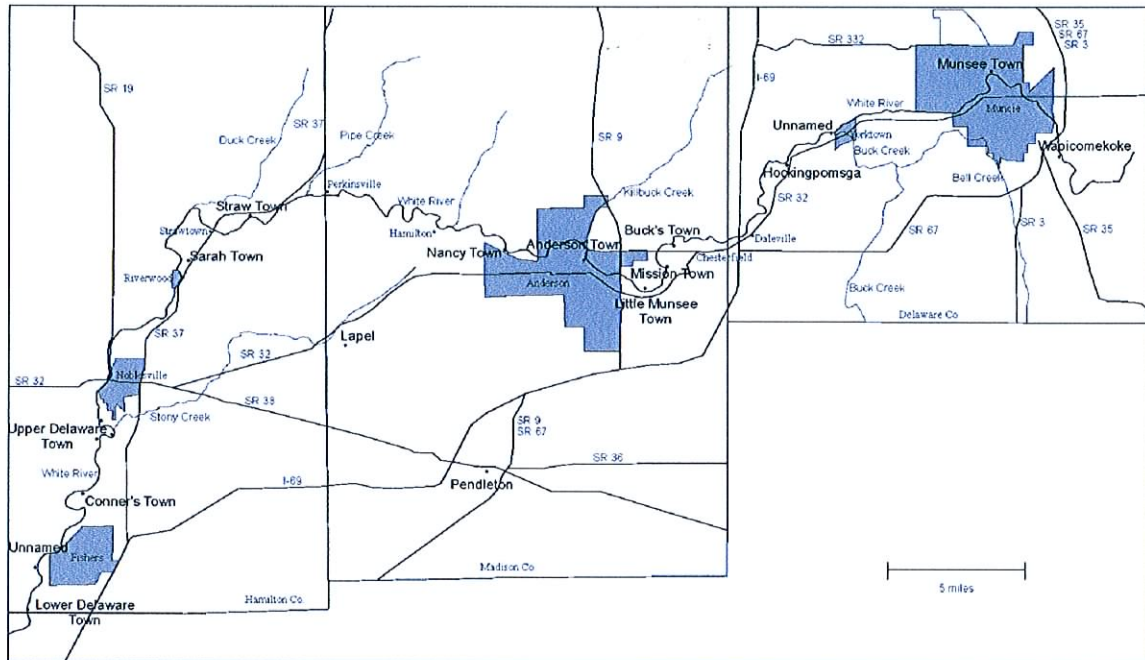


The Ghosts of the Delaware: An Archaeological Study of Delaware Settlement Along the White River, Indiana:



by

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ABSTRACT

The Archaeological Resources Management Service conducted a FY2001 Historical Preservation Fund Grant to study historic Delaware occupations along the White River in Hamilton, Madison and Delaware counties, Indiana. The project compiled and synthesized historic information on the Delaware occupation in this area. Fifteen Delaware or Native American villages were reported along the White River between the late 1790s and 1820. Five of the fifteen reported village locations were surveyed, but no evidence of Delaware occupation was found. To date, no verified Delaware sites have been identified in this area. Several potential factors affecting the discovery of Delaware sites were recognized. The Delaware occupation of the White River appeared to be one in which the durable materials were limited, dispersed and difficult to distinguish as Native American. The project was also complicated by inaccurate site locations and the sampling methods used may have been inadequate to locate them. While the Delaware occupation could not be characterized from archaeological data, the historic sources provide adequate information to substantiate that the Delaware maintained their cultural identity while on the White River.

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INTRODUCTION

The Delaware, or Lenape, first occupied upper portions of the West Fork of the White River during the late 1700s (Weslager 1972:332) (Figure 1). The Delaware occupants of the White River had a long history of displacement. They had occupied the Delaware River valley New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York at the time of European contact and were driven westward by intertribal conflict brought about by European trade and by American settlement. Numerous ethnographic and historic accounts describe the displacement of the Delaware, their economic focus of the fur trade, and their acculturation through European material goods (Gipson 1938, Weslager 1972, Goddard 1978, Baerreis 1982, Sultzman 1997). By 1818, the Delaware ceded their lands in Indiana. The majority of the Delaware left Indiana to go to Missouri in 1820, but small bands were reported in Indiana as late as 1825 (Kappler 1904:171, Esarey 1924, Gipson 1938, Wheeler-Voeglen et al. 1974, Goddard 1978, Wepler 1980).

While the Delaware were definitely along the upper White River, very little is known about that occupation archaeologically. The Moravian missionaries report there were 11 villages in this area (Gipson 1938:103-104). Thompson (1937) indicates there were 15 villages in this region, but not all were Delaware apparently (Figure 2). All previous attempts to verify the locations of the Delaware and other Native villages along the White River have failed (Rodeffer 1967, Gardner 1970, Conover 1988, Gaw 1991, 1994).

Archaeology is an important complement for historic records (eg. Ferguson 1992, Deagan 1982). The sources that are available on the Delaware were written by Europeans or Americans. One of the best primary sources are the diaries of the Moravian missionaries (Gipson 1938), but their interaction was primarily with the Christian Indians. The Delaware have not truly had a voice for their occupation in Indiana, and we are left with a Euro-American representation. One such representation depicted the Delaware as “a dirty, squalid people . . . [and] . . . lazy warriors basked in the sun or smoked in indolence while their squaws tended the small gardens or did other work” (Esarey 1924:82). Others generalize the occupation of the Delaware on the White River into Nativistic and Decadent Periods (Newcomb 1956), but are these characterizations accurate?

This project was proposed to investigate the archaeology of the Delaware occupation along the upper White River. It was hoped that this project could contribute information on the Historic Native America occupation of the White River. The project hoped to provide archaeological information that could be utilized in conjunction with historic documents to better understand the Delaware occupation of the Upper White River because components of Delaware life such as sociology, ideology and technology are not well represented in the historic documents. It was also hoped that the information could be utilized to test the validity of the historical documentation exploring, for example, the Delaware’s adaptations to this region and acculturation pressures. Ruberton (2002) has also defined ways that historical archaeology can be

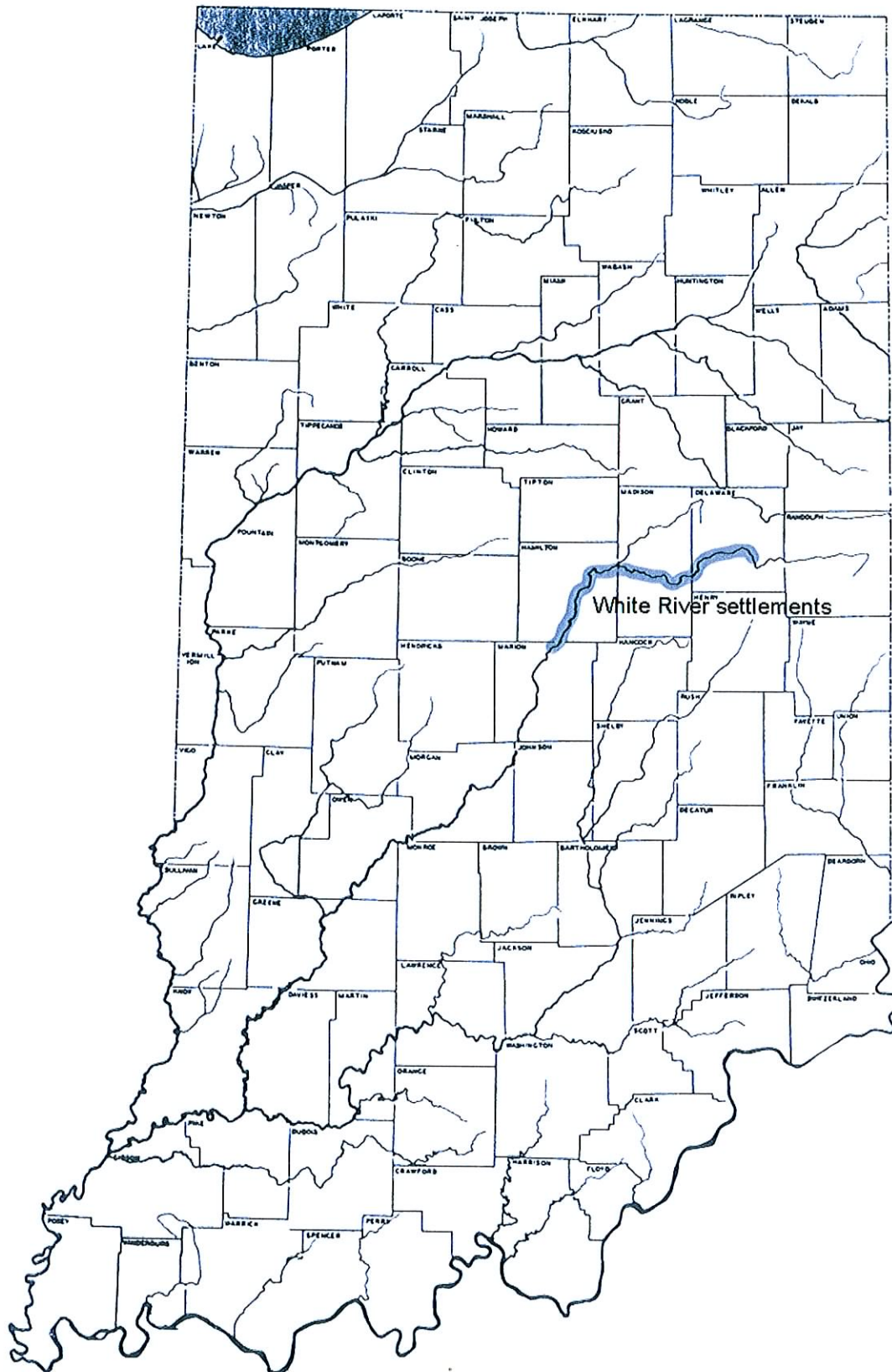


Figure 1. State map showing the location of the Delaware along the Upper, West Fork of the White River.

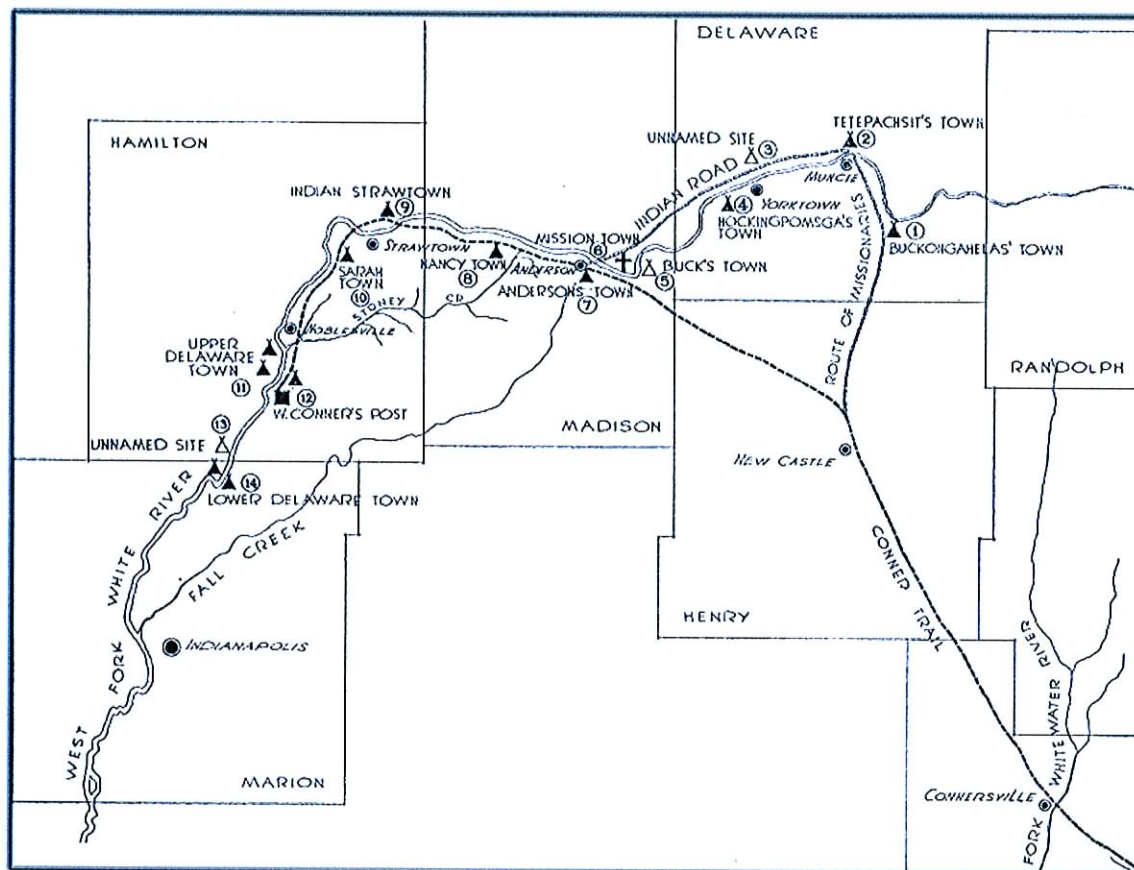


Figure 2. Thompson's (1937) map of Indian Towns (Green Town is not shown).

utilized to go beyond the traditional historical and acculturation studies of Native Americans. Historical archaeology can be utilized to examine the interaction and identity of diverse peoples and study the importance of native landscapes (Ruberton 2000). With this potential, three objectives for the work were proposed:

First, historic information on the Delaware occupation was compiled and synthesized. Wepler's (1980) review of Historic Delaware Villages in Indiana served as a basis for determining the locations of the 15 villages reported in the study area. General Land Office (GLO) survey notes also helped to identify the specific locations of Delaware sites. The GLO notes contained information on the location of not only aboriginal villages, but also cornfields and trails. Primary sources such as the Moravian diaries (Gipson 1938) and trade lists were used to compile information on potential artifacts and features that would distinguish the Delaware occupation (Glenn 1992).

Second, once potential locations of Delaware use and occupations were identified, areas with the highest potential for occupation were surveyed to recover data. A Historic Native American settlement pattern for this region states that aboriginal occupations were dispersed populations, but had focal sites along the valley during times of planting and harvesting (Wepler 1992). We intended to test this model and identify aboriginal activities and adaptations to the till plain region through the information obtained by the survey.

Third, the project planned to provide a basis for the management of these sites. Knowing the location and potential activities involved at the Delaware sites that were identified would allow for the conservation and management of the sites. The White River is an area of active urban and suburban expansion as well as mining operations. If the Delaware sites are not located before they are destroyed we will have lost significant information. The sites surveyed were all evaluated for significance and those that appeared potentially significant were recommended for testing.

The project results were not what we had hoped. While the historic documents provided adequate information on the Delaware occupation and use of the White River, we failed to locate even one area of Delaware or other early historic Native American occupation on the ground. We were, therefore, unable to test settlement pattern models or develop a management plan for these sites. While we failed to realize some of our projected goals, we did assemble a comprehensive review of the Delaware occupations and discover information on the utility of archaeology in the historic record.

BACKGROUND

The project was initiated by background research concerning information currently known about the historic Delaware occupation on the West Fork of the White River. Records included books, articles, and unpublished manuscripts that contained both primary and secondary information. Interviews with collectors in the region were also conducted to aid in the discovery

of village sites. A brief review of the historic Delaware and their settlement on the White River is presented below.

History of the Delaware

To set the stage for the Delaware occupation of Indiana, a brief review of their history is provided. More thorough reviews of Delaware history can be found in sources such as Weslager (1972), Ferguson (1972), Kraft (1974) and Goddard (1978). Delaware history has been characterized as “repeated divisions and consolidation of many villages and of local, political, and linguistic groups that overlapped in complicated and incompletely known ways” (Goddard 1978:213).

The Delaware or Lenape were reportedly living in the Delaware River valley in the states of New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York at the time of European contact (Weslager 1972:33). The Delaware called themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape which means “the common or ordinary people”(Kraft 1974:2). The term Delaware came from the association with the governor of Jamestown, Sir Thomas West, the third Lord de la Warr for which the Delaware River and Delaware Bay were named (Weslager 1972:31). The name Delaware is ingrained the historic literature and because it is more widely recognized it will be used throughout this document to refer to the Lenape.

The Delaware at the time of European contact were a group of culturally and linguistically similar bands that after 1750 emerged as a tribe (Goddard 1978:225). The Delaware were Algonquin speakers of at least three dialects, Munsee, Unami and Unclachtigo (Goddard 1978). The Unclachtigo dialect was reported as lost by the mid to late eighteenth century by Weslager (1974:42-47), but all three dialects are mentioned by missionaries on the White River in 1804 (Gipson 1938:516). Early contact records indicate the Delaware were more or less autonomous bands, or lineages, living in small familistic groups or hamlets that were dispersed and unfortified (Kraft 1974:32). The tribe was organized into 3 phratries or clans of the turtle, turkey and wolf that were comprised of matrilineal lineages (Goddard 1978:225, Kraft 1974:32). The election of chiefs is somewhat contended. Kinietz (1946:55) found the chieftainship was hereditary and matrilineal, but did not follow one particular lineage. However, Goddard (1978:216) found instances of patrilineal succession. Weslager (1972:292) documented the preeminence of the turtle group over the other two groups beginning with Chief Netawatwees in Ohio. There was an apparent division between the peace or civil chiefs and the war chiefs or captains, but over time they had overlapping authority (Weslager 1972:292). The chieftainship was not a position of absolute power, but rather the chief often functioned as “first-among-equals” (Goddard 1978:216). The power to make policy was traditionally in the hands of a council (Weslager 1972:292).

The first contact the Delaware had with Europeans was probably not recorded, but contact since 1524 has been documented (Newcomb 1956:80). Initial contacts were only with occasional trading ships until 1638 (Kinietz 1946:11). From then until 1700 the contacts were

with smaller white communities (Kinietz 1946:11). Newcomb (1956:80) defined a "Contact Period" from 1524 until 1690. It is during this period that trade rather than colonization were of importance to the Europeans. The furs obtained from Native Americans were like gold and silver to the Europeans and conversely the trade items of metal and cloth were coveted by the Natives (Weslager 1972:107-108). Native technology was altered by the European goods, the political structures changed as competition created by the fur trade increased, and European diseases caused countless deaths.

Between 1700 and 1750 the Delaware contacts were with larger European communities due to an increase in colonization (Kinietz 1946:11). By the late 1600s or early 1700s, the Delaware would begin the first of many westward migrations as they were forced from their homeland by Europeans and the Six Nations (Newcomb 1956:85). The displacement did not affect all of the Delaware at once, and the scattered Delaware began to gather, consolidate and reorganize as they never had prior to European contact (Goddard 1978:225). From this consolidation the Delaware tribe emerged (Newcomb 1956:85). One area in which the Delaware gathered was on the Susquehanna River in western Pennsylvania (Weslager 1972:197) and later some of the Delaware moved to the Ohio River valley (Weslager 1972:200), creating two main concentrations of Delaware. Unfortunately, the lands they occupied were claimed by the Six Nations and the Delaware remained subjugated until 1756 (Weslager 1972:202, Newcomb 1956:85). Beginning about 1740, a missionary effort among the Delaware was initiated by the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania (Gipson 1938:5).

The westward movement of the Delaware were not enough to keep them from European politics and conflicts. The Delaware were drawn into the English and French territory disputes that would be called the French and Indian War (Weslager 1972:218). This undeclared war broke out in 1754. The Delaware would initially side with the English in this conflict, but soon became alienated (Weslager 1972:226-227). After a brief period of neutrality, they backed the French (Weslager 1972:226-227). Peace with the British was reached in 1759 (Weslager 1972:238). With the French gone, the Indians could no longer play one European country against the other (Weslager 1972:255).

Another effort to resist European expansion involving the Delaware was Pontiac's War. Pontiac, an Ottawa, was inspired by a Delaware shaman who said the Indians had to change their way of living and drive the whites from their land (Weslager 1972:242). The multi-tribe attacks on British outposts were not successful and by 1765, the Delaware were again a vanquished enemy engage in peace talks (Weslager 1972:250-252). After Pontiac's War, the Delaware were forced out of western Pennsylvania and most moved into Ohio, but some went to Canada (Newcomb 1956:88, Weslager 1972:255). The Moravians moved to Ohio with the Delaware and had great success during the peaceful period leading up to the Revolutionary War (Gipson 1938, Olmstead 1991, Kinietz 1946:9).

During the early stages of the Revolutionary War, the Delaware stayed neutral but most were sympathetic to the Americans under Chief White Eyes (Weslager 1972:297-299). Captain

Pipe had no such sympathy and led a pro-English faction (Weslager 1972:299). In 1778, the Delaware entered the war on the side of the Americans, after signing the Fort Stanwix Treaty where an offensive and defensive alliance was agreed upon and a permanent Indian border was established (Weslager 1972:304, Tanner 1974:89). Chief White Eyes was killed by American settlers shortly after the agreement, but the "official" cause of death was reported as smallpox (Weslager 1972:306). After his death, other Delaware assumed leadership roles including Buckongahelas and Tetepachsit (Weslager 1972:308). After several years of being promised supplies and aid by the Americans but never receiving it, Captain Pipe was able to ally the tribe with the English (Weslager 1972:312). The Delaware were living under severe economic hardship with trade disrupted and food destroyed (Tanner 1974:108). The Moravian missionaries suffered a huge set back in their goals when 90 of their neutral converts were massacred at the Gnadenhuttan mission in Ohio by American forces in 1782 in retaliation for raids on white homesteads (Gipson 1938:9-10, Newcomb 1956:89, Tanner 1974:100). Many Delaware would never again trust the missionaries for fear of becoming tame and being murdered (Gipson 1938:496). By the end of the Revolution War, the Delaware had once again backed the losers.

A post war alliance of 35 different tribes was formed to defend Indian lands from the land hungry new nation of the United States (Weslager 1972:318). The alliance defended against Harmer's 1789 military expedition and St. Clair's in 1791, but they were defeated at Fallen Timbers by Wayne (Weslager 1972:321-322). This loss forced the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, where the Delaware and several other tribes gave up their claims to land in Ohio and the Delaware moved west again into the Indiana territory (Weslager 1972:322).

Settlement of Indiana

After the Treaty of Greenville, the Delaware in Ohio decided to unite along the upper course of the West Fork of the White River (Ferguson 1972:39). At the time, Tetepachsit, the first chief, was residing with the Miami along the St. Mary's River; Buckongahelas, Hockingspomsga and Kikthawenund were on the Auglaize River with the Shawnee; others were along the Thames River in Canada; and some had already occupied the Upper White River (Ferguson 1972:39). The Delaware had the permission of the Miami, Potawatomi and the Piankashaw to settle along the White River by at least 1794, but may have been there earlier (Weslager 1972:332-333). By 1801, the Delaware had well established villages along the Upper West Fork of the White River (Gipson 1938). The number of villages along this portion of the White River have been reported as between 11 (Gibson 1938:11) and 15 (Thompson 1937:196-205), but the reported villages may not have all been Delaware settlements. One Moravian Mission was also located along the river between 1801 and 1806 (Gipson 1938). Some of these villages may have been dominated or at least had populations of Natives from other tribes. References mention Shawnee, Mohican, Nanticoke, Potawatomi and Miami peoples in this region, but the Delaware settlement was the most demonstrable (Gipson 1938).

The early years on the White River appeared to be politically calm, but the pressures of

American land expansion would soon create disruption and an unsettled occupation. The Delaware only had tenuous ownership of the White River lands (Weslager 1972:339-340). The United States policies encouraged the Delaware to become more agrarian and more "civilized", but the Delaware resisted such a drastic change to their way of life (Weslager 1972:337). The Moravian Church established a mission on the White River to continue their conversion efforts creating more conflicts of being "civilized" (Gipson 1938). White populations moved closer to the Indian lands faster than anticipated and the Delaware were uneasy (Weslager 1972:338). As early as 1803 and 1804, the Delaware were forced to cede more of their promised territory to the United States (Weslager 1972:339). Heavy drinking is reported throughout the White River occupation (Gipson 1938, McCoy 1840:59), and suggests intensified cultural decay (Ferguson 1972:62-65). Newcomb (1956:93) believes that during the early years on the White River, the Delaware were without strong leaders and the chiefs could not restore order.

To resist white civilization, nativism or revitalistic movements reached a pinnacle on the White River (Gipson 1938, Thompson 1937). After 1750, prophets appear sporadically trying to save Native American cultural integrity through a return to nativism (Newcomb 1956: 94). The first Delaware prophet to advocate revitalism appeared in the 1760s and inspired Pontiac in his uprising (Weslager 1972:242). Along the White River, a female prophet had a vision that they needed to return to the old ways and stop imitating the white people in November of 1803 (Gipson 1938:262). A female prophet (perhaps the same individual mentioned in 1803) identified as Beade led a revitalistic movement in 1805 (Gipson 1938:333-334, 620). Her visions spoke of the gods being unhappy with the Delaware and that they should return to their old ways (Gipson 1938:333-334). While the Delaware appeared eager to hear her vision, they did little to return back to the old ways and give up drinking (Gipson 1938:354). Beade's revitalistic movement ended shortly into 1806 (Gipson 1938:620), but the stronger efforts of Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa's revivalistic movement continued. Tecumseh and his brother Tenshkwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, were thought to have been living with the Delaware after 1798 (Thompson 1937:45). In 1806, Tenskwatawa apparently convinced the Delaware that deaths in recent years were the result of witchcraft and, if they were to prosper again, they would need to find and destroy the supernatural practitioners (Weslager 1972:343).

It was therefore resolved that every one of their people suspected of being guilty of these evils [poisoners and sorcerers] should be brought before their grandfather -- that is, fire -- and if he would surrender his poison and give up his bad art, he should be pardoned. But, if he should refuse, he should be killed with the tomahawk and have his body thrown into the fire (Gipson 1938:618).

The tension of witchcraft had been building along the White River for some time. In October of 1802, 2 women were killed for causing sickness among the Delaware (Gipson 1938:195). Indian Brother Joshua was accused of killing Indian Brother John Thomas's daughter with witchcraft in May of 1803 (Gipson 1938:231). In June of 1805, 2 Wyandots were killed for allegedly mixing poison to make the Indians sick (Gipson 1938:362). Many of the Delaware didn't believe that Chief Buckongehlas' (Pakantschihiles) death was from natural causes, and

Tetepachsit became a target of suspicion (Gipson 193:358). By July of 1805, Tetepachsit had been dismissed as chief and was in fear for his life (Gipson 1938:365). The missionaries provided the following account leading to Tetepachsit's death:

The old Chief Tetepachsit was brought to our place by six or seven black-painted savages and, without the least hesitation, they took a fire-brand out of one of the Indian brethren's house and hastened to a certain tree in the neighborhood, where the old Chief was said to have declared that he had concealed his poison. When they came there, they could not find any poison, which was also the case at the other places to which they had gone previously. In spite of the declaration of his innocence and of his telling them of the great punishment to which they would expose themselves by putting him to death, since he had no poison, he was knocked down with a tomahawk, wielded by his grown-up son, in the same manner as related above, and then after they had taken his wampum belt and other articles, his body was thrown into the fire...When these murderers returned to our place, some of those whom we knew came into our house, without our knowing what had happened. They however, boasted of their terrible deed, and the son wore his father's belt and showed the articles which he had taken away from him and said: "This comes from him who cast off my mother and his oldest children and took unto himself a young wife" (Gipson 1938:622).

Dillon (1859:425) stated that Tetpachsit's demise occurred at the Indian village at Yorktown, but the missionaries stated, that "old Chief Tedpachsit met his fate near our place" (Gipson 1938:623). Three other victims of the Prophet's 1806 judgement included the Moravian Brother Joshua, Ann Charity and William Patterson (Miller 1994). With the tensions so high against whites, the Moravian mission closed in 1806 (Gipson 1938).

By 1809 Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa had gained considerable influence in forming a multi-tribe alliance to resist the American expansion throughout the Great Lakes area (Thompson 1937:58). To continue the annuity payments, Chief Anderson now the first chief, kept the Delaware neutral throughout Tecumseh's conflicts (Weslager 1972:345-346). Harrison was unsuccessful in defusing Tecumseh's uprising and military action was needed. The Battle of the Tippecanoe in 1811 destroyed his seat of power at Prophetstown and Tecumseh's cause collapsed (Weslager 1972:348, Thompson 1937:62). As war broke out again between America and Britain in 1812, Tecumseh realized an opportunity and fought with the British (Thompson 1937:62-66). While the Delaware stayed neutral in the War of 1812, they were not untouched by it. At the battle of the Mississinewa in 1812, the village attacked was a Delaware village, not a Miami village (Glenn 1977:13). By staying neutral the Delaware along the White River had to move to Shawnee towns in Ohio by June 1813 (Thompson 1937:85, Esarey 1924:228). An American military expedition under Colonel Joseph Bartholomew in June of 1813 found the White River towns deserted and most of them burned and crops left in the fields (Esarey 1924:227, Dillon 1859:524, Thompson 1937:86). Everything that was left was destroyed (Esarey 1924:227). At the Battle of the Thames the Indian alliance was defeated, Tecumseh is killed and the Indian

power is broken (Thompson 1937:79-80). Apparently, after the Battle of the Thames the Delaware returned to their towns on the White River, but their return was short lived.

With the Indian alliance broken, the Delaware had little resistance against American expansion and the state of Indiana was formed in 1816 (Weslager 1972:349). The Delaware were trying to maintain their lands and invited other Delaware from Ohio, and the Stockbridge and the Brotherton Indians to join them on the White River (Morse 1970:111-113). But, the following year at the Treaty of St. Mary's in 1818, the Delaware ceded all their lands in Indiana (Weslager 1972:351). Most of the White River Delaware gathered at William Conner's trading post in the late summer of 1820 and led by Chief Anderson began their journey to new lands first in Missouri, then Kansas and finally Oklahoma (Thompson 1937:124)

MODEL OF DELAWARE SETTLEMENT

In trying to construct a model for Delaware settlement along the Upper White River, several problems were encountered. The first problem was in determining the number of Delaware villages. In the Moravian diaries, which provide a primary record of the Delaware occupation, the entries do not completely agree on the number of villages on the White River. In January of 1801, when the missionaries first arrived, they state "the Delawares in this neighborhood live in six towns of considerable size" (Gipson 1938:58). In June of the same year, they record 11 Indian towns, 4 up river from the mission and 7 down river from the mission (Gipson 1938:103-104). Then in September of 1802, they refer to 9 Delaware towns 4 to 5 miles apart scattered along the river and after them come settlements from other tribes such as Nanticokes, Schwanoes and others (Gipson 1938:476). The disparity in the number of villages, may be a matter of initial unfamiliarity with the territory and then including all "Indian villages" at one time and just Delaware villages later. It would seem unlikely that the number of villages fluctuated so drastically in less than 2 years. Thompson (1937:196-205) refers to 15 villages, but some of these were probably occupied after the missionaries left in 1806.

Second, as Tanner (1974:77) noted in attempting to describe the pattern of Indian land use in Ohio, there are practical problems not addressed by the historic sources. For example, the location of agricultural settlements or towns may carry several names or the name may move with a town to a different location. The names of the sites were often times taken from the chief. As the chief moved, so did the name of the village. Anderson's Town appears to have been relocated at least once, maybe due to high flood waters (Gipson 1938:365, 368, 444). Hunting lands are even harder to describe and were only documented in general terms in historic documents. The White River Delaware were noted to hunt to the Whitewater Valley (Gipson 1938:82).

Wepler (1992) provides a general pattern of Delaware settlement along the White River. The settlement pattern was a reflection of the subsistence strategy which was "directed primarily toward the procurement of items for trade" (Wepler 1992:80). The subsistence strategy required the use of large amounts of land for hunting to obtain the furs for trade. The Delaware villages were fixed agrarian settlements with individual dwellings dispersed throughout a neighborhood.

Due to the seasonal hunting rounds, the village sites would be largely abandoned by most of the population 8 months out of the year. Hunting camps were temporary and fluctuated each year, while sugar camps were permanent, fixed and returned to every year. The Delaware over exploited the White River area (Wepler 1992) and hunger and disease were not uncommon (Gipson 1938).

Newcomb (1956:24) states, Delaware settlements were better termed hamlets with no regular plan or arrangement and within the settlements were circular wigwams, circular bark dwellings with vaulted ceilings, long houses and sweat houses. Newcomb's assessment is for the Delaware in general and does not explicitly apply to the White River. Bark huts and log houses are noted for the White River towns as well as log houses, but no sweat houses were mentioned (Gipson 1938). Weslager (1972:336) mentioned that during their time on the White River as part of the Delawares return to nativism, most Delaware were living in bark huts and the few that built homes of notched logs did not construct chimneys but vented the smoke through the roof like in the wigwams. However, the mission diaries do document the use of chimneys in the Indian towns (Gipson 1938:285).

The best description of a Delaware settlements come from the mission diaries. The residential structures "usually consist of small log-huts, about 14-15 feet square, with a chimney from the rafters up, and below an open fire-place (Gipson 1938:599). The use of bark houses is also mentioned (Gipson 1938:607). Longhouses were described as,

about forty feet in length and twenty feet wide, in which the savages held their sacrifices and dances. It also served as a Council House. These houses were built of split logs set together between dug-in posts, and were provided with a roof, consisting of tree-bark or clapboards, resting on strong pillars dug into the earth. The entrance was at both gable-ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance. In the roof there were openings over every fire, so that the smoke could escape. Along the inside of the house there were seats or elevations from the ground about a foot high and five feet wide. These were first covered with the bark of trees and then with long grass. On them the guests sat, or if they felt like it, lay down and smoked their pipes, while the others were engaged in dancing (Gipson 1938:612).

Luckenbach also described the visiting participants erecting tents outside the Council House at Wapicomekoke and that the ceremonies could last for weeks at a time (Gipson 1938:613-614). Unfortunately, further details on the arrangement of the village and other structures is not given.

All of the towns referred to along the White River appear to have been located adjacent to the river. From the 1821 General Land Office survey data, 7 Indian or old Indian towns were located on terraces overlooking the river valley. Either across the river or adjacent to the villages

were floodplain prairies. The missionaries note that the prairies were used for planting crops (Gipson 1938).

The Delaware buried their dead in both cemeteries and isolated graves (Goddard 1978:219). A few grave goods would be placed with the individual in a pit grave which was then covered with dirt and stones and enclosed by a fence (Goddard 1978:219). Feasting and mourning would accompany the burial ritual (Goddard 1978:219). Only one Delaware cemetery on the White River is mentioned in the historic literature. William Jackson's reminiscence of the cemetery at Munsee Town would appear to fit Goddard's (1978) description.

When I came here, many distinct features of the graveyard were still visible. The graves, in many instances, were surrounded with pens, or poles piled around them. Many skeletons were exhumed, and a number of skulls have been preserved (Helm 1881:36)

In a report of Indian affairs, the Reverend Jedediah Morse provided some statistics on the Delaware population. In the years of 1816 and 1818, the population of the Delaware living on the White River was between 800 and 1000 people (Morse 1970:108-110). Another count in 1816 included Delaware, Munsees, Mohican and Nanticokes and totaled 1700 people (Morse 1970:363). Other sources were more vague, stating that the towns were of considerable size and thickly populated (Gipson 1938:58, 104).

In summary, the model of Delaware settlement along the White River was hard to define beyond generalities. The settlements favored terrace settings that had fertile alluvial plains nearby for planting. Beyond, this the settlements were apparently very fluid. They were not tight clusters of dwellings, but rather dispersed around one locality or neighborhood. The structures could be either bark huts or log houses. The size of the villages or towns and the population was variable. The length of occupation in one locality also varied. Most of the population only occupied the villages for one-quarter of the year and were greatly dispersed hunting or maple sugaring the rest of the year. The deceased could be buried in cemeteries at the villages or in isolated graves. This variable model of occupation would be very difficult to identify in the archaeological record.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE

In order to recognize a Delaware occupation, we examined the material goods the Delaware were possibly utilizing during their stay on the White River. Identifying early 19th century sites would not necessarily identify a Native American site, since Euroamerican settlement began during this time frame. We needed to be able to differentiate Euroamerican and Native American material remains and, therefore, examined what material goods Native Americans would have utilized.

From the mission diaries, the Delaware utilized deer or bear skins and woolen blankets as seats, blankets and clothing (Gipson 1938:599). Household items observed were copper or brass kettles, iron pans, wooden bowls, tin-pails, dippers, and knives (Gipson 1938:599). The Delaware also possessed guns (Gipson 1938). Some of the Delaware had livestock including horses, cows, pigs and dogs (Gipson 1938:589). Tetepachsit and Buckongahelas were described wearing broad blue belts, silver ring collars around their necks and carrying turkey wing fans (Gipson 1938:108). Silver buckles, rings, bracelets, earrings and other ornaments were mentioned by the missionaries (Gipson 1938).

The Delaware obtained Euroamerican goods through traders and as annuities. Beginning in 1795 and the Treaty of Greenville, the Delaware began to receive annuity payments (Weslager 1972:329). The annuity payments were in merchandise until 1804, but after that the annuities were paid in cash (Weslager 1972:383). However, the Fort Wayne Agency was distributing merchandise annuities to the Delaware in 1810 through 1812 (Glenn 1977:247-50).

The goods utilized by the Delaware were not that different from those being used by Euroamericans at this time. The first part of Delaware culture to change through contact with Europeans was their traditional technologies. By the time they reached the White River, their technology was dependent upon the Europeans (Newcomb 1956:92). Kinietz (1946:77) found that technology was the most susceptible component of Delaware acculturation and that social and religious aspects were more resistant. Language was quite resistant and was retained by individuals with little other cultural heritage (Kinietz 1946:77).

Native Americans in the Great Lakes area discarded most of their material culture in favor of the trade materials (Quimby 1966:140) and the only way to differentiate Euroamerican settlement from Native American was to identify trade items that were specifically manufactured for them. Glenn's (1992) study of trade and synthesis of trade lists in Northern Indiana identified the following goods specifically for Indian consumption: trade blankets, leggings, Indian coats, shawls, metal arrowheads, tomahawks, pipe tomahawks, scalping knives, silver jewelry (ear bobs, boxes and wheels, broaches, gorgets, crosses, arm and wrist bands, and hair decorations), fancy feathers, vermilion, tinsel and beads. This listing is consistent with trade lists and annuity payments concerning the Delaware in the early 19th century (Robertson and Riker 1942, Thornbrough 1972, Peake 1954). This small list of materials is further reduced by what would be recognizable in the archaeological record, since the majority of these materials would be perishable. From this information, a Native American "signature" for archaeological sites is based on five artifact classes including metal arrowheads, tomahawks, scalping knives, silver jewelry and beads. The small amount of material that would be recognizable as Native American shows that identifying the Delaware sites along the White River were an archaeological needle in a haystack.

EVALUATION AND SURVEY

What ever the actual count of Delaware settlements actually was, we know of 15 Native American villages and one mission town located on the White River from 1801 to 1821 from historic sources. Beginning in Delaware County and going downstream the towns were as follows: Wapicomekoke, Munsee Town, an unnamed village near Yorktown, Hockingpomsga's, Buck's Town, Mission Town, Little Munsee Town, Anderson Town, Nancytown, Greentown, Strawtown, Sarahtown, Upper Delaware Town, Conner's Town, unnamed village, and Lower Delaware Town (Figure 3).

The research, field and laboratory work was conducted by ARMS employees and Ball State students. Research materials were obtained from Ball State libraries as well as county libraries and historical societies. Interviews with landowners and collectors from the region were conducted to facilitate the identification of village locations. A description and assessment of each of the 15 reported villages is provided below. Not all of the reported villages could be surveyed due to current land use, denial of landowner permission and reliability of location sources. Five areas of potential Delaware settlement were surveyed.

The areas selected for survey were covered with pedestrian transects spaced at a survey interval no greater than 10 meters. The areas surveyed and artifact locations were recorded on aerial or 2' foot contour maps. All materials except for fire-cracked rock were taken to the ARMS laboratory for processing, analysis and identification. Prehistoric artifacts were identified and classified using standard ARMS categories (on file at ARMS) and Justice (1987). Lithic raw materials were identified by the ARMS chert reference collection and Cantin (1994). Historic materials were identified and dated using published sources (Loftstrom et al. 1982, IMACS 1984, Majewski and O'Brien 1987, ODOT 1991, Felheus 1995) and the ARMS reference collection. Artifacts were curated at ARMS under accession number 01.101 unless the landowners requested the artifacts. Notes, maps and photographs were reviewed and prepared for curation and illustration. An updated site form was completed for each site encountered.

An evaluation of the 15 reported villages and the results of the survey are provided below.

Name(s): Wapicomekoke, Woapicamikunk,
Buckonghelas' Town, Old Town Hill

Site #(s): 12-DI-1

Location: Unfortunately, primary document sources do not provide a specific location for this site. The missionaries' diaries only state that they reached the village after journeying through a swamp several miles long and it was four miles upstream from Munsee Town (Gipson 1938:98, 611). One source for the village location was given by Mr. Samuel Cecil (1905) who purportedly owned the property where the village was located. Cecil (1905) recalled:

About two acres had been entirely cleared off. I first plowed the ground in 1861

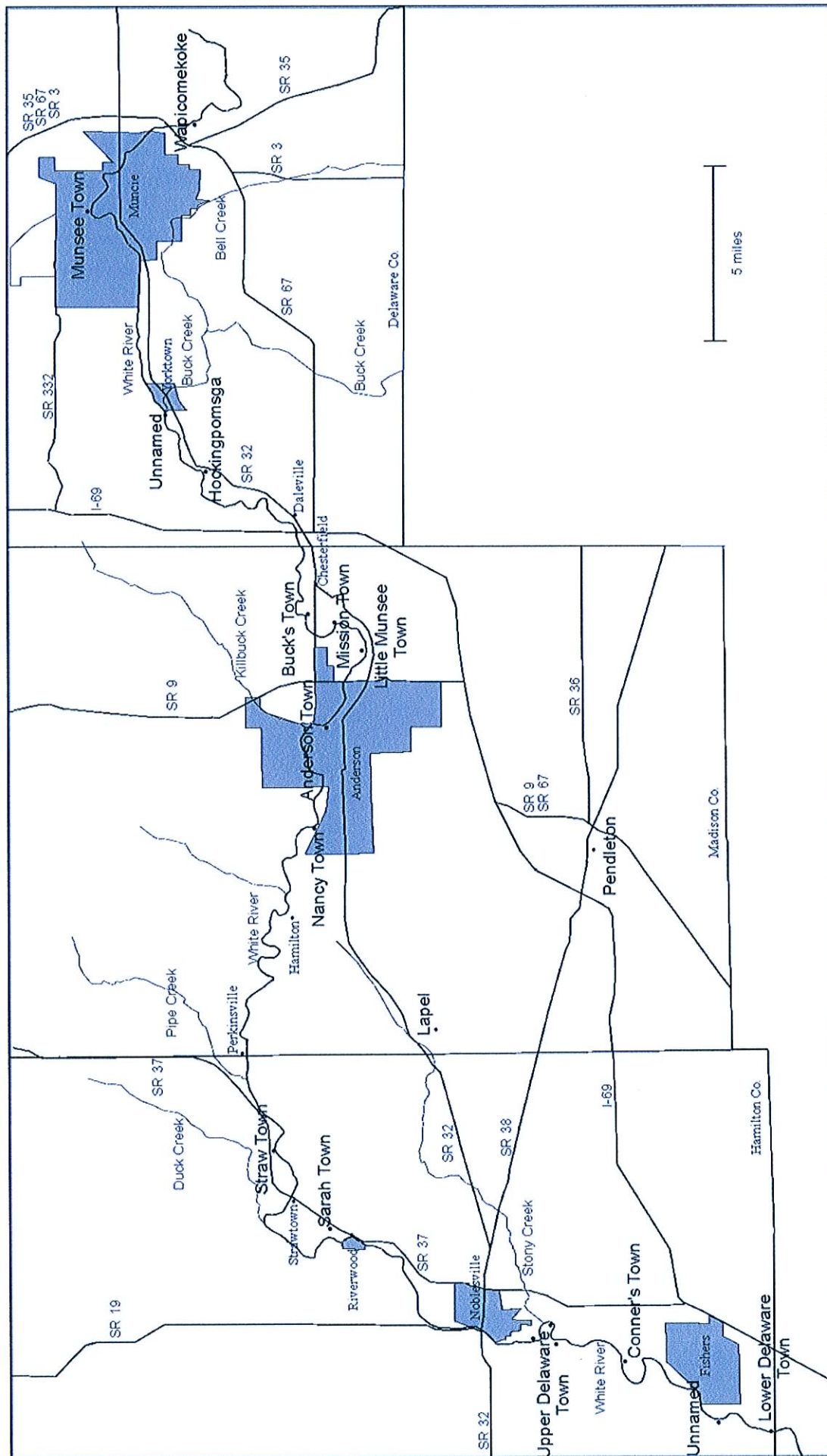


Figure 3. Composite of reported locations of historic Delaware and Native American towns (Green Town is not shown).

and could tell where every hut had stood by the ground being burned. The huts had been built in a circle with the Council House in the center near where the [torture] post stood. The village stood on an elevation of 100 feet above White river with a deep gully on the south-west, and sloping gently to the south eighty rods to a creek called Juber, after an Indiana chief. Beyond this creek forty rods stood an Indian trading post. Around this, several acres had been cleared and cultivated in corn.

Mr. Cecil had several artifacts from the site including silver brooches and rings, an iron tomahawk with Montreal, Canada marked on it, and part of a large iron kettle with a coating of grease upon it (Anonymous 1905:179).

This information was apparently used by Frank Setzler (1930). He stated that the village was situated just south of a small creek with a deep ravine [REDACTED] and that iron tomahawks, silver and brass bracelets, and silver brooches were recovered (Setzler 1930)(Figure 4). It is unclear if Setzler (1930) verified this village location by fieldwork or solely relied on Cecil's report.

Thompson (1937:198) identified two locations for this village. He cites a report by Dunn who said that the original location of this village was a short distance from Munsee Town and the village moved upstream to the location specified by Setzler (1930) by the time the missionaries arrived on the White River. The earlier village was referred to as Outainink or Utenink (Thompson 1937:198). Guernsey (1932) further confused the issue by recoding a village termed Utenink ("Where the Town Was" or "Old Town", and "Home of Buckongahelas") at the location of Munsee Town (Figure 5). In spite of this confusion, the mission diaries clearly state that there were 2 distinct villages in existence during their stay on the White River; one at Wapicomekoke and one at Munsee Town (Gipson 1938:611).

Other reported locations, cause more confusion over the location of this village (Figure 4). Site 12-DI-1, was assigned to refer to the village of Wapicomekoke (Swartz 1965). The site form reports the location of the village [REDACTED] (Swartz 1966), the same location given by Setzler (1930). Rodeffer (1967:58) uses the coordinates of the [REDACTED] to locate the village. Gaw (1991, 1994:59) indicates 12-DI-1 was in the [REDACTED]. A D.A.R. marker noting the site of Wapicomekoke is located in a pasture on the west side of Burlington Drive across from Gaw's (1991, 1994:59) location of 12-DI-1.

Description: The mission diaries indicate that Buckongahelas (Pakantshihilas) had his seat in Wapicomekoke, where about forty Indian families lived (Gipson 1938:610). Buckongahelas "was an old warrior of renown but a hardened pagan and an enemy of the conversion of his people to Christianity" (Gipson 1938:610). Buckongahelas was a war chief during the American Revolution and the Battle of Fallen Timbers (Weslager 1972:308, 321). He was well respected by

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Figure 4. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie East, Indiana Quadrangle showing the reported locations of Wapicomekoke.

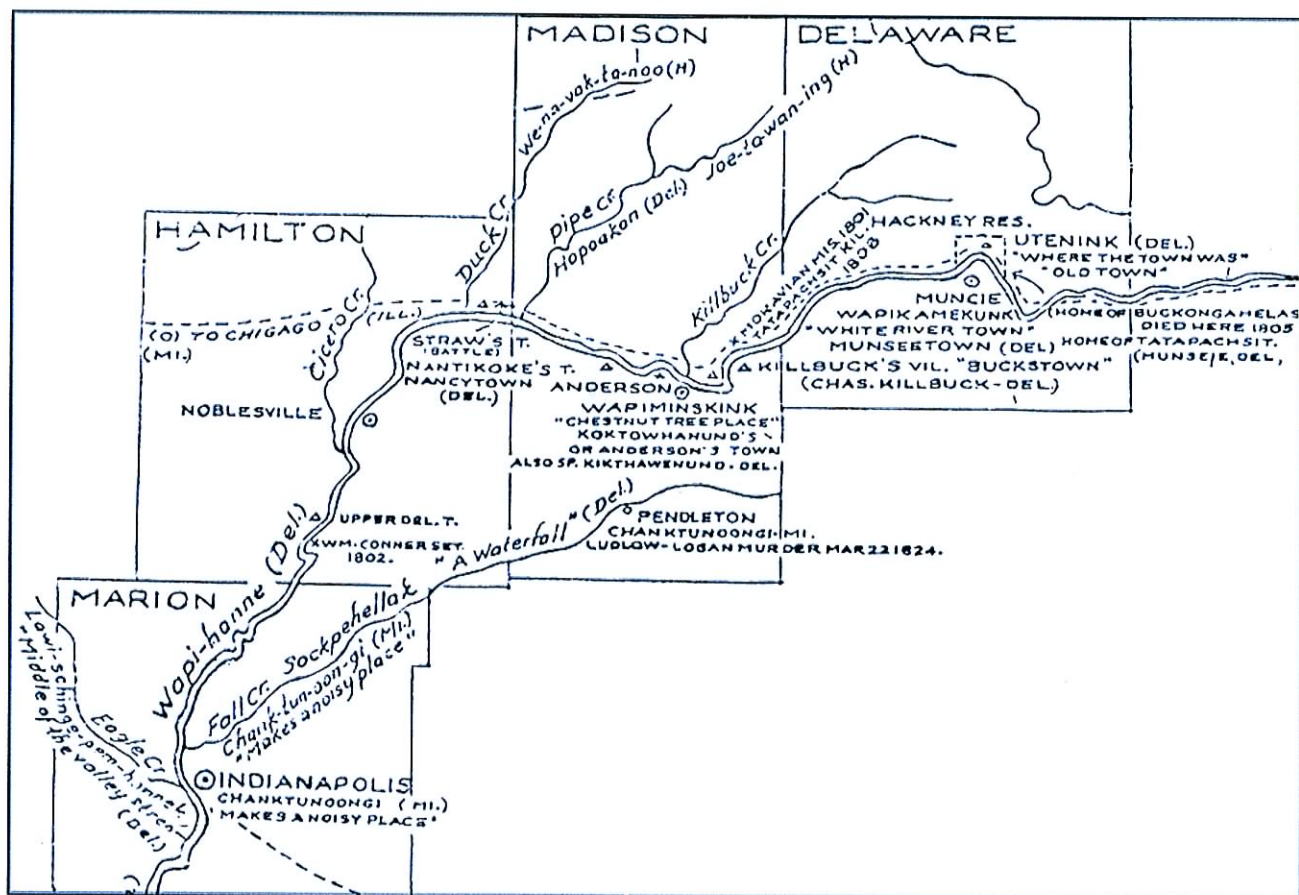


Figure 5. Portion of Guernsey (1932) showing the settlement along the White River.

his people, felt the missionary teachings were only for the white people and later forbade his people to listen to the Word of God (Gipson 1938:32-33, 256, 528). Prior to his death the missionaries recorded that Buckonghelas had laid down his office and his successor was given as Alemi in 1802 and then as Amochk (Beaver) in 1803 (Gipson 1938:194, 247). He apparently remained active in politics because he was a signor the Ft. Wayne Treaty of 1803 and the Vincennes Treaty of 1804 (Kappler 1904:64-65, 70-72). Both Alemi (Alimee or White Eyes) and The Beaver were recorded as signors on several treaties from 1804 to 1818 (Kappler 1904). Buckonghelas died about May of 1805 and his death caused a "veritable revolution" because it was not felt that he died of natural causes (Gipson 1938:358). Tetepachsit was suspected in causing his death (Gipson 1938:358).

Wapicomekoke appears to have been the seat of power along the White River from at least 1801 until mid 1806. All of the major gatherings and ceremonies the missionaries report were held at Wapicomekoke (Gipson 1938). Luckenbach relates that for the ceremony of 1805, they "gathered in their large house newly built for the sacrifice" (Gipson 1938:350). The new house would appear to have been constructed in response to Beade's vision that the gods were unhappy with the Delaware and that they should return to their old ways (Gipson 1938:333-334). Luckenbach also stated that every town had a "Council House" or long-house where ceremonies were held (Gipson 1938:611-614), but it is unclear if Wapicomekoke had one prior to the 1805 ceremonies. Luckenbach also described the visiting participants erecting tents outside the Council House and that the ceremonies could last for weeks at a time (Gipson 1938:613-614).

Wapicomekoke was also home to John Connor for several years (Gipson 1938). He was mentioned at this town in 1801 when the missionaries first arrived and the last time they referred to him here was in 1805 (Gipson 1938:379, 605). John was a trader like his brother William and also had an Indian wife (Gipson 1938:614). He also engaged in treaty negotiations and other projects such as building fences for the Indian along the White River (Thompson 1937, Gipson 1938:332). Another trader by the name of Frederick Fisher was also mentioned at Wapicomekoke, but he was noted as being from Fort Hamilton and may not have lived here (Gipson 1938:99, 277).

The duration of occupation of this village is unclear. The inception of occupation is not known, but it probably dates to the 1790s since it appears well established by the time of the missionaries arrived (Gipson 1938). Thompson (1937:198) thought that after Buckonghelas' death in 1805 and Tetepachsit's death in 1806 the inhabitants of this town went to live at Munsee Town. Cecil (1905:178) stated "soon after the tragedy, the Indians vacated the place and settled on the site where Muncie now stands and called it New Muncie". "The tragedy" is not specified, so a date of abandonment is not clear. A town referred to as "Upper Delaware Town", appears in historic documents during the War of 1812 and afterwards (Thompson 1937:203, Dillon 1859:524). In a letter, Colonel Bartholomew stated that they arrived on the "upper Delaware town on the White River"(Dillon 1859:524). This would appear to describe the settlement at Wapicomekoke since the letter also states that another village was to the west 3 or 4 miles below (Tetepachsit's) and another small village 12 miles below the upper town (either at Yorktown or

more likely Hockingpomsga's) (Dillon 1859:524). Native American towns were often known by several names (Tanner 1974:77). Wapicomekoke was also known as Buckongehlas' (Pachgatschillas') town. With Buckongehlas's death in 1805, it is not inconceivable that the settlement became known to Euroamericans by another name. Wapicomekoke is also the uppermost Delaware town on the White River. However, Guernsey (1932) and Thompson (1937) place the Upper Delaware Town in Hamilton County. If Wapicomekoke is Upper Delaware Town, it was likely occupied until about 1820, when most of the Delaware left Indiana.

Current assessment: The locations of this site reported by all sources (Cecil 1905, Setzler 1930, Swartz 1966, Rodeffer 1967, Gaw 1991, 1994) are currently in residential areas. Gaw (1991, 1994) conducted an expansive search for this village utilizing both pedestrian transects and shovel tests in several areas in Sections 25 and 36, Township 20 North, Range 10 East and Section 31, Township 20 North, Range 11 East. However, he did not find any indications of a Delaware village (Figure 6).

The location for this village is primarily traced to Cecil (1905) who was only recalling his interpretation of the village location or more specifically a torture post. This recollection was written down at least 40 years after the events he remembers. In addition, the report would appear to be somewhat embellished since he related he actually saw the torture post still standing some 20 years after the Delaware left Indiana and the kettle he collected still had grease inside. This area was extensively examined by Gaw (1991, 1994), but no evidence of Delaware settlement was found. One would expect that the presence of 40 houses, a longhouse, a trading post, and functioning ceremonial center for several years would yield some tangible material evidence of Wapicomekoke. But none was found. Either the areas investigated were not at the location of Wapicomekoke or the Delaware were leaving behind very little archaeological evidence. Due to the questionable nature of the reported location and the previous surveys which did not yield evidence of a Historic Delaware occupation, no further survey of this area was undertaken during this project.

Name(s): Munsee Town, Tetepachsit's Town

Site #(s): 12-D1-2

Location: According to a GLO map, Munsee Town was located within the Rebecca Hackley Reserve

(Hillis 1821)(Figure 7). The location places the village on the north side of the White River and at the northern extent of a wide bend in the river. The missionaries place the town at four miles downstream from Wapicomekoke (Gipson 1938:611). Helm (1881:36) reports an Indian village on the north bank of the White River west of the bridge on the Muncie and Granville Pike. Guernsey (1932) notes a village termed Utenink, ("Where the Town Was" or "Old Town", and "Home of Buckongehlas"), in this area on the north side of the White River (Figure 5). On the south side of the river he denotes the town of Muncie and Wapikamekuk, "White River Town", Munseetown, Home or Tatapachsit (Guernsey 1932). Guernsey's (1932) information does not seem very accurate in light of the primary sources which indicate Munsee Town was on the north side of the river.

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Figure 6. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie East, Indiana Quadrangle showing the survey locations of Gaw in Section 25.

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Figure 7. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie West and Muncie East, Indiana Quadrangles showing the GLO location for Munsee Town.

Description: The missionaries said the Munsee Town was the home of the first and oldest chief, Tetepachsit (Gipson 1938:611). Tetepachsit (Tatapachsit, Tedpachsit, Teta Buxika, Jeta Buxika, Tetabokshke, etc.) was also known as the Grand Glaise King (Thompson 1937:199). He had been in a leadership role since the death of chief White Eyes in 1778 several years prior to the Delaware occupation of the White River in Indiana (Weslager 1972:306-308). Tetepachsit visited the Moravian Mission on several occasions, actually lived with them for a period, and had from the missionaries' perspective encouraged them to establish the mission on the White River (Gipson 1938:32, 218, 244, 399). His stance on the conversion of his people to Christianity seemed to waiver, at one time telling the missionaries he would tell his people to accept the word of God and then to telling his people to not trust the missionaries (Gipson 1938:245, 408). Tetepachsit ultimately became a victim of a witch hunt tied to revitalistic movements. By July of 1805, Tetepachsit had been dismissed as chief and was in fear for his life (Gipson 1938:365). In March of 1806 he was burned to death (Gipson 1938:412-416).

Unfortunately, there is not much of a description of Munsee Town. The missionaries stated that there were about eight families living there (Gipson 1938:611). The population of the town could have certainly fluctuated. Thompson (1937:198) believes that the inhabitants of Wapicomekoke moved to Munsee Town in 1805 or 1806. Helm (1881:36) noted a report of a graveyard associated with the village from which many skeletons were exhumed. This town was definitely occupied in 1801 (Gipson 1938:611) and was recorded in the 1821 GLO survey (Hillis 1821).

Current assessment: The GLO location of the site places it within the city of Muncie and on the grounds of the Minnetrista Cultural Center. Several attempts to discover the location of the site have occurred (Figure 8). In 1970, several loci were investigated by test excavations, but failed to locate any evidence of Delaware occupation (Gardner 1970). However, this testing did not occur at the GLO reported location of Munsee Town. Several surface collections from previously cultivated areas of the Minnetrista property near the GLO location are curated at Ball State. These were reviewed, but none definitely suggest a historic Delaware population and relate better to prehistoric and late 19th century use. Most recently the GLO reported location was investigated during several Indiana Archaeology Week projects to determine the location of the former Muncie Children's Home. The areas investigated overlap with that of the reported Delaware town, but the shovel probes and test excavations at the Minnetrista Center have not uncovered any evidence of a Delaware occupation (Zoll 2000, 2001, personal communication 2002). It is possible that urban development has destroyed this site. The area was not investigated further during this project.

Name(s): Unnamed at Yorktown

Site #(s): 12-D1-9

Location: The location of this reported village is somewhat speculative. Dillon (1859:425n) reports an old Indian village once existed at the mouth of Buck Creek where it enters the White

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Figure 8. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie West and Muncie East, Indiana Quadrangles showing the locations of previous investigations.

River. Setzler (1930) states that this would place the site [REDACTED] and, due to flooding and construction, no evidence remains to support the report (Figure 9). Rodeffer (1967:70-71) designated Setzler's site location as site 12-DI-9 although he did not survey the area. Thompson (1937:199) cites O.H. Smith in 1836 and states Yorktown "is located on the ground where the old Indian village stood, immediately below the mouth of Buck Creek" (Figure 9). Setzler's location of the village is above the mouth of Buck Creek.

Description: No mention of a village or town in the area is in the mission diaries (Gipson 1938), so the village occupation would most likely post date 1806 - assuming it existed. Thompson (1937:199) felt that if there was an Indian village near Yorktown it have belonged to another tribe such as the Shawnee. His map places the village on the north side of the White River (Figure 2).

While the existence of this village can be questioned, Delaware settlement near Yorktown did occur. According to Article 7 in 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's,

"One half section of land shall be granted to each of the following persons, namely; Isaac Wobby, Samuel Cassman, Elizabeth Petchaka, and Jacob Dick; and one quarter of a section of land shall be granted to each of the following persons, namely; Solomon Tindell, and Benoni Tindell; all of whom are Delawares; which tracts of land shall be located, after the country is surveyed, at the first creek above the old fort on White river, and running up the river; and shall be held by the persons herein named, respectively, and their heirs; but shall never be conveyed or transferred without the approbation of the President of the United States (Kappler 1904:171)."

Samuel Casman [Casman not Cassman] was the first to purchase land in Mt. Pleasant Township. His land entry was for the north half of Section 22 and dated September 16, 1820 (Figure 10). As the record goes, Casman was a half-breed that loved fire-water. His first wife was a negro, that died on their property. He married again, sold the land to Hon. Oliver H. Smith and moved to a reserve on the Missisniewa River. He was later found dead in a hollow log in Madison County. The second purchase made under the treaty was Samuel Tindell for the southeast quarter of Section 15 on February 25, 1824. Benoni Tindell made his purchase of the northwest quarter of Section 23 on the same date. How long the Tindell's kept the property is not recorded. The south half of Section 14 was reserved for the use of the heirs of Isaac Wobby, but their representatives disposed of it to other parties. There was no mention of land in the name of Elizabeth Petchaka or Jacob Dick in the early land grants (Ellis 1898:152-153, 159,162).

Current assessment: The location of this reported village is somewhat vague. The location recorded as site 12-DI-9, above the mouth of Buck Creek, was surveyed in February 2001 by Archaeological Consultants of Ossian in conjunction with a park project (Stillwell 2001). The survey did not locate any remains of a historic Delaware or other Native American village, but encountered 2 archaeological sites. From site 12-DI-1058 a single biface was recovered and site

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Figure 9. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie West and Gilman, Indiana Quadrangles showing Setzler's location, 12-DI-9 and the area below Buck Creek.

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Figure 10. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie West and Gilman, Indiana Quadrangles showing Delaware land purchases.

12-DI-1059 was recorded as a 20th century trash dump (Stillwell 2001)(Figure 11) . Much of the area surrounding the junction of Buck Creek and the White River has been developed and includes residential, commercial and urban uses. Two areas below the mouth of Buck Creek that had not been developed were selected for survey.

Survey: Two land parcels in [REDACTED] were surveyed in an attempt to locate the remains of the reported Native American village (Figure 12). One parcel was located on the north side of the White River and consisted of an agricultural field with 60 to 80% visibility and a sparsely grass covered agricultural area currently used for paintball recreation with 0 to 50% surface visibility (Figure 13). The area surveyed was approximately 17 acres in size and 6 previously unrecorded sites were encountered. This parcel was surveyed on December 5, 2001. The second parcel was on the south side of the White River and was surveyed on January 4, 2002. The field was utilized as a no-till soybean field with 20 to 40% visibility and the majority of the soils were heavily eroded (Figure 13). The area surveyed was approximately 23 acres in size and 6 previously unrecorded archaeological sites were encountered. An unmarked historic cemetery was also observed at the north end of the field.

Parcel 1

Site: 12-DI-1069

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Historic

Type: Scatter

Location: [REDACTED]

U

Soil: Genesee silt loam (Ge)

Surface visibility: 60 to 80%

Size: 6 m x 6 m

Artifacts: 1 edge modified flake (Fall Creek) and 1 clear container glass fragment

Discussion: Due to the small size and low artifact density, this site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places. Given the well drained alluvial soils, there is a potential for prehistoric materials to be buried at this location and subsurface investigations are recommended.

Site: 12-DI-1070

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location: [REDACTED]

U

Soil: Sloan silt loam (Sn)

Surface visibility: 60 to 80%

Size: 6 m EW x 12 m NS

Artifacts: 2 unmodified flakes (Fall Creek) and 1 edge modified flake (HT Fall Creek)

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Figure 11. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie West and Gilman, Indiana Quadrangles showing 12-DI-1058 and 1059.

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Figure 12. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Muncie West and Gilman, Indiana Quadrangles showing the areas surveyed and sites recorded.

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Figure 13. Sketch map of areas surveyed at Yorktown.

Discussion: This site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places, due to the small size and low artifact density.

Site: 12-DI-1071

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location:

UT

Soil: Sloan silt loam (Sn)

Surface visibility: 60 to 80%

Size: Isolated Find

Artifacts: 1 point fragment (Fall Creek)

Discussion: Since this site is an isolated find, it does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12-DI-1072

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

UT

Soil: Sloan silt loam (Sn)

Surface visibility: 60 to 80%

Size: 6 m x 6 m

Artifacts: 1 bipolar (Fall Creek) and 1 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: Due to the small size and low artifact density, this site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12-DI-1073

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location:

UT

Soil: Sloan silt loam (Sn)

Surface visibility: 60 to 80%

Size: Isolated Find

Artifacts: 1 edge modified flake (Attica)

Discussion: Since the site is an isolated find it does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12-DI-1074

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location:

UT

Soil: Sloan silt loam (Sn)

Surface visibility: 0 to 50%

Size: Isolated Find

Artifacts: 1 edge modified flake (Fall Creek)

Discussion: Since the site is an isolated find it does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Parcel 2

Site: 12-DI-1078

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

Soil: Fox gravelly clay loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, severely eroded

Surface visibility: 20 to 40%

Size: 15 m NS x 185 m EW

Artifacts: 2 unmodified flakes (1 Liston Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek) and 100+ fire-cracked rock

Discussion: Due to the low artifact density and the severely eroded soils, this site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12-DI-1079

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

UT

Soil: Fox silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (FsA)

Surface visibility: 20 to 40%

Size: 12 m NS x 15 m EW

Artifacts: 2 unmodified flakes (1 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek) and 5 fire-cracked rocks

Discussion: Due to the small size and low artifact density, this site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12- DI-1080

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

Se

U

Soil: Fox gravelly clay loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, severely eroded

Surface visibility: 20 to 40%

Size: 30 m NS x 90 m EW

Artifacts: 2 edge modified flakes (1 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek) and 25 fire-cracked rocks

Discussion: Due to the small size, low artifact density and severely eroded soils, this site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12-DI-1081

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Fox silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes

Surface visibility: 20 to 40%

Size: 6 m x 6 m

Artifacts: 1 unmodified flake and 1 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: This site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places, due to the small size and low artifact density.

Site: 12-DI-1082

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated find

Location:

U

Soil: Fox silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes

Surface visibility: 20 to 40%

Size: Isolated Find

Artifacts: 1 unmodified flake (Fall Creek)

Discussion: Since the site is an isolated find it does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers of Historic Places.

Site: 12-DI-1083

Figures: 12 and 13

Period: Historic

Type: Cemetery

Location:

U

Soil: Fox silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes

Surface visibility: 20 to 40%

Size: 12 m x 12 m

Artifacts: none collected

Discussion: This cemetery is not marked on the Gilman, Indiana USGS 7.5' topographic map, nor is it listed in the Historic Sites and Structures Inventory for Delaware County (Anonymous 1985). The cemetery did appear to be maintained, but was surrounded by secondary growth vegetation. The cemetery was approximately 12 m x 12m and bounded by a small picket fence with an entrance on the west side. Stone steps were observed leading from the cemetery to the north and down the hill. There were three markers relating to two individuals. One marker appeared to be made from concrete and had been etched with the information "William Stewart, born in Pennsylvania in 1771, Died in 1836". The second marker of granite was recent in origin and contained the same information. The third marker probably of marble material was somewhat eroded, but the name may have been Wm. Petty. More clearly is the notation "PA Troops, Revo. War". The site would appear to be at least locally significant and should be preserved.

The survey of the two land parcels did not find any evidence of a historic Delaware or other Native American village. The archaeological sites that were encountered were primarily small, prehistoric lithic scatters, that were ineligible for listing on the State or National Registers. The only historic site, 12-DI-1083, encountered was not associated with the Native American occupation, but did relate to early Euroamerican settlement in this area. If a historic Native American occupation did actually exist near the junction of Buck Creek and the White River it has either been destroyed by development, it is located somewhere other than the areas investigated, or it left little or no durable material evidence of its existence.

Name(s): Hockingpomsga's Town, Owenachki

Site #(s): 12-DI-10

Location: Luckenbach (Gipson 1938:611) reported Hockingpomsga's town to be 8 miles up river from the Moravian Mission. Thompson (1937:200) observed that the village was likely on the south side of the White River, since the missionaries mention crossing the river when they left Munsee Town (Gipson 1938:100). Thompson (1937:200) places the Kilgore Village site found in this area. Setzler (1930) documented a large village site and burial ground, but the remains appear to be prehistoric in age. The Kilgore Village Site was later identified as 12-DI-10, but again only prehistoric materials were recovered (Rodeffer 1967:71)(Figure 14). The location for Hockingpomsga's Town can only be identified in the general description of the missionaries.

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Figure 14. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Gilman, Indiana Quadrangle showing the reported locations of Hockingpomsga's Town.

Description: The village was associated with Hockingpomsga (Owenachki, Hackinpomska, Hakinkpomsga, Hokinkpomshka, Hockingponsha, etc) a chief and successor to Captain Pipe (Gipson 1938:23, Thompson 1937:199). Weslager (1972:335) relates that he and Buckongahelas and Tetepachsit were all former residents of the Muskingum. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 lists “Hawkinpumiska” on the Sandusky (Dillon 1959:616). Hockingpomsga was apparently a great witch doctor (Gipson 1938:196) and this skill may have gotten him into the witchcraft trouble in 1806. Hockingpomsga was condemned along with Tetepachsit for having poison and was arrested (Gipson 1938:623), but he was rescued from this fate by friends and bribes made to The Prophet (Gipson 1938:420). Hockingpomsga was an apparent drunkard and whiskey dealer (Weslager 1972:343) and he reportedly opposed the Moravians and promoted nativism (Weslager 1972:342). It is unclear when Hockingpomsga died. Chief Anderson signed for him on the Ft. Wayne Treaty of 1809 (Kappler 1904:101-102) and afterward he is no longer visible in the historic record.

There was no description of Hockingpomsga’s town provided by the missionaries. They do state in general that the Delawares in this neighborhood live in six towns of considerable size (Gipson 1938:58). The town was definitely occupied in 1801 when the missionaries first arrived (Gipson 1938:100), but the duration of the occupation is unknown. It was noted on the site form for 12-DI-10, that the landowner’s (Mr. Nelson) great, great grandfather (Mr. Kilgore) owned the land while it was still occupied by the Delawares and the chief asked Mr. Kilgore to let no one disturb the site because his people were buried there (Hornbaker 1960). If this account is to be trusted, it would suggest the site was occupied until 1820 when most of the Delaware left Indiana.

Current assessment: The area reported in the mission diaries would place the town near the location of the Kilgore Village site, 12-DI-10, located on valley edge on the south side of the White River. The site is known locally as the “Old Indian Hill Farm”. The Kilgore Village site was initially identified by Setzler (1930) as a prehistoric village and cemetery. The site area was resurveyed in 1960 (Hornbaker 1960, Rodeffer 1967:71), but again only prehistoric materials were found. In 1993, an attempt to locate the Delaware village ensued (Gaw 1994). Gaw (1994:68) re-interviewed the landowner, Mr. Ben Nelson, who reaffirmed his family had acquired the land where the Delaware village had been located and he believed it to be on the north end of the ridge overlooking the White River. A pedestrian walkover and shovel test survey was conducted across the ridge and into the floodplain area, but no evidence of a historic Delaware or early Historic occupation was encountered (Gaw 1994:66-71)(Figure 15).

We had initially planned to broaden the survey universe to the east of Gaw’s (1994) survey. This would have included a large agricultural area, but the property was in the process of being sold and permission for the survey could not be negotiated. The remaining upland area within the reported location of Hockingpomsga’s town has been residentially developed. No further archaeological investigation was conducted at this time.

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Figure 15. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Gilman, Indiana Quadrangle showing the areas Gaw surveyed and site recorded.

Name(s): Buck's Town, Killbuck's Village

Site #(s): 12-M-14, 201, 599

Location: A General Land Office survey map places Buck's Town in the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (Bentley 1821)(Figure 16). A Royce map shows Bucks Town and Little Munsee Town near Anderson, but it appears that the village labels are transposed (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974)(Figure 17). Guernsey (1932) also notes Killbuck's Village or "Buckstown" in this area and associates it with Charles Killbuck (Figure 5).

Description: The village was not reported in the missionary diaries (Gipson 1937) and was probably not occupied until sometime after 1806. The GLO survey recorded the village in 1821, but it was unclear if the village was still occupied or had been abandoned. The village was most likely abandoned about 1820 when most of the Delaware left Indiana.

Guernsey (1932) and Weslager (1972:334) associated the village with Charles Killbuck, but this may be incorrect. Charles Killbuck was the son of Gelelemend or John Killbuck Jr. a Delaware chief who had favored the Americans during the Revolutionary War (Olmstead 1991:33). He adopted Christianity and was baptized in 1789 and was then known as William Henry (Olmstead 1991:76-77). From then on, William Henry lived with his wife and sons at the Goshen mission. In the mission records Charles Henry (Killbuck) was listed as living at the Goshen mission in the years of 1803, 1811 and 1821 (Olmstead 1991:198, 221, 240). Charles Henry (Killbuck) did visit the White River on several occasions, but apparently only to serve as a messenger between the Goshen mission, the White River mission and the White River Delaware (Gipson 1938:53, 380-383). The sense is that the Goshen mission was his and his family's home. The Goshen mission closed in 1821 (Olmstead 1991:240). The mission documents stated that Charles Henry left in 1821 and "is on his way to New Fairfield to cause more trouble" (Olmstead 1991:238). He apparently spent the rest of his life in New Fairfield and died there in May of 1837 (Olmstead 1991:238). This Christian Indian would not likely come to the White River in Indiana and found a village.

The village may be associated with another person carrying the name Killbuck. A Captain Killbuck is recorded as signing the 1809 Ft. Wayne Treaty and the 1818 St. Mary's Treaty (Kappler 1904:101-102, 170-171). A Kill Buck signed the Greenville Treaty of 1814 (Kappler 1904:105-106). A Jim Killbuck signed the Spring Wells treaty of 1815 (Kappler 1904:117-119). There is a reference to a Captain Killbuck in Missouri in 1826 (Ferguson 1972:117). Captain Buck or The Buck are listed as signors of the Greenville Treaty of 1814 and the St. Mary's Treaty in 1818 (Kappler 1904:105-106, 170-171). It would appear that this village was not associated with Charles Henry (Killbuck), but Captain (Jim?) Killbuck or The Buck.

Current assessment: The reported location of the site is currently used as an agricultural field. The field has been previously surveyed on several occasions, but a Delaware occupation has not been confirmed. Frank Setzler apparently investigated the area in the early 1930s and found broken flints and fire-cracked rock (Thompson 1937:200). Hobson (1968:57-58) recorded site

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Figure 16. A portion of the Middletown and Anderson North, Indiana Quadrangle showing the GLO location of Buck Town.

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Figure 17. A portion of a Royce Map for the White River (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974).

12-M-14 as Buck's Town, but collected only prehistoric points, a scraper and celt from the site (Figure 18). A resurvey of the area in 1981 led to the conclusion that the "historical site left no durable cultural material" (Burkett 1981). Another resurvey in 1984, again only encountered prehistoric materials from site 12-M-14 (Stephenson et al. 1984). The site was resurveyed again in 1987 and in addition to prehistoric materials recovered 1 ceramic insulator, 2 whiteware fragments, 1 blue glazed (spatterware?) fragment, 1 stoneware fragment and 1 semitransparent clear glass fragment (Conover 1988:65). The historic component of site 12-M-14 does little to suggest an early 1800s Delaware occupation. Site 12-M-599 was assigned to the GLO reported location of Buck's Town and overlaps with site 12-M-14 (Maust 1989).

Other sites recorded near the GLO location of Buck's Town with historic components include sites 12-M-201 and 530 (Figure 18). Site 12-M-201 is dominated by a prehistoric component, but also includes several historic ceramic and glass fragments (Stephenson et al. 1984, Conover 1988). The historic materials were reexamined and include: 1 amethyst glass container fragment with a retouched edge; 1 clear glass bottle neck; 1 aqua glass insulator; 1 pressed, aqua glass fragment; 1 clear flat glass fragment; 1 aqua glass container fragment; 1 clear glass bottle top with an applied lip; 2 undecorated whiteware fragments; 1 whiteware fragment with a maker's mark; 1 flow blue whiteware fragment; 1 pearlware blue transferprint fragment; 1 ironstone fragment; 1 annular ware stoneware fragment; and 2 buff glazed stoneware fragments. While the majority of the historic materials date to the late 19th century or 20th century, the pearlware fragment should date between 1790 and 1830 (Loftstrom et al. 1982, Feldhues 1995). Site 12-M-530 was also dominated by a prehistoric component, but also contained an amethyst bottle top, mold blown with an applied lip; and a blue shell edge, scalloped pearlware fragment. The pearlware fragment would fit in the Delaware era since its manufacturing dates are between 1780 and 1830 (Loftstrom et al. 1982). Sites 12-M-201 and 530 provide only sparse evidence of an early 19th occupation in the area recorded as Buck's Town.

The area reported as Buck's Town has been surveyed on several occasions so no further pedestrian survey was conducted during this project. The lack of evidence for a historic Delaware occupation is puzzling. The GLO location may have been incorrectly recorded, but given the precision of the land surveys this seems unlikely. The duration of occupation at this site is ambiguous and perhaps it left behind little to no durable material evidence. Neither explanation seems satisfactory.

Name(s): Mission Town, Woapiminschijack, Woapimintshi **Site #(s):** none

Location: Thompson (1937:196) locates the mission on the right bank of the White river, 3 miles east of Anderson Town and 8 miles downstream from Hockingpomsga's Town, but his map places the site on the west side of the river (Figure 2). Thompson (1937:196) identifies this site with the later Delaware town of Little Munsee Town (see below). Dunn (1913:73) also identifies the mission at this location, on the southern end of the Hughel farm and along the north bluffs of the White River. Guernsey (1932) records the location of the Moravian Mission in the vicinity of the location recorded for Little Munsee Town.

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Figure 18. A portion of the Middletown and Anderson North, Indiana Quadrangle showing the locations of sites 12-M-14, 201, and 530.

The mission brethren do not give a precise location for this site, but describe their settlement as follows:

Bro. and St. Kluge, together with the Indians who had preceded us, made their way down the White River from Woapicmikunk to a green spot on the river, twenty miles away, and within three miles of Anderson Town. This was the place which had been designated for our settlement. In about six or seven days I arrived there too . . . On the right bank of the river, on an elevation surrounded by dense woods, we erected our dwelling. We lacked nothing more, at this time, than a number of good axe-men to help us make a clearing and to build houses or good log-huts. But it was the beginning of June and consequently late for planting as it was, therefore the first thing to be done was to get some corn and garden vegetables into the ground. To this end the plains, which lay opposite our place and which had rich soil and were overgrown with high grass, served a good purpose. We mowed down the grass and got into the ground with hoe and planted the necessary field and garden vegetables. There were no fences, but these were not so necessary, in the beginning, while the Indian brethren had no cattle (Gipson 1938:606-607).

This place where we live at present is on a high hill. In the front on the riverbank, the level space on the top is not extensive because on both sides there are little hills; at the rear, however, there is a wide plain thickly covered with oaks. On the other side of the river, right opposite to us, there is a plain, with high grass, which is our planting land at present. At the side of our place, at the foot of the hill, there is also a plain, overgrown with grass, like a meadow, which runs along the river for a mile" (Gipson 1938:103).

Where we are, we are away from the road, because the river makes a great bend about three miles above our place . . . Furthermore, our place is on the *east* side of the White River. On the two large plains, the one right beside our place and the other opposite, on the west side of the river, we do our planting. These plains are not flooded save in times of unusual rains . . . both the plains above and below us do get under water, because they lie so much lower than ours (Gipson 1938:477)[*italics added*].

The primary source, the mission diary, places the mission on the right or east bank of the river, while the secondary sources by associating the mission with Little Munsee Town place the mission on the north (west) bank of the river. Going by the mission diaries, it would appear that the site is located within the boundaries of Mounds State Park (Figure 19).

Description: The Moravian Church or Unity of the Brethren had undertaken missionary work with Native Americans, particularly the Delaware, long before the attempt to found the White

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Figure 19. Potential location for the Moravian Mission.

River Mission in Indiana (Gipson 1938:3-12). During the early establishment of the mission on the White River the Moravians were very optimistic and believed "that never before since the beginning of the mission among the Indians, has there been such a favorable and cheering outlook for the spread of the gospel among them" (Gipson 1938:60). The missionaries arrived at the White River on January 26, 1801 very hopeful, but the mission was not a success and they left in disappointment and fear on September 16, 1806 (Gipson 1938:58, 454).

The mission town was never very large (Gipson 1939:607). It is hard to trace the size, number and composition of the mission structures because the population fluctuated. It consisted at first of huts and, later on, as log houses (Gipson 1939:607). The Indian brethren were "useful to us in building, first of all, a summer hut, and in covering it over with the bark of trees, as well as later, during the summer months, in felling trees and getting them in shape for a winter house for us" (Gipson 1939:607). They had built 7 log houses by March of 1802 (Gipson 1938:467), but they mention bark houses for visiting Indians (Gipson 1938:182). The size of the log houses was given as 14' square (Gipson 1938:121,152). At least one of the structures was 15' square and served as a meetinghouse and schoolhouse (Gipson 1938:135). The log houses apparently had doors, windows and chimneys (Gipson 1938:483). The missionaries also built a stable for the cattle, a shed for hay and they had a cellar (Gipson 1938:204, 254). Around both of the missionaries' houses and the garden was a picket fence (Gipson 1938:153, 483). A rail fence was constructed around the missionaries cornfield which was later expanded to include their and the Indian brethren fields totaling 20 acres (Gipson 1938:150,161, 292). In addition to the structures, other features that would have been created were cooking fires and smudge pits to drive away insects (Gipson 1938:235). The mission also had a cemetery referred to as God's Acre and the names of those interred were Sr. Magdalena; Sr. Lydia; Br. Joshua's son, Christian; Br. John Thomas' daughter, Charlotte; Sr. Mary, Br. Jacob's wife; Br. Jacob; and an unnamed child that had drowned near the mission (Gipson 1938:129, 148-149, 157, 259-260, 342, 356-357, 400-401). The bodies were wrapped in shrouds, placed in coffins and buried (Gipson 1938:357). The missionaries and Indians also built huts in the fields and away from the mission for boiling sugar (Gipson 1938:209, 355). It is unclear if the mission town had a planned layout like other mission towns, such as Schoenbrenn and Gnadenhutten (Olmstead 1991:11, 112).

The White River mission was to rely on the successes of other Moravian missions and adhere to David Zeisberger's set of rules that governed the activities of the village, residency, and prohibition of native practices (Olmstead 1991:124-125). Beyond the principles, the White River mission may have also attempted to duplicate the Goshen mission in Ohio. Luckenbach described the Goshen mission in 1800 that consisted of about 50 people as follows:

We were quartered in a small log-house about ten feet square, but as the sleeping-room was not large enough, I found my lodging for the night with Bro. and Sr. Zeisberger, whose house, like that of Bro. and St. Mortimer, was about fifteen feet square. The chimney or fire-place was constructed of laths and clay, by means of which the whole room or house, which had no partitions, could be heated. The settlement was laid out but two years previously, therefore the furnishings of the

house were of the scantiest. Bedsteads and chairs there were none. What there was of furniture had been made from rough boards with the aid of auger and broad-axe. The bed was made of boards and the table and seats consisted of trestles, or logs with holes bored into them and wooden legs inserted. While eating, the last named were indeed precious pieces of furniture in this home . . . The Indian mode of living is very simple. The possessions of a well-to-do family---and many do not have that much---consist of a number of horses and perhaps an equal number of cows, a number of pigs, and a number of dogs, which serve them while hunting. Their farming is for the most part limited to two or three acres of corn for each family. At that time the land was usually worked with the hoe. The work of the field, together with the harvesting of the corn, the crushing of it in a mortar and baking of it into bread and the bringing of the fire-wood is regarded as woman's work, with which young men, who regard themselves as hunters, will not readily have anything to do. Their houses usually consist of small log-huts, about 14-15 feet square, with a chimney from the rafters up, and below an open fire-place, so that their beds may be brought on both sides of it and all in the house may have free access to it. Their beds are covered with deer or bear-skins and with a number of woolen blankets, which also serve as clothing, the former serving them during the day as seats and at night as their bed. The household utensils consist of a number of copper or brass kettles, iron pans, wooden bowls, tin-pails and dippers. For eating they usually employ a knife only, their fingers serving them as forks. Their food is very simple and generally consists of cornbread, corn or bean-soup boiled with or without meat. For corn-soup, the corn is first crushed into small pieces. At the same time, if they have it, the kettle of soup hangs over the fire all day long, from which any visitor who is hungry, as well as the children of the family may help themselves at will. At this time, hunting was still very good in that region, since this neighborhood had only been opened up a few years before and inhabited by white people; also because it had been abandoned by the Indian Nations sixteen or eighteen years ago, so that the wild game, especially bear, was very plentiful in the mountainous region between the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, and by our Indian brethren hunted with success (Gipson 1938: 589-599).

Unfortunately, neither Luckenbach or Kluge ever provide a succinct description of the White River mission. The missionaries bought what they needed for their new homes in Cincinnati from a merchant, but the diary does not specify what these items were (Gipson 1938:80). They do mention scythes for cutting the grass for hay, hoe's for tending the crops, Br. Luckenbach's clarinet and violin, receiving clothing, medicine, textbooks and reports (Gipson 1938:106, 107, 171, 205, 208, 475). They also state that during their first summer at the mission a dead tree fell into the side of Br. Kluge's hut and broke the household articles that were not of tin (Gipson 1938:119). The Christian Indians are mentioned as having kettles, guns, knives and tomahawks (Gipson 1938:92-93).

The diet of the missionaries appeared to rely most heavily on the foods they could grow and they often complained about a shortage of meat (Gipson 1938). The foods mentioned in the diaries include corn, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, potatoes, white turnips, kohlrabi, beets, pumpkins, tobacco, watermelon, muskmelon, blackberries, chickens, turkey, bear and deer. Livestock mentioned included chickens, cows, pigs, oxen. They collected maple sap every year for sugar and molasses. They had to purchase wheat flour and salt from the white traders and complained of the high prices. They would occasional trade with the Indians and be paid in small silver shirt buckles or woolen bands (Gipson 1938:241, 377). As their relationship broke down with the Indians, the Indians also stole food (Gipson 1938:377).

The White River mission was a disaster. While the initial hopes were high, their early relationships with the Delaware were amicable, and the missionaries had Indian visitors almost daily, they would suffer through many hardships and spend the last months at the mission in fear for their life, and make no impact on the conversion of the Indians to Christianity (Gipson 1938:116). The timing of the establishment of the mission shortly after the Treaty of Greenville which created a call for unity on the part of Native Americans opposing the white encroachment of their lands, did not endear the white missionaries nor their words of belief in the One and True God to the Delaware. Br. and Sr. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach took with them several Indian Goshen communicants to establish the new mission. These Indian brethren were to provide leadership, strength, and respect for those that came to seek God (Olmstead 1991:116). The Goshen members included John Thomas, his wife Catherine and their three children; Jacob Pemahoaland and his wife Mary, a widow of Chief White Eyes; the widower Joshua, the Mohican and interpreter, and his son Christian; and the widow Abigail and her daughter Anna Salome and two grandchildren (Gipson 1938:25, 67). The missionaries never received the leadership skills from the Indian brethren and fought with each of them over the temptation to return to heathenism (Gipson 1938). Some of the brethren returned to "heathen" ways and left the mission and some died at the mission conflicted with which world they should chose. The most horrible loss of the Indian brethren was Joshua, their interpreter, who died during the witch hunt of 1806.

When Joshua had arrived before the council in the upper town and had given answer to the accusation, he was declared innocent of the charge [of witchcraft]..... But when he was brought before the Schawano prophet [Tenskawatawa], this fellow said, no doubt having been previously instructed, that Joshua had no poison, but that he possessed the spirit of sorcery, with which he could kill people, if he wanted to Joshua was now led to a large fire and there surrounded.... He protested that he was innocent [One] struck, from behind, the tomahawk-hatchet into Joshua's head. This action was repeated by the others, whereupon amid heathenish yells, they threw his body into the fire and burned it in barbaric fashion (Gipson 1938:620-621).

The mission was finally closed on September 16, 1806 after the missionaries negotiated their leaving with the Delaware (Gipson 1938:452-454). They had intended to sell the livestock, houses and goods to a trader, but they were forced to leave behind some materials to pay the

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Figure 21. Sketch map of the area surveyed in Chesterfield.

Delaware for use of the land over the years. The missionaries also left behind the one remaining convert they had made, Sr. Theresia, a Potawatomi and wife of a French trader (Gipson 1938:628). With the closing of the mission, so closes the best primary document for recording the Delaware occupation along the White River.

Current assessment: It is unclear exactly where the mission was located, but the mission diaries, would appear to place the site within the boundaries of Mounds State Park. A survey was conducted to identify this site, but it was unfortunately conducted in the wrong location.

Survey: Unfortunately, this location was one of the first chosen for survey and the mission diary (Gipson 1938) had not been thoroughly examined. We made the unfortunate error of following the other sources and looked for an area to survey on the west side of the river, instead of the east side where the mission was located (Gipson 1938:477).

Two agricultural fields in the NW 1/4 of Section 9, Township 19 North, Range 8 East were resurveyed on November 9, 2001 (Figure 20). Both fields were harvested no-till soy beans (Figure 21). Surface visibility ranged between 10 and 30%. The area surveyed was approximately 16.8 acres in size. Stephenson et al. (1984) had already surveyed this area. Our resurvey of the area documented 6 previously recorded sites.

Site: 12-M-166 (resurvey)

Figures: 20 and 21

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Crosby silt loam, 0 to 2% slopes (CrA)

Surface visibility: 10 to 30%

Size: 30 m NS x 45 m EW (approximate)

Artifacts: 41 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The resurvey of this site did not recover any additional artifacts, but documented more fire-cracked rock. The original survey recovered 2 block flakes, 1 initial reduction flake, 1 other chipped stone and 1 fire-cracked rock. The surface visibility was not high during original survey or our resurvey. A resurvey of the site is recommended under better conditions.

Site: 12-M-167 (resurvey)

Figures: 20 and 21

Period: Unknown Prehistoric, Early Archaic, Late Archaic, Late Woodland and Historic

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

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Figure 20. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Anderson South and Middleton, Indiana Quadrangles showing the area surveyed and sites recorded.

Soil: Crosby silt loam, 0 to 2% slopes (CrA) and Celina silt loam, 2 to 6% slopes, eroded (CnB2)

Surface visibility: 10 to 30%

Size: 150 m NS x 180 m EW

Artifacts: 15 unmodified flakes (10 Fall Creek, 4 HT Fall Creek, 1 Wyandotte); 1 edge modified flake (HT Fall Creek); 1 core (Fall Creek); 1 other chipped stone; 1 unclassified Early Archaic point fragment (Fall Creek); 1 Brewerton (HT Fall Creek); 1 undecorated whiteware fragment; 1 flow blue, handpainted pearlware fragment; 1 creamware/pearlware fragment; 1 handpainted polychrome pearlware fragment; 1 hand blown, (bubbled) aqua glass fragment; 1 aqua, flat glass fragment; 1 aqua container glass fragment; 1 amber, container glass fragment; 1 clear, pressed glass (candlestick?) fragment; 3 clear, container glass fragments and over 300 fire-cracked rock (Appendix A).

Discussion: The original survey of this site found prehistoric materials as well as 2 pieces of amethyst glass bottles; 1 green glass bottle fragment; 1 pink shell edge, scalloped, pearlware fragment; 1 porcelain fragment; 2 pieces of whiteware and 1 molded edge piece of whiteware. Our survey recovered additional prehistoric material and a small amount of historic material. The earliest dating historic materials, the pearlware and creamwares (Loftstrom et al. 1982), were found in one cluster at the northern end of the site. The later historic materials, the glass (Feldhues 1995), were more east centrally located on the edge of the field. Some of the historic materials, such as the pearlwares and creamwares date circa 1762 to 1830 (Loftstrom et al. 1982). The small amount of historic materials appears to indicate some sort of early Euroamerican occupation. The historic and prehistoric components of the site require further archaeological assessment and testing is recommended.

Site: 12-M-169 (resurvey)

Figures: 20 and 21

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Crosby silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (CrA)

Surface visibility: 10 to 30%

Size: 55 m EW x 60 m NS

Artifacts: 5 fire-cracked rocks

Discussion: The resurvey of this site did not recover any additional artifacts, but documented a few fire-cracked rock. The original survey recovered 6 block flakes, 1 primary flake, 3 broken flakes, 1 other chipped stone, 1 core and 26 -100 fire-cracked rock. A resurvey of the site is recommended under better conditions.

Site: 12-M-170 (resurvey)

Figures: 20 and 21

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Crosby silt loam, 0 to 2% slopes (CrA)

Surface visibility: 10 to 30%

Size: 30 m NS x 60 m EW

Artifacts: 1 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The resurvey of this site only encountered 1 fire-cracked rock. The original survey recovered 5 block flakes, 2 initial reduction flakes, 2 primary flakes, 1 broken flake, 1 retouched flake, 1 other chipped stone and 1 - 25 fire-cracked rock. The surface visibility was not high during either survey. A resurvey of the site is recommended under better conditions.

Site: 12-M-171 (resurvey)

Figures: 20 and 21

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Miami silt loam, 2 to 6% slopes, moderately eroded (MnB2)

Surface visibility: 10 to 30%

Size: 30 m EW x 30 m NS

Artifacts: 1 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The resurvey of this site did not recover any additional artifacts, but documented 1 fire-cracked rock. The original survey recovered 3 block flakes, 1 broken flake, 1 primary flake, 1 core and 1-25 fire-cracked rock. The surface visibility was not high during the original survey or our resurvey. A resurvey of the site is recommended under better conditions.

Site: 12-M-172 (resurvey)

Figures: 20 and 21

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

Se

U

Soil: Crosby silt loam, 0 to 2% slopes (CrA)

Surface visibility: 10 to 30%

Size: 15 m in diameter

Artifacts: 2 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The resurvey of this site did not recover any additional artifacts, but documented 2 fire-cracked rock. The original survey recovered 9 block flakes, 6 broken flakes, 4 primary flakes, 3 retouched flakes, 3 other chipped stone fragments, 2 pieces of slag, 1 point fragment and 26-100 fire-cracked rock. The surface visibility was not high during original survey or our resurvey. A resurvey of the site is recommended under better conditions.

The resurvey of this area encountered 6 previously recorded sites. Five of the sites were fairly small prehistoric sites of unknown age with low densities of artifacts. Due to limited surface visibility, resurvey of these sites was recommended prior to making an evaluation of potential significance. One site, 12-M-167, had Early and Late Archaic, Late Woodland and Historic components and while the density of material was light, the surface visibility was limited. The information recovered from this site and the original survey would seem to warrant archaeological testing of this site.

Our survey was obviously in the wrong location to find the Moravian mission site. Further attempts to delineate the mission location on the east side of the river, probably within the confines of Mounds State Park should be conducted. Historic materials were collected from potential locations for the mission within the park at sites 12-M-2ee and 12-M-2ff, but were interpreted as representing a farmstead and a National Youth Administration camp, respectively (Buehrig and Hicks 1982)(Figure 22). The materials recovered from these sites appeared to date to the late 19th and 20th centuries (Buehrig and Hicks 1982).

Name(s): Little Munsee Town

Site #(s): 12-M-573

Location: The General Land Office survey map locates the site in [REDACTED]

(Bentley 1821)(Figure 23). Guernsey (1932) shows a village at this location, but the labeling is unclear. It may refer to Anderson Town, the mission or an unspecified site. A Royce map shows Buckstown and Little Munsee Town near Anderson, but it appears that labels are transposed (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974)(Figure 17).

Description: Thompson (1937:196) identifies this site as the location of the former Moravian Mission, but from the description of the mission location, this appears incorrect (Gipson 1938:103, 477, 606-607). Little Munsee Town is not mentioned (under that name) in the mission diaries and the closest village to the west is referred to as Anderson Town 2 miles down river (Gipson 1938:444). It would seem that that Little Munsee Town was established after 1806, but the missionaries say in July of 1805, that the Indians were moving nearer to them to better annoy them (Gipson 1938:368).

Current assessment: The GLO location places the site in an agriculture field and within a gravel pit. The site location was surveyed by pedestrian surveys in 1989 (Johnson 1989) and 1991 (Cree 1991a) and an archaeological site was encountered. Site 12-M-573 was recorded as 500' x 700'

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Figure 22. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Anderson North and Middletown, Indiana Quadrangles showing the location of sites 12-M-2ee and 12-M2ff.

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Figure 23. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Anderson North, Indiana Quadrangle showing the GLO location of Little Munsee Town.

in size with Woodland and Historic components (Figure 24). The site was tested in 1991 (Cree 1991b), but no subplowzone deposits were encountered. Only 4 historic glass fragments were recovered from the Historic component and do little to support a Delaware or missionary occupation. The site area was not re-surveyed during the present project.

Name(s): Anderson Town, Wapeminskink, Woapiminschi

Site #(s): 12-M-575

Location: On a GLO survey map of [REDACTED] (Bentley 1821)(Figure 25). The mission diaries give the nearest Indian town as 4 miles down river (Gipson 1938:197) that was later moved to 2 miles down river (Gipson 1938:444), while Luckenbach (Gipson 1938:606) gives the location of Anderson Town as within 3 miles of the mission. Guernsey's (1932) map provides a general location of Wapiminskink, "Chestnut Tree Place", Kaktowhanund's, or Anderson's Town on the south side of the river across from the confluence of the White River and Killbuck Creek (Figure 5).

Description: Anderson Town was named for Chief William Anderson or Kikthewanund (Kiktuchwenind), a half breed of a Swedish Trader named Anderson and a daughter of Netawatwees who was born at Anderson's Ferry, Pennsylvania (now Marietta) (Weslager 1972:335-336, Gipson 1938:608, Anonymous 2000). His daughter Mekinges is reported to be the wife of William Conner (e.g. Weslager 1972:334)).

The mission diaries suggest that Wapicomekoke was the most important town along the White River in the early years, but Anderson Town may have been growing in importance as early as 1805, since some important political assemblies were held there (Gipson 1938:381). Anderson's stature grew after Buckongahelas's death, but he did not become principal chief until the following year after Tetepachsit's death (Weslager 1972:335). He was opposed to the Moravians and kept strong nativistic attitudes (Weslager 1972:342). Anderson was a leading figure of Delaware politics during their stay on the White River. The only treaty conducted with the Delaware between 1795 and 1818 without Anderson's signature was the Treaty of Vincennes in 1804 (Dillon 1859:641, Kappler 1904). He also led the Delaware tribe from Indian to Missouri in 1820 (Thompson 1937:124).

Only meager information on the structures and population at this town was documented. The town moved location at least once, as the missionaries describe that the Indians were moving to within 2 miles of the mission in September of 1805 (Gipson 1938:368, 444). Luckenbach (Gipson 1938:611) says the town had about 15 or 16 Delaware families, but that figure probably fluctuated over the years. At least some the population from the town went to hear services at the mission (Gipson 1938:295, 608), but overall had little desire to be converted. The inhabitants of the village were referred to primarily as Delaware, but other Native American groups such as the Shawnee and Cherokee were also referred to along the White River (Gipson 1938). An unnamed trader was mentioned in this town (Gipson 1938:278), but it is not known if he lived there or was traveling. The trader may refer to William Conner before he established his trading post further

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Figure 24. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Anderson North, Indiana Quadrangle showing the location of site 12-M-573.

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Figure 25. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Anderson North, Indiana Quadrangle showing the GLO location of Anderson's Town.

down river (Thompson 1937) . A negro was also mentioned at this town, serving as Anderson's translator (McCoy 1840:52-53). Thomas Dean visited Anderson Town in August of 1817 but related few details other than mentioning cabins and staying in Anderson's house which was as good as any in the village (Dean 1918:316-317). In 1818 and 1819, Isacc McCoy, a Baptist minister visited Anderson Town. He described cleared land and log huts at the town (McCoy 1840:57-58). There was mention that the Indian captain's home had a chimney (Gipson 1938:285).

In 1819, Anderson Town was described as a half destroyed Indian village (Thompson 1937:115). This could be a result of the 1813 American raids on the White River villages (Esarey 1924:227, Dillon 1859:524). The Town was likely abandoned over the summer of 1820 as the occupants gathered at William Conner's in the fall to begin another journey westward (Thompson 1937:124, 225). It did not take long for the Euroamerican urbanization of Anderson Town to begin. Land lots were advertised for sale in the Indianapolis Gazette in 1825 (Thompson 1937:201).

Current assessment: The reported site location from the GLOs is now downtown Anderson. Anderson Town had more than one location with the earlier apparently being 2 miles upstream. The urban development in these areas has in all probability destroyed the town. No survey of this area was conducted.

Name(s): Nancy Town, Natico, Nantikoke

Site #(s):12-M-44, 267 & 268

Location: Nancy Town was recorded on the 1821 GLO survey map in the [REDACTED] (Bently 1821:93) (Figure 26). This village was assumed to be the Nanticoke village noted as 20 miles down stream from the Mission by Luckenbach and Kluge in 1805, but the Naticokes may have had more than one village (Gipson 1938:359). The GLO location for this site places it about 8 1/4 miles downstream from the mission. It was referred to as nine miles west of Anderson in Thomas Dean's journey to Indiana in 1817 (Dean 1918:317), but Thompson (1937:201) believes that this was an error in mileage and places the town six miles south and east of Perkinsville. Guernsey (1932) shows the Nantikoke's Town or Nancytown in the general area noted by the GLO survey (Figure 5).

Description: This town is associated with the Nanticoke Indians, who became absorbed in the Delaware tribe as they both moved westward (Feest 1978:246). It is likely one of the seven Indian towns noted as down the river from the mission in 1801 (Gipson 1938:103-104). The town was still inhabited in 1818, when Issac McCoy (1840:51) visited the town and dined at the house of an elderly couple; the wife's name was Nancy. James Nantikoke or Lemottenuckques (Lemantanquis, Lamahtanoquez), signed the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, the 1814 Treaty of Greenville, the 1815 Spring Wells Treaty and the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's (Dillion 1859:614, Kappler 1904:105-106, 117-119, 170-171), has also been associated with the village (Thompson 1937:201). The town's population was not documented, but Luckenbach states the villages below

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Figure 26. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Lapel, Frankton, Anderson North and Anderson South showing the GLO location for Nancy Town.

Anderson were small (Gipson 1938:611). The GLOs recorded the village in 1821, so the occupation for the village could relate to circa 1801 to 1821.

The Nanticoke involvement along the White River is not well documented. The Moravian missionaries describe a few encounters with the Nanticoke (Gipson 1938:405). One description tells the Nanticoke chief was going to be put to death along with Hockingpomsga during the witchcraft hunt in 1806, but that their release and several others was bought (Gipson 1938:420-421). It is unclear whether James Nantikoke was the Nanticoke chief the missionaries discuss. It is interesting to note the witchcraft hunt of 1806 spurred on by charges of poisonings described by the missionaries (Gipson 1938:412 - 421), may be linked directly to a Nanticoke tradition. The Nanticokes had a reputation for creating effective poisons which was often combined with the accusation of practicing witchcraft (Feest 1978:245). The Nanticokes have been credited with introducing poisons to the Delaware and the Six Nations (Feest 1978:245). The missionaries describe an incident where a Nanticoke woman and a Mingo woman were ultimately blamed for causing a fever and sickness among the Delaware in 1802 (Gipson 1938:194-195). A Shawnee woman was charged with killing the 2 women for these acts (Gipson 1938:195).

Current assessment: According to the GLO map (Bentley 1821:93), the settlement was located on the west side of the White River at a bend in the river. This area has been under cultivation for some time. Several recorded archaeological sites have been identified as Nancytown at or near the GLO location, without supporting evidence (Figure 27).

Site 12-M-44 is one of the site designations used to identify Nancytown. Site 12-M-44 was defined as a camp in 1969 and contained “detritus, a pestle and a mano” (Hobson 1969:38). There is no mention of historic materials at this site. It was identified as Nancytown, apparently since it is at the location noted on the GLO map.

The agricultural field at the GLO location was surveyed by Diana Conover (1988) in 1987 and 1988 as part of a Historic Preservation Survey and Planning grant. Conover (1988:57-60) identified site 12-M-267 and 268 as the possible location of Nancytown. These sites contained ample evidence of prehistoric use, but minimal historic material consisting of only 5 crockery and 2 glass fragments. Only one other site in the area, 12-M-414, contained any historic materials; 2 porcelain and 1 crockery fragments. The remaining archaeological sites documented by Conover consisted of small, prehistoric sites of undefined or Late Woodland cultural affiliation (12-M-286 to 289, 296 to 298, 412, 413, 415, 415, 485, 666 and 667). The area was chosen for resurvey since Conover’s (1988:1) research design was not focused on the identification of Delaware villages.

Survey: The agricultural field was resurveyed on October 31, 2001. The field was utilized as a no-till soy bean field. Surface visibility ranged between 20 and 30%. The area surveyed was approximately 30 acres in size (Figure 28). Our resurvey of the area documented 3 new sites and 5 previously recorded sites (Figure 29).

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Figure 27. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Lapel, Frankton, Anderson North and Anderson South showing the location of sites 12-M-44, 414 and 267/268.

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Figure 34. A sketch map of the area surveyed at Strawtown.

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Figure 28. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Lapel, Frankton, Anderson North and Anderson South showing the area surveyed and sites recorded.

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Figure 29. Sketch map of area surveyed at Nancytown.

Site: 12-M-679

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Westland silty clay loam (Wd)

Surface visibility: 20 to 30%

Size: 3 m EW x 6 m NS

Artifacts: 1 unmodified flake (Fall Creek) and 1 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-M-680

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location:

U

Soil: Ross loam (Ro)

Surface visibility: 20 to 30%

Size: Isolated Find

Artifacts: 1 unmodified flake (HT Fall Creek)

Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density. However, the well drained alluvial soil suggest a potential for buried cultural deposits. Subsurface investigation of the area is recommended.

Site: 12-M-667 (resurvey)

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Westland silty clay loam (Wd)

Surface visibility: 20 to 30%

Size: 7.5 m NS x 15 m EW

Artifacts: 2 unmodified flakes (1 Fall Creek, 1 unknown) and 2 fire-cracked rocks

Discussion: The original site form gives the location for this site as NE 1/4, NW1/4, NE 1/4, SE 1/4 of Section 5, T 19 N, R 7 E, but this was erroneously measured from the map and is an incorrect location. The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-M-681

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location: [REDACTED]
UT [REDACTED]

Soil: Westland silty clay loam (Wd)

Surface visibility: 20 to 30%

Size: 12 m EW x 90 m NS

Artifacts: 1 unmodified flake (Quartzite), 1 biface fragment (Fall Creek), and 5 fire-cracked rocks

Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-M-414 (resurvey)

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric, Late Woodland and Historic

Type: Scatter

Location: [REDACTED]
of [REDACTED]
UT [REDACTED]

Soil: Ross loam (Ro)

Surface visibility: 20 to 30%

Size: 12 m NS x 150 m EW

Artifacts: 1 Triangular point (Fall Creek) (Appendix A), 1 edge modified flake (unknown), 11 unmodified flakes (Fall Creek), 2 pieces of bone, and 40 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The survey did not document a high density of artifacts, but this was hindered by the low surface visibility. Conover's (1988) survey of the site with better visibility recovered a higher density of materials. Her survey also recovered 3 historic artifacts. Reanalysis of the historic artifacts found 1 porcelain drawer pull, 1 porcelain fragment of a toilet tank and 1 fragment of stoneware. Our survey also noted the dumping of recent historic materials such as cola bottles and screw top closure jars. The recent origin of the historic material precludes an assignment of this site to the Delaware occupation. However, with the presence of well drained alluvial sediments at the site, it is likely that subsurface cultural deposits may exist. Further archaeological assessment of this site and the subsurface is recommended.

Site: 12-M-298 (resurvey)

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location: [REDACTED]

UTM Coordinates: [REDACTED]
Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (OcA)
Surface visibility: 20 to 30%
Size: 12 m NS x 30 m EW
Artifacts: 1 edge modified flake (Fall Creek), and 4 fire-cracked rock
Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-M-288 (resurvey)

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location: [REDACTED]
UTM [REDACTED]

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (OcA)
Surface visibility: 20 to 30%
Size: 6 m EW x 6 m NS
Artifacts: 1 unmodified flake (Fall Creek) and 1 fire-cracked rock
Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-M-267/268 (resurvey)

Figures: 28 and 29

Period: Unknown Prehistoric, Paleoindian, Early Archaic, Late Archaic, Late Woodland and Historic

Type: Village

Location: [REDACTED]
1/ [REDACTED]
Se [REDACTED]
U [REDACTED]

Soil: Fox silt loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, eroded (FoB2)
Surface visibility: 20 to 30%
Size: 90 m EW x 300 m NS
Artifacts: 1 core (unknown), 1 unmodified flake (Fall Creek), 2 other chipped stone and 75 fire-cracked rocks
Discussion: Conover (1988:57-60) split these sites, 12-M-267 and 268, based on a decrease in the density of artifacts toward the west. During this survey the two were placed together since they occupy the same terrace and no discontinuity in cultural material was encountered. Conover (1988) believed that this site may relate to the village of Nancytown, but did not find any substantial historic debris. The historic materials were reanalyzed during this project and documented 1 piece of clear, flat glass; 1 piece of milkglass; 3 pieces of undecorated whiteware; 1 piece of undecorated ironstone/whiteware; 1 piece of handpainted, polychrome,

whiteware; and 1 piece of a scalloped, molded edge, whiteware. The time range of these materials is between 1840 to present (Lofstrom, et al. 1982, Anonymous 1984). The historic materials are too recent in origin to be associated with a Delaware/Nanticoke occupation. However, the prehistoric materials documented from this site are ample. Therefore, further archaeological assessment of the site is recommended.

Resurvey of the field documented 8 archaeological sites, 3 were previously unrecorded. We did not encounter all of the sites recorded by Conover's (1988) survey. The differences in site numbers are most attributable to differences in surface visibility. Conover had between 60 to 95% visibility according to the site forms, while at the time of our survey the visibility was between 20 and 30 %. We did observe fire-cracked rock scattered across the agricultural field both with and without associated cultural material. The surface of the flood prone parts of the survey area appeared to be scoured. The area is at a bend in the White River and it is quite likely that during times of flooding the high energy of the river scours the surface initially and later deposits sediments as the flood waters recede. Therefore, a potential for buried cultural deposits exists, but the scouring action may have severely altered any such deposits.

The resurvey and reanalysis of previous collections did not provide any substantive evidence of a Delaware/Nanticoke occupation in the area surveyed. The most likely areas for such an occupation would be sites 12-M-414 and 12-M-267/268, but without conclusive evidence this is conjecture. There are 3 potential reasons why no evidence of Nancytown was encountered: 1) The GLO location have been incorrectly recorded, but given the precision of the land surveys it is unlikely, 2) given the alluvial setting in a portion of the survey area, it is possibly that the occupation is buried, and 3) the occupation left behind little to no durable material evidence.

Name(s): Green Town

Site #(s): none

Location: Thompson (1937:202) mentions the village of Greentown between Nancy Town and Indian Strawtown. Raymond Davis (1970:45), a local historian, places the village near the mouth of a small stream known as Green Branch. The designation Green Branch does not appear on the USGS topographic series maps between Anderson and Strawtown. Green Branch may refer to Indian Creek which is approximately equidistant between the reported locations of Nancy Town and Indian Strawtown (Figure 30).

Description: Very little is known about this reported town. It is referenced in an Indianapolis Gazette advertisement for lots in Anderson Town which was surrounded by Buckstown, Nanticoke, Greentown and other Indian villages (Thompson 1937:202). Davis (1970:45) describes it as a small Delaware village of Captain John Green who was part French, a very large warrior and a worshiper of a wooden human head. Thompson (1937:202) found "no definitive information" on this town, on Green, or on it being a Delaware settlement.

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Figure 30. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Omega and Frankton Quadrangles showing a potential location for Green Town.

Current assessment: Given the scanty information on this site, the area was not chosen for survey.

Name(s): Strawtown

Site #(s): 12-H-468

Location: The location of this village was recorded in the GLO notes and on a survey map (Brown 1821:47)(Figure 31). The entry records an Old Indian village in [REDACTED] Guernsey (1932) also notes Straw's Town and a battle in this area along the trail from Greenville, Ohio to Chicago, Illinois (Figure 5). Another source states that one of the principal Delaware villages was located on the south side of the White River in Section 3 (Brown 1884:21); however, this may be referring to the famous Strawtown enclosure (Figure 32). The GLOs also noted several cornfields's in the area, but they were not identified as either Native American or Euroamerican in origin (Figure 31).

Description: The GLO notes record the site as, "the remains of an old Indian Village, situated on a beautiful eminence which overlooks a fine prairie on the opposite side of the river" (Brown 1821:47). This description would indicate that the village was abandoned in 1821. The mission diaries (Gipson 1938) do not mention the name of a village at this location, but this village is approximately 20 miles downstream from the Moravian mission where the missionaries reported the Nanticokes living (Gipson 1938:359). The name of Strawtown was suggested to come from either a house in the town that was thatched with straw or after Chief Straw or Strawbridge (Thompson 1937:202). One source states that Strawtown was a principal northern village of the Delawares for years and home of their war chief (Brown 1884:28).

During the war of 1812, the village was reportedly occupied by a squadron of Kentucky cavalry for the defense of the old men, women and children while the warriors served as scouts and guides for General Harrison (Brown 1884:21). Another report states that Harrison garrisoned Strawtown in the fall and winter of 1811 and assisted moving the old men, women and children to Ohio due to unrest with the Miami (Brown 1884:28). It is unclear if the village was ever re-occupied. If it was and if the village is related to the Delaware, then it was likely abandoned for good around 1820 when most of the Delaware left Indiana.

In 1818 or 1819, John Shintaffer, had settled near Strawtown and was trading with Indians in the area (Holloway n.d.). It is unclear if his trading involved the Delaware. Shintaffer was involved with the fatal burning of a Potawatomi Indian after being accused of selling diluted liquor (Campbell 1962:37). The event sparked a small battle between the Indians and white settlers in the area and one settler was killed (Campbell 1962:37)

The historic Indian village known as Strawtown appears to have been mixed with the local lore of the Strawtown enclosure, a prehistoric site with a circular ditch and embankment. One report claims, that the Delaware built a palisade somewhere near or on the enclosure for defense against the Miami (Brown 1884:29). A village site has been associated with the enclosure, but

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Figure 31. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Omega and Riverwood Quadrangles showing the GLO location of the Straw Town village and nearby fields.

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Figure 32. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Omega and Riverwood, Indiana Quadrangles showing the location of the Strawtown Enclosure.

appears to be prehistoric in age (Eggan 1930).

Current assessment: The village area reported in Section 1 in the GLO notes is currently being utilized for agriculture. The area is split by two property owners and the landowner to the west denied our request for permission to survey. Survey was only conducted on the eastern boundary of the reported village location.


Survey: Two agricultural fields were surveyed on February 6, 2002 . Both of the fields had been harvested and plowed and offered the best surface visibility we encountered during this project. Only remnant crop litter of soybeans and corn affected the visibility which ranged between 85 and 90%. The area surveyed totaled approximately 21 acres (Figure 33) . Seven previously unrecorded archaeological sites were documented (Figure 34). Due to the good visibility, the density of materials recovered from these sites was higher than encountered in any of the other survey locations.

Site: 12-H-925

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Historic

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location: 

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (OcA) and Fox loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, eroded (FnB2)

Size: 120 m NS x 200 m EW

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Artifacts: Artifacts from the level part of the terrace and the eroded slope were collected and kept separate. From the level portion of the terrace: 57 unmodified flakes (24 Fall Creek, 8 HT Fall Creek, 20 Wyandotte, 1 HD Wyandotte, 1 Jeffersonville, 1 HD Fall Creek, 1 HT Attica, 1 Hixton Quartzite), 15 edge modified flakes (5 Fall Creek, 2 HT Fall Creek, 1 Attica, 1 HT Attica, 1 Liston Creek, 4 Wyandotte, 1 Quartzite), 2 bipolars (Fall Creek), 3 cores (2 HT Attica, 1 Fall Creek), 2 Stage 2 biface fragments (1 Attica, 1 Kenneth), 2 endscrapers (1 Fall Creek, 1 HT Attica), 1 denticulate (Wyandotte), 1 other chipped stone, 2 aqua flat glass fragments, 9 clear flat glass fragments, 1 green bottle glass base with embossed letters, 1 green container glass fragment, 1 brass strap with a rivet, 1 porcelain fragment (burned), 1 stoneware fragment and 150+ fire cracked rock. From the slope: 9 unmodified flakes (2 Fall Creek, 2 HT Fall Creek, 3 Wyandotte, 1 Burlington, 1 HT Attica), 5 edge modified flakes (2 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek, 1 HD Fall Creek, 1 Attica), 1 core (Attica), 2 Stage 2 biface fragments (Fall Creek), 2 metal wire fragments (corroded), 1 porcelain insulator and 75+ fire cracked rock (Appendix A).

Discussion: The western limits of the site were not defined by this survey due to lack of landowner permission. The artifacts were more concentrated along the south

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Figure 33. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Omega and Riverwood, Indiana Quadrangle showing the location of the area surveyed and sites recorded at Straw Town.

(river) side of the of the site and decreased to the north along the slope. The amount of Wyandotte recovered from this site seemed unusual. The historic materials recovered do not suggest an early 19th century occupation (IMACS 1984), but this site is at the GLO location of the village. Due to the density of prehistoric artifacts and fire-cracked rock, the site is recommended for archaeological testing.

Site: 12-H-926

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

Se

UT

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Size: 30 m EW x 120 m NS

Artifacts: 7 unmodified flakes (2 Fall Creek, 4 HT Fall Creek, 1 HD Fall Creek), 2 edge modified flakes (Fall Creek), 1 bipolar (Fall Creek) and 50 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The site has a light density of artifacts and fire-cracked rock. No further archaeological investigation is recommended.

Site: 12-H-927

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Historic

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

UT

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, eroded (OcB2) and Miami clay loam, 6 to 12 % slopes, severely eroded (MoC3)

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Size: 60 m NS x 60 m EW

Artifacts: 7 unmodified flakes (2 Fall Creek, 4 HT Fall Creek, 1 Wyandotte), 2 edge modified flakes (1 Attica, 1 Upper Mercer), 1 core (HT Fall Creek), 1 clear glass container base with embossing letters, 1 green container glass fragment and 30 fire-cracked rock.

Discussion: The site was documented on sloping eroded and severely eroded soils. More intact portions of the site may extend to the north of SR 37. The historic materials recovered date to the 20th century, not the early 19th century Delaware era (IMACS 1984). Due to the eroded nature of the soils and light density of material, the site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers.

Site: 12-H-928

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Historic

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location: [REDACTED]

U

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, eroded (OcB2)

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Size: 30 m NS x 30 m EW

Artifacts: 3 unmodified flakes (2 Fall Creek, 1 HD Fall Creek) 1 aqua glass canning jar base and 5 fire-cracked rock.

Discussion: The canning jar does not relate to the Delaware occupation (IMACS 1984). The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers, due to the low density of artifacts and the eroded nature of the soils.

Site: 12-H-929

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Late Woodland/Prehistoric and Historic

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location: [REDACTED]

Se

U

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (OcA) and Fox loam, 2 to 6 % slopes, eroded (FnB2)

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Size: 45 m NS x 215 m EW

Artifacts: 33 unmodified flakes (20 Fall Creek, 8 HT Fall Creek, 2 Wyandotte, 1 Liston Creek, 2 Attica), 8 edge modified flakes (4 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek, 2 Attica, 1 Burlington), 3 cores (1 Fall Creek, 2 HT Fall Creek), 3 bipolars (2 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek), 1 biface fragment (Wyandotte), 1 Stage 3 biface fragment (Fall Creek), 2 Triangular points (Fall Creek), 1 grit-tempered body sherd, 1 aqua flat glass fragment, 1 clear bottle glass neck fragment, 1 clear container glass fragment, 1 fragment of unidentified metal (corroded), 1 redware fragment, 1 stoneware fragment, 1 stoneware fragment with green and opaque glaze, 4 whiteware fragments, 2 whiteware fragments with blue decoration (flow blue?), 2 blue spongeware whiteware fragments and 200+ fire-cracked rock (Appendix A)

Discussion: The site contained a ubiquitous scatter of fire-cracked rock, but the artifacts were identified in small clusters across the site area. The site is somewhat unique in that pottery was recovered in a terrace setting. Pottery is more often recovered from floodplain settings. The paste and manufacture sherd appeared to be Late Woodland/Prehistoric in age which would be consistent with the associated Triangular points. The historic materials were found in the southwestern portion of the site near the house lot. The historic materials date from the mid 19th century

into the 20th century, past the Delaware occupation in the area (Lofstrom, et al. 1982, IMACS 1984). The site is recommended for further archaeological testing, based on the density of prehistoric materials recovered.

Site: 12-H-930

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Historic

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Miami silt loam, 6 to 12 % slopes, eroded (MmC2)

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Size: 30 m NS x 45 m EW

Artifacts: 3 unmodified flakes (2 Fall Creek, 1 Wyandotte), 2 edge modified flakes (1 Fall Creek, 1 Attica), 1 green glass container fragment and 5 fire-cracked rock

Discussion: The glass fragment does not date to the Delaware occupation of this area (IMACS 1984). The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers, due to the low density of artifacts and the eroded nature of the soils.

Site: 12-H-931

Figures: 33 and 34

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic Scatter

Location:

U

Soil: Miami silt loam, 6 to 12 % slopes, eroded (MmC2)

Surface visibility: 85 to 90%

Size: 9 m NS x 9 m EW

Artifacts: 3 unmodified flakes (1 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek, 1 Quartzite), 1 edge modified flake (Attica) and 1 fire-cracked rock.

Discussion: Due to the low density of artifacts and the eroded nature of the soils. The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Registers.

Two potentially significant prehistoric sites were recorded, 12-H-925 and 929, and while interviewing the landowner, she related that burials were encountered when the gravel pit was excavated to the east of site 12-H-929. However, we did not encounter any cultural material that could be associated with a Historic Delaware occupation or any type of early 19th century occupation. The GLO location of the village was on the western limits of the area that was surveyed and it is possible the village lies to the west. Unfortunately, the property owner to the west was not amenable to survey at this time. Once again, we must assume that the Delaware occupation is either located beyond our survey universe or it did not leave behind enough durable material to be recognized by our survey methods.

Name(s): Sarah Town

Site #(s): none

Location: Thompson (1937:203) gives the location of Sarah Town as “one mile south and west of the present Strawtown” (Figure 35). This was based on “evidences” of a habitation in [REDACTED] encountered by Glenn Black (Thompson 1937:203). Unfortunately, the material was not described and could refer to a prehistoric habitation. Luckenbach refers to Sarah Town as the last small Indian village below Anderson Town (Gipson 1938:611).

Description: According to Luckenbach, Sarah Town was apparently named for Sarah and Isaac who were baptized Indians and settled the town with their sons (Gipson 1938:611). Both the parents were dead, and the sons were heathens and highly respected among the heathen (Gipson 1938:611). Luckenbach refers to Sarah Town as a small Indian village (Gipson 1938:611), elsewhere it is noted as one of the three largest Delaware towns along with Wapicomekoke and Wapiminskink (Ferguson 1972:59). The time of occupation of this village is uncertain. Luckenbach names the village, so it was likely in existence at some time during the missionaries stay along the White River between 1801 and 1806.

Current assessment: According to BSU records, no archaeological sites have been recorded in the SE 1/4, Section 9, Township 19 North, Range 5 East. There are 9 prehistoric sites (12-H-81, 12-H-436 to 442) and 4 historic site (12-H-473 to 476) recorded in the vicinity. The historic sites were recorded from GLO notes and relate to the houses and gardens of settlers Johnston and Lambert (Brown 1821) (Figure36).

Survey: Two agricultural fields in the SE 1/4, Section 9, Township 19 North, Range 5 East were surveyed on November 14, 2001. The fields had both been planted in no-till soybeans. Surface visibility ranged between 40 and 60%. The area surveyed was approximately 49 acres in size (Figures 37). The survey documented 7 new archaeological sites (Figure 38).

Site: 12-H-912

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location: [REDACTED]

ali

UT

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2 % slopes (OcA)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: Isolated find

Artifacts: 1 edge modified flake (Fall Creek)

Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

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Figure 35. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Riverwood, Indiana Quadrangle showing the potential location of Sarah Town.

**Site Locations Confidential
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Figure 36. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Riverwood, Indiana Quadrangle showing the GLO location of early settlers.

**Site Locations Confidential
Not for Public Disclosure**

Figure 37. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Riverwood, Indiana Quadrangle showing the location of the area surveyed and sites recorded.

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Figure 38. Sketch map of area surveyed and sites recorded in the Sarah Town location.

Site: 12-H-913

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

Soil: Fox loam, 0 to 2% slopes (FnA)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: 105 m EW x 150 m NS

Artifacts: 21 unmodified flakes (19 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek, 1 unknown), 9 edge modified flakes (4 Fall Creek, 1 HD Fall Creek, 3 HT Fall Creek, 1 unknown), 2 cores (Fall Creek), 1 biface fragment (Fall Creek), 1 graver (HT Fall Creek), 5 blocks (HT Fall Creek), 2 other chipped stone, 1 anvil and 300+ fire-cracked rock.

Discussion: The site is L-shaped following the natural contours of a glacial ridge. Due to the density of fire-cracked rock and artifacts, the site is recommended for archaeological testing.

Site: 12-H-914

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated find

Location:

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 0 to 2% slope (OcA)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: Isolated find

Artifacts: 1 bipolar (Fall Creek)

Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-H-915

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Early Archaic

Type: Lithic scatter

Location:

Soil: Fox loam, 2 to 6% slopes, eroded (FnB2)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: 60 m NS x 200 m EW

Artifacts: 2 unmodified flakes (1 unknown, 1 Hixton Quartzite), 1 edge modified flake

(Kenneth), 1 bipolar (Fall Creek), 1 Kanawha (HT Fall Creek), 1 MacCorkle (Upper Mercer) and 100+ fire-cracked rock (Appendix A).


Discussion: The artifacts and fire-cracked rock were more concentrated near the river. Some erosion was apparent along the more sloping portions of the site. The Kanawha point was found in the north central portion of the site at the edge of the cultivated field. The MacCorkle point was recovered at the northeastern tip of the site near the electrical tower. While the site does not have a high density of artifacts, there is a potential for sub-plowzone deposits to occur. Therefore, the site is recommended for archaeological testing.

Site: 12-H-916

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric and Late Archaic

Type: Lithic scatter

Location: 

Soil: Fox clay loam, 8 to 18% slopes, severely eroded (FxC3)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: 90 m NS x 305 m EW

Artifacts: 11 unmodified flakes (8 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek, 1 unknown, 1 Dongola), 8 edge modified flakes (7 Fall Creek, 1 HT Fall Creek), 1 core (Fall Creek), 2 bipolar (1 Fall Creek, 1 Attica), 1 other chipped stone, 1 endscraper from a reworked Lamoka point (HT Jeffersonville), 1 Matanzas (Kenneth) and approximately 100 fire-cracked rocks (Appendix A).


Discussion: The site follows the contours of a glacial ridge with a light scattering of artifacts and fire-cracked rock across the area. The top of the ridge is eroded and it is heavily eroded on the southern end. The endscraper and Matanzas point were recovered from the southern end of the site. While portions of the site are heavily eroded and the artifact density was not high, archaeological testing of the site is recommended. Testing should be conducted in areas least affected by the erosion, such as the side slopes along the ridge.

Site: 12-H-917

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location: 

Soil: Sleeth loam (St)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: Isolated Find

Artifacts: 1 bipolar (Fall Creek)

Discussion: The site does not appear to be eligible for listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places due to the low artifact density.

Site: 12-H-918

Figures: 37 and 38

Period: Unknown Prehistoric

Type: Isolated Find

Location:

all

U

Soil: Ockley silt loam, 2 to 6% slopes, eroded (OcB2)

Surface visibility: 40 to 60%

Size: Isolated find, but the site probably extends to the east

Artifacts: 1 endscraper (HT Fall Creek)

Discussion: The site should be surveyed to determine site dimensions. The endscraper was found on the western end of a glacial ridge that extends to the southeast. The area was not surveyed and the site probably extends along the ridge.

No evidence of Sarah Town or any historic occupation was found in the areas surveyed.

The only habitation encountered in

the reported location of Sarah Town, was a prehistoric site, 12-H-913. Sites 12-H-913, 915, and 916 were substantive prehistoric occupations and were recommended for further archaeological assessment.

The location of Sarah Town is quite vague in the primary literature and the area surveyed may not be the location of the village. One likely area for future survey would be the assumed Euroamerican occupation of the Johnston and Lambert houses (12-H-473 to 476). Early settlers would often occupy land that had already been cleared. Since it is unclear when Sarah Town was occupied, it is possible the village had been abandoned and settled by Euroamericans in 1821.

Name(s): Upper Delaware Town

Site #(s): none

Location: The location of this town is vague and may be a matter of mistaken interpretation. Thompson (1937:203) gives three possible locations for this site, all in Hamilton County (Figure 39). The locations were based apparently on evidence of Indian occupation found by Glenn Black, although it is not clear that these were historic in age (Thompson 1937:203). No archaeological sites have been recorded in these areas according to ARMS files.

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Figure 39. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Noblesville, Indiana Quadrangle showing the areas identified as Upper Delaware Town.

[REDACTED]

On the third location, Thompson (1937:203) indicates that the government survey found remains of a village, but no notation was found in our search of the general land office survey notes. On his map, Thompson (1937) locates this village across the river and slightly north from Conner's trading post (Figure 2). Guernsey (1932) provides a general location for this site on the west side of the river in the vicinity of the locations noted by Thompson (Figure 5). However, this site may be confused with the town of Wapicomekoke, the town in the most upper location on the White River.

Description: The site was never discussed by the Moravian missionaries. Apparently, the town is mentioned during the War of 1812 and thereafter, but Thompson (1937:203) may have incorrectly placed it in Hamilton County. In June of 1813, an expedition under the command of Colonel Joseph Bartholomew came to the Delaware towns on the White River (Esarey 1924:227, Dillon 1859:524). In a letter Colonel Bartholomew stated that they arrived on the "upper Delaware town on the White River" (Dillon 1859:524). This would appear to describe the settlement at Wapicomekoke, not a settlement in Hamilton County since the letter goes on to describe another village to the west 3 or 4 miles below (Tetepachsit's) and another small village 12 miles below the upper town (either at Yorktown or more likely Hackinkpomska's) (Dillon 1859:524).

It is unclear whether an "Upper Delaware Town" existed or if this was simply another name for the settlement of Wapicomekoke, the upper Delaware town. Native American towns were often known by several names (Tanner 1974:77). Wapicomekoke was also known as Buckongehlas' (Pachgatschillas') town. With Buckongehlas's death in 1805, it is not inconceivable that the settlement became known to Euroamericans by another name. However, Guernsey (1932) does indicate the settlement of Upper Delaware Town in Hamilton County.

Current assessment: The three potential sources that Thompson (1937:203) lists were examined for current landuse. The first and third areas were terrace settings and appear to have been disturbed by quarry operations. The second location is located in the White River flood plain. It may have suffered some impacts from quarrying as well. The area was not examined by a pedestrian survey due to the disturbance and possible misidentification of a Delaware settlement in this area.

Name(s): Conner's Town

Site #(s): 12-H-461

Location: The General Land Office survey notes report this site on the south side of the White River [REDACTED] (Brown 1821:80)(Figure 40). Thompson (1937:46 & 204) states that William Conner established his trading post across the river and a little south of Upper Delaware Town. Guernsey (1932) provides a general location for the William Conner settlement in 1802 on the east side of the river (Figure 5).

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Figure 40. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Fishers, Indiana Quadrangle showing the GLO location of Conner's Town.

Description: This site is associated with William Conner a trader, pioneer and founder of the state of Indiana. He and his brother John came to Indiana from Michigan as traders (Thompson 1937:38). They had been raised among the Delaware and Shawnee in Ohio, spoke several languages and were familiar with Indian customs (Weslager 1972:334). Originally, they were agents for Canadian fur trader Angus Mackintosh in the winter of 1800-1801 (Crummin 2002) and the furs they acquired were sent to Ft. Wayne (Thompson 1937:46). After John left Buckongahelas' town on the Upper White River in about 1803, he moved first near the vicinity of Cedar Grove and later Connersville (Thompson 1937:47-51). William would send him furs ultimately bound for Cincinnati and further east and John would send him supplies in return (Thompson 1937:49-50). John did stay active in the White River by overseeing a fence project in 1805 and apparently as a trader at Woapicimekoke (Gipson 1938:338, 350).

In 1802, Thompson (1937:46) reports that William left Anderson Town and established his trading post. He built a log cabin (Thompson 1937:46) and an Indian occupation apparently grew around it (Thompson 1937:112). Thompson (1937:112) states that in 1818 around the cabin "were grouped a few portable Indian lodges. Nothing was left of the Indian village of the days before the War of 1812 except a few huts and charred remains of log houses".

In addition to the Indian village, gatherings of Delaware for annuity payments would occur on the prairie between Conner's cabin and the river (Thompson 1937:222, n. 7). Annuity payments to the Delaware prior to 1804 were made at Ft. Wayne in the form of merchandise (Weslager 1972:383). After 1804, William Conner was in charge of paying the annuities which were in cash (Weslager 1972:383). These gatherings would have probably been very short term, but apparently continued for several years.

During the summer of 1820 the Delaware made a final gathering near Conner's post prior to making their move westward (Thompson 1937:123). Conner's Delaware family, his wife and 6 children, left when the tribe moved first to western Missouri (Thompson 1937:124). His two oldest sons, John and James, would go on to have an active role in the tribal politics (eg. Weslager 1972:389-390).

After Conner's family left he married a European woman, Elizabeth Chapman (Thompson 1937:126). The cabin was most likely abandoned in 1823 when Conner began construction of the two-story brick house to the south (Thompson 1937:133). He would have 10 children by Elizabeth (Thompson 1937:177).

Current assessment: The Conner cabin and brick home are currently part of Conner Prairie. No survey of the area was conducted.

Name(s): Unnamed at Noblesville

Site #(s): none

Location: Thompson (1937:204) reports an Indian Village in [REDACTED] (Figure 41). The location was apparently based on the discovery of a burial relating to the historic period at this location in 1930 (Thompson 1937:204). In 1817, Thomas Dean related that after leaving William Conner's house, "We went down across the prairie about a mile, crossed the river and went about four miles to a settlement of Delaware Indians, carried our packs and then met them at the lower village" (Dean 1918:315). Dean's location of a settlement 4 miles from Conner's, would place the site further south than Thompson's location. Dean's story may actually be referring to Lower Delaware Town.

Description: There is no description of this site.

Current assessment: The site area reported by Thompson (1937:204) does contain two archaeological sites (Figure 42). Site 12-H-23, is a Late Woodland or Late Prehistoric site that was disturbed by gravel operations and investigated by Householder in 1965. Another prehistoric site, 12-H-92, consisting of a few flakes, is also reported at this location. No mention of burials or historic material was reported.

The site area given by Thompson (1937:204) is owned by Consolidated Aggregates. Aerial maps of the area show that the majority of this area has been extensively disturbed by gravel operations. A 1999 survey within this area by the Archaeological Consultants of Ossian found the area to be disturbed by quarrying operations (Stillwell 1999). Given the prior archaeological surveys and disturbance to the area no further survey of this area was conducted.

Name(s): Lower Delaware Town

Site #(s): none

Location: The location of this town is unspecific. A village by the name of Lower Delaware Town was referred to by John Tipton (Robertson and Riker 1942, Thompson 1937:204) and more indirectly as "the lower village" by Dean (1918:315). Thompson (1937:112) states that in 1818 some Delawares re-established themselves at the spot formerly known as Lower Delaware Town 4 miles south of Conner's post (Figure 43). Thompson (1937:204) provided most of the information on this village by quoting Dunn's *Greater Indianapolis* (1910). Just north of the Hamilton County line was a 17 acre clearing of a Delaware called The Owl on the east side of the river, and on the west side was a French half-breed doctor named Brouett (Brouillette, Bruitt, Pruitt, Brewitt, Brennett, and Bennett) (Thompson 1937:204-205). Just south of the county line on the east side on an elevation were traces of Indian occupancy the settlers called the old Indian town or "Brouettstown" (Thompson 1937:204). This site, therefore, appears to be very close to the line dividing Hamilton and Marion counties.

Description: The town "was not much of a town" (Thompson 1937:204, quoting Dunn). This

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Figure 41. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Fishers, Indiana Quadrangle showing the location of the unnamed site south of Conner's Town.

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Figure 42. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Fishers, Indiana Quadrangle showing the location of sites 12-H-23 and 12-H-92.

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Figure 43. A portion of the USGS 7.5' Fishers, Indiana Quadrangle showing the area of Lower Delaware Town.

site may have been limited to the occupation of The Owl and Brouett on opposing sides of the river. But, the mission diaries state that Tetapachsit came to visit the mission in 1803 with his wife and daughters (Gipson 1938:244). Tetapachsit stayed while his family went to the lowest Indian town 30 miles down river (Gipson 1938:244). This would indicate that the settlement was in existence in 1803 and it was likely more extensive than 2 individuals. Thompson (1937:112) also states that some Delaware "re-established themselves" here. This may be in reference to Lower Delaware Town being abandoned during the military raid along the White River in 1813 (Esarey 1924:227, Thompson 1937:86), and later re-occupied.

Current assessment: While the location of this site was very general, the county line area was appraised. Several archaeological sites are recorded near the county line and the White River, but are prehistoric in origin (ARMS site files). Unfortunately, most of this area has been disturbed by large scale quarrying operations, residential development and a sewage treatment facility. Areas that are not totally destroyed and may contain potential traces of historic Delaware settlement are currently alluvial agricultural areas. The Delaware towns were most often referred to as being on terraces or upland settings with agricultural fields in the floodplains. The area was not investigated by pedestrian survey.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The goals for this project were to 1) compile and synthesize historic information on the Delaware occupation of the White River, 2) survey potential Delaware sites and recover data, and 3) provide a management plan for Delaware sites. These goals were only partly realized.

Historic documents for each of the reported Native American villages were reviewed and synthesized, but the documents provided variable and at times conflicting information. The most reliable source for site locations was thought to be from GLO maps and notes but these only covered 7 of the 15 reported villages. Other locational information would point to multiple areas for a single village or be nothing more than a vague reference near a creek. All the reported villages lacked a precise description. The number of occupants, the layout of the village, structures in the village and duration of occupation were not readily discernable from historic sources. The affiliation of the villages was not known in all cases. Seven of the villages were predominantly occupied by the Delaware through association with a particular Delaware chief. Other Native Americans, like the Nanticokes were said to have villages on the White River. Assessments of potential locations revealed that many of the sites were disturbed. Three of the reported villages were in urban settings, four were potentially destroyed by gravel operations, four were within agricultural settings, two were within recreation areas, one was residential and one was unknown.

The synthesis of the potential village locations and current land use limited the number of areas likely to contain evidence of Delaware settlement. At least six of the potential village locations had been previously surveyed. We investigated five areas. None of these surveys

identified a Delaware or Historic Native American settlement. We surveyed approximately 157 acres (110 new acres) recording 40 archaeological sites (29 were previously undocumented). Most of the sites (n=21) identified were prehistoric in age, small and were not recommended for further work. Six prehistoric sites were recommended for resurvey, due to low surface visibility or undefined site limits. Three prehistoric sites (12-H-913, 915 and 916) were potentially eligible for inclusion on the State or National Registers and were recommended for testing. Nine sites with prehistoric and historic components were discovered and five (12-M-167, 12-M-414, 12-M-267/268, 12-H-925, and 12-H-929) were recommended for testing. Only site 12-M-167 contained material that would date to the Delaware occupation, but no definite Native American artifacts were recovered and this site was identified while looking for the Moravian mission. One site (12-DL-1083) had only a historic component, but this was a Euroamerican cemetery. The other sites with historic components all appeared to post date the Delaware occupation dating to the mid 19th through 20th century.

We did contact local collectors in the Upper White River Archaeological Society about early historic artifacts in their collections. Most of them did not have historic materials in their collections, focusing more on prehistoric artifacts. Those with historic artifacts had clay pipe fragments, shell buttons, gun flints, and porcelain doll parts, but none of their artifacts fit a historic Native American signature.

Without the identification of Delaware sites and recovery of data, we could not meet the objective of constructing a management plan. The Delaware sites, where ever they are located along the White River are threatened as all archaeological resources by urban and residential development and gravel mining operations. Until Delaware settlements are identified they cannot be specifically addressed.

So why didn't this project or any of the other surveys identify a single Delaware or historic Native American occupation? When we began this project, we thought that the historic artifacts from a Delaware occupation may not have been recognized by previous surveys. Previous surveys had not thoroughly investigated what might remain at an early 19th century Native American occupation in this area, so perhaps they had been overlooked. When we reviewed the background information, we found that a Delaware or other Native American occupation of that era would primarily have Euroamerican artifacts and a few distinctive artifacts manufactured specifically for Native consumption. Other data from features such as houses would either not have been preserved in the archaeological record or again are not readily distinguishable from early Euroamerican habitation. So, what we were looking for was any early 19th century site that hopefully had a few rare Native American artifacts to distinguish it from a Euroamerican site. Unfortunately, this project and all previous surveys found little evidence of any type of early 19th century sites.

Was the Native American mode of living so frugal that material remains were not encountered? A good case can be made that Native Americans no longer created and maintained most of their material goods. They relied on the trade networks to provide them firearms, metal

and cloth materials. Trade goods were available, but they could be costly so materials were probably well maintained and recycled.

But, Native American occupations from this era and earlier have yielded ample archaeological evidence, i.e. Wea occupations at Ft. Ouiatenon and Kethtippecanunk (Jones 1989), so why no White River sites? The settlement pattern for the Delaware on the White River suggests fluid and dispersed communities which differs from the Wabash river settlements at Ft. Ouiatenon and Kethtippecanunk that appear more concentrated.

Perhaps we have not surveyed the correct locations for these sites. We felt the GLO information was the best source for locations. The GLO notes and maps were made by surveyors required to use precise measurements. Two of the seven GLO reported locations were surveyed by this project and at least three others have been covered by other projects, but no evidence of early 19th century occupations were found.

If descriptions of sites such as Wapicomekoke are accurate, there should be some material evidence of the Delaware occupation. Historic sources talk of illness and death, but no historic Native Americans burials have been substantiated. So, are the survey methods we have used adequate to find a Delaware occupation? The methods used during this project and other surveys are deemed adequate to locate evidence of significant cultural resources. Perhaps, these methods are biased against the discovery of early historic sites, that may not produce large amounts of material remains. A more intensive sample may be required to identify these sites

The reasons discussed for not finding a Delaware occupation when taken individually are simplistic and do not seem satisfactory. When taken together, they are a complex set of contributory factors. Not finding evidence of the Delaware occupation on the White River may be one in which the durable materials are limited, dispersed, and difficult to recognize as Native American and complicated by site locations being inaccurate and sampling methods inadequate to locate them. Overcoming these factors provides a challenge to archaeology. If the historic sources did not document the Delaware occupation on the White River, then we may have never known it occurred.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The project had some disappointing results due to a lack of archaeological data, but we learned a great deal about the Delaware occupation along the White River. As with any ethnohistoric project, we found that the quality of historic sources was variable. While the Moravian missionaries' diaries were a great primary source, they were narrowly focused, very ethnocentric and lacked details of Delaware lifeways. Other primary sources only offered tidbits of information and at times were difficult to interpret. The secondary sources were generalized histories sometimes only briefly reviewing the Delaware's time on the White River. And others

were simple reminiscences that would more appropriate as folklore.

We recognized the Delaware and other Native American occupations in this region were hard to identify. Many of the reported Delaware villages have been given state site numbers and portrayed as Delaware occupations without having any supporting material evidence. Prehistoric sites or a few pieces of green bottle glass do not equal a Delaware occupation and should not be represented as such. By the early 19th century the durable material remains of the Delaware would be dominated by Euroamerican goods. Only a few rare objects, such as beads and silver jewelry, would distinguish a Native American occupation from a Euroamerican one.

After reviewing the historic sources, some inconsistencies in the location of the Delaware villages became apparent. There is very little evidence that some of the reported 15 villages ever existed. For example, there is very minimal evidence that Green Town ever existed. Some of the sources place Upper Delaware Town in Hamilton County, while the descriptions of Upper Delaware Town fit the same location as Wapicomekoke in Delaware County. The same inconsistency was found in the location of the Moravian Mission. Most of the sources place the mission on the west (or north) side of the White River. We initially made the same mistake, but the missionaries clearly identify the site on the east side of the river.

While we cannot characterize the Delaware occupation from archaeological data, the historic sources used during this project offer a contrasting view of the Delaware as a drunken, lazy, decadent group. The traditional Delaware culture had obviously been altered by the time they settled on the White River. Much of their technology reflected the adoption of Euroamerican goods, but the cultural meaning of the material goods may have been drastically different (Ruberton 2000). The Delaware subsistence and social structures had adapted to function within the fur trade, but this does not necessarily signal a disintegration of culture. The time the Delaware spent on the White River was not a period of complete cultural decay. While drunkenness, murder and thievery were all documented in the historic sources, so were the continuations of community ceremonies, beliefs, language and even food preparation. The Delaware were under extreme external and at times internal social and political pressures, but they maintained their cultural identity and they survived when numerous Native populations were eliminated.

The failure to identify a Delaware or any Native American occupation during this project represents an archaeological conundrum. There are numerous factors that could explain why we did not find a Delaware occupation, but on the other hand we should have found some shred of tangible material evidence that Delaware were here. In the face of this enigmatic problem, we offer the following suggestions.

Future investigations could perhaps minimize a few of the problems encountered during this project. A change in survey methods to obtain a larger sample from potential locations may identify sites with low densities of materials. The optimal areas for intensive surveys would seem to be the best reported locations, such as the GLO locations. Incorporating metal detectors in

the survey may aid in identify site areas. The Straw Town site area would be a good candidate to more intensively survey. Investigations of other Native American settlements in Indiana in the early 19th century, such as the Miami occupation along the Mississinewa, could provide useful information for comparison with this project.

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APPENDIX A

ARTIFACT ILLUSTRATIONS

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Figure 1. Historic artifacts recovered from 12-M-167. The top row are ceramics and the second and third row are glass.



Figure 2. Historic artifacts recovered from 12-H-925. The top row contains porcelain, stoneware and brass, the middle row is glass and the bottom row is glass, a porcelain insulator and metal wire.

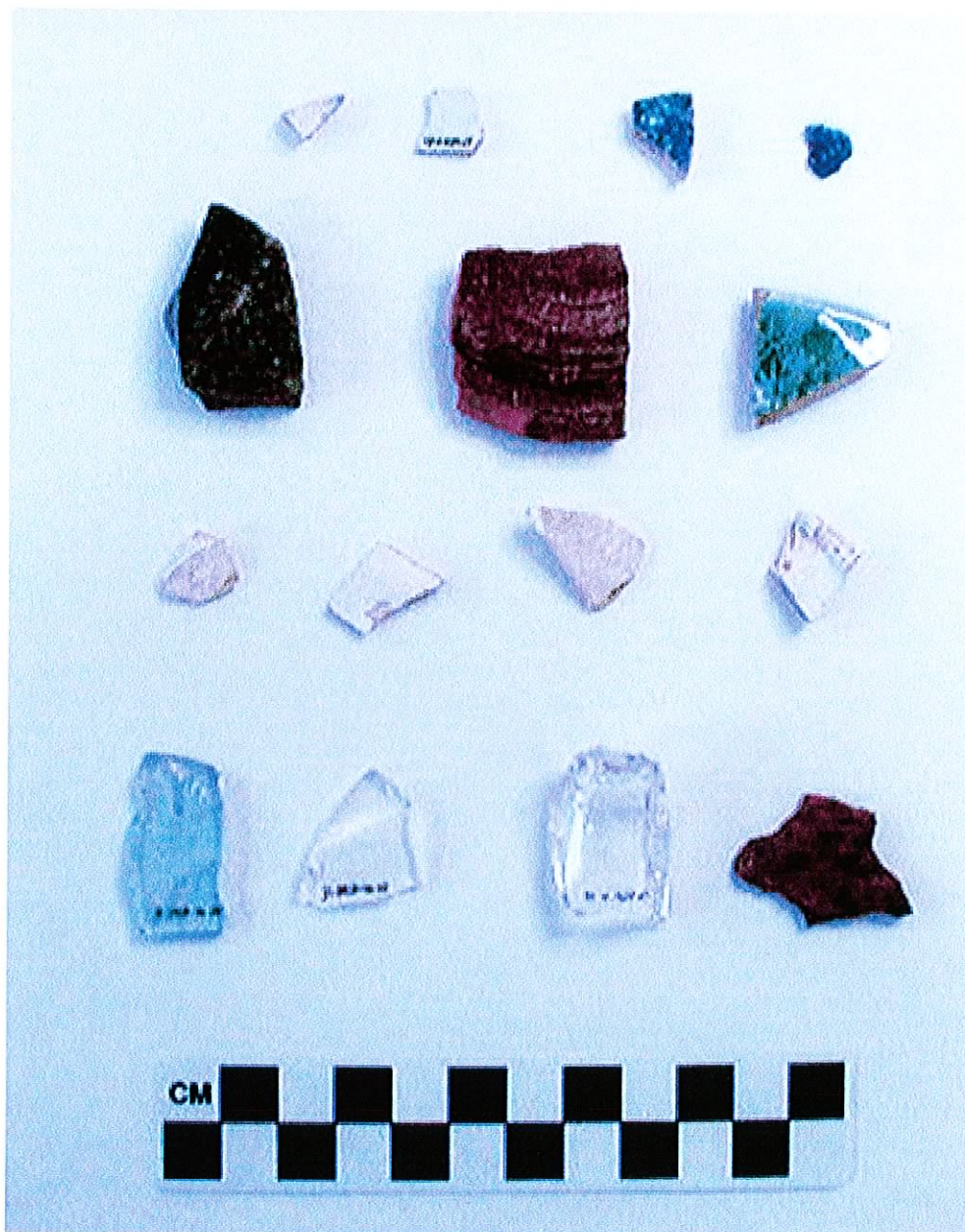


Figure 3. Historic artifacts recovered from 12-H-929. First, second and third rows are ceramic and the bottom row is glass and metal.

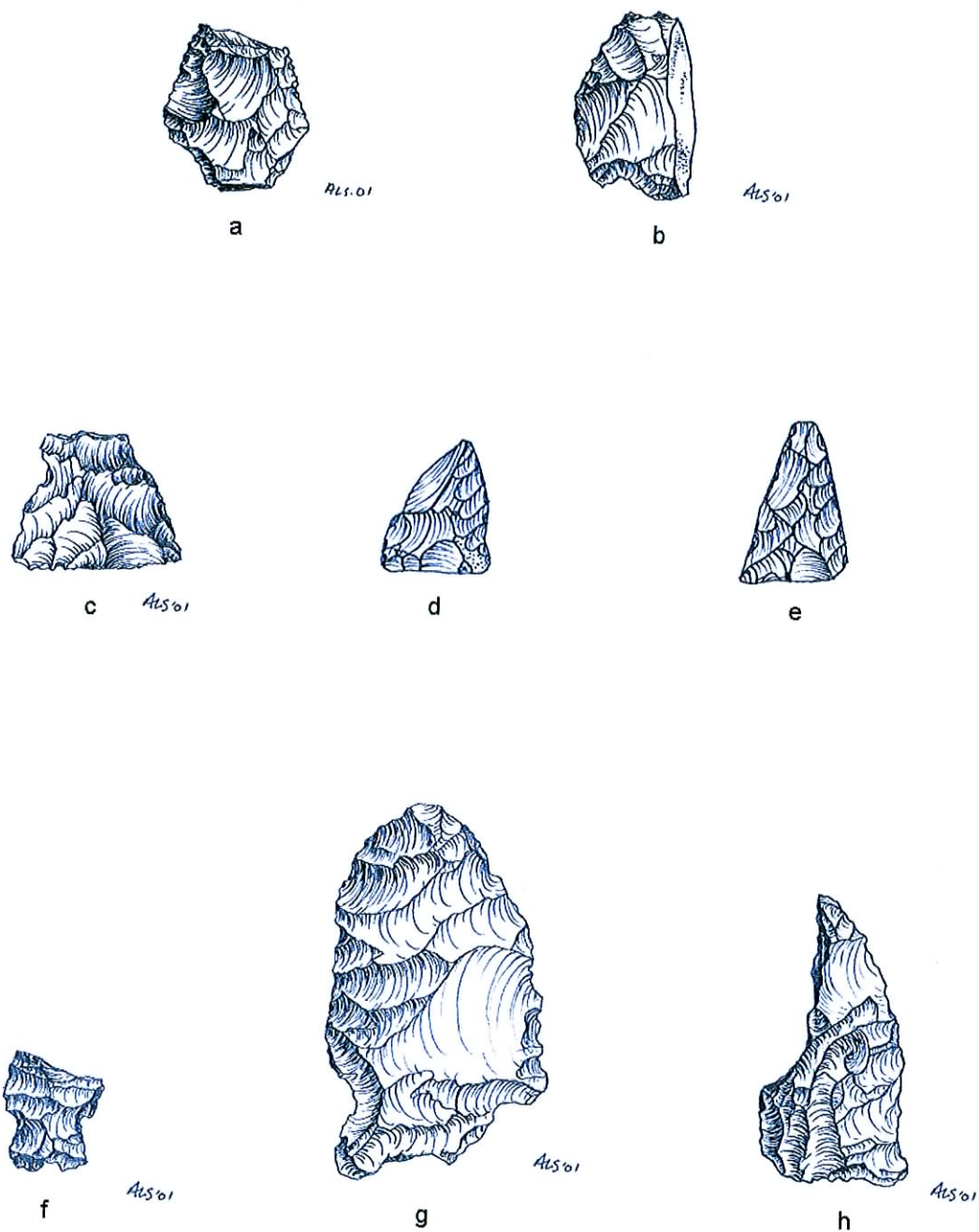


Figure 4. Points recovered during the survey: a) Unclassified Early Archaic point fragment (Fall Creek), 12-M-167; b) Brewerton (HT Fall Creek), 12-M-167; c) Triangular point (Fall Creek), 12-M-414; d and e) Triangular points (Fall Creek), 12-H-929; f) Kanawha (HT Fall Creek), 12-H-915; g) MacCorkle (Upper Mercer), 12-H-915; and h) Matanzas (Kenneth), 12-H-916.