2022

Native Burials in Southern New Jersey: Decoding Tales Relating to Scaffolds and Ossuaries

Marshall Joseph Becker

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Introduction

During my 50-plus years studying the various Late Woodland and Contact period people of the lower Delaware Valley and Bay region the evidence gathered has enabled four distinct tribes to be identified that are commonly glossed by the popular name "Delaware Indians." The Lenape of southeastern Pennsylvania are by far the best known of these tribes and in recent years their name has been adopted in place of the generic "Delaware." The Sekonese of central Delaware also are commonly confused with the Lenape, as are the people called "Munsee," a collection of late arrivals into northeastern Pennsylvania. The fourth group are the people of southern New Jersey, now clearly identified as the Lenopi (Becker 2008). We are just now beginning to recognize the differences in the burial customs used by each group during the Late Woodland period (ca. 1000-1750 CE; see Becker 2017a).

As Alanson Skinner pointed out over a century ago "The typical Indian cemetery in New Jersey is practically impossible to locate except by accident, as there are rarely if ever any surface indications to point out the spot" (Skinner 1913a:12). Burials from the earlier Archaic Period of New Jersey (circa 8000 - 1000 BCE) and surrounding areas commonly involved the cremation of the corpse and the interment of the remains, often with a mound being erected over the location. I suspect that in southern New Jersey many of these low mounds were simply plowed away through modern agriculture. The burned bones from these burials are quite difficult to recognize by laypeople even when they have been revealed through plowing. Alan Mounier excavated some such burials in Logan Township, New Jersey at the Lange Farm site (registered as 2 sites: 28-GL-14 and 28-GL-15). The only burial he recalls from Lange Farm was a cremation (probably partial) plowed up by Pat Lange. Mounier recovered what he could of these bones and asked Richard White, then at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, to evaluate them. White recognized these cremated fragments as representing a human shoulder. This cremation suggests an early date for this context (see Mounier 2003).

Of significance in attempting to understand mortuary customs is the fact that Mounier also excavated at the nearby Boni Farm (28-GL-68), next to and upstream from the Lange Site. The Boni Farm site contained five Late Prehistoric 1200-1500) or Contact period burials (1500-1750). These were all flexed burials (Mounier 2003:186). Mounier pieced together information from notes made by excavators from the Abnake Archaeological Society, a group that later merged with the South Jersey Chapter of the ASNJ. Michael Gall suggests that some of the salvage work at that site was done by the Lower Delaware Valley Chapter in the 1970s (see Morris 1974; also Mounier 1974, 1978, 2003). Guy DiGiugno and Butch Reed, participants in less formal excavations, may have more information on the burials from the Boni Site.

The informal nature of the Boni Farm site excavations and the irregular reporting of the information gathered reflects the recent professionalism in the discipline during the 1970s. Putting together an accurate record throughout the state, and elsewhere in America, is not an easy task. In southern New Jersey almost all of the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence for burial customs of the Late Woodland period indicates that these people practiced interments, with later variations resulting from European contact.

During this period their graves generally were ovate in outline and the corpses were placed within them in a flexed position. At some point during the Contact period, possibly in the late 1600s, some Lenopi began to use iron tools to excavate extended graves, and some Lenopi also shifted to the use of wooden coffins. How long traditional patterns of flexed burials lasted into the Contact Period has yet to be documented in New Jersey, but probably by 1900 Lenopi and other Native people in this region were mostly using coffins for extended (full length) burials or at least this is the conclusion that I had reached based on the published literature prior to undertaking my own research (End Note 1).

The first suggestion of what seems to be an unreported or completely non-traditional mortuary pattern in southern New Jersey derives from the erratic commentaries of Pehr Kalm. His narrations with regard to Native behaviors appear collected from unknown sources. He definitely did not personally observe these during his travels in northeastern North America between 1748 and 1751 (Kalm 1753, 1756, 1761, 1770, 1771, 1937; see also Benson 1935). Pehr (Peter) Kalm was a Finn and a pupil of the pioneering taxonomer Carl Linnaeus. Kalm came to North America to seek plants that might be of economic value in Sweden. His random statements on Native behaviors have been recognized by Adolph Benson (Kalm 1937, see also Benson 1935) as remarkable for their "childish naivete." Kalm's frequent citations of "authorities" for behaviors that he himself had never seen signal a major warning sign. He made no effort to verify any of these mortuary accounts that are scattered through volumes two and three his *Resa* (Kalm 1753, 1756). Kalm's few accounts of Native mortuary activities, later brought together by Kerkkonen (1959), clearly represent behaviors of several different tribes spanning a vast territory of North America, reaching even beyond the region that Kalm himself traversed. One of his narrations supposedly relating to the American Indians is almost certainly derived from the south Asian custom of *suttee* as once practiced by several groups of those other "Indians" (see Kerkkonen 1959: 179). Kerkkonen's publication not only provides Kalm's published work but also incorporates information from Kalm's unpublished records.

How can we account for the vagaries included in Kalm's narrative? Nothing like this is known from any northeastern tribe, although scaffold burials have been documented from some Great Plains groups at a later date. Given Kalm's base of operation and linguistic ties to the many Swedish and other Scandinavian colonists in the Delaware region, it is not surprising that much of his time was spent with various members of this Swedish community. Ben Franklin's son William, who had extensive connections throughout New Jersey, served as a frequent informant regarding Native "culture." In fact, Kalm based his New World expedition within the Swedish-Finnish community of Racoon in New Jersey, now called Swedesboro. The Holy Trinity Lutheran Church ("Old Swedes") in what now is Swedesboro was created in 1703. Most of his American Indian data seems to have come from a member of that colony, Maons Keen [Mons Kijhn]. Kalm (1770:355) specifies that Keen was 70 years old in1748. Kalm's second informant was named King, a family name that recently has been linked to this burial subject in other ways. King provided most of these somewhat fanciful Native mortuary narratives claiming them to be relating to the New Jersey Natives. The customs of the New Jersey Natives, presumably Lenopi, are not known to share any of the behaviors related to Kalm. The settlement then called Raccoon had been chosen by Kalm because he had been selected to serve there as a substitute pastor at the Holy Trinity Swedish Lutheran church. He later married Anna Margaretha Sjöman, the widow of Johan Sandin, the former pastor at Raccoon. Despite these ties, Kalm remained in

Raccoon only until May 19, 1749 before venturing to the north to address his primary mission, to search for plants that might be of economic value in Sweden.

A possible descendant of the Lenopi identified in the middle 1700s is a member of the Register of Professional Archaeologists (anonymously referred to herein as Anon. I), a member of a family indigenous to southern New Jersey (Personal Communication: Anon. I, April 2021). She may be descended from the King mentioned by Kalm. That possible kinship will be visited again below. At the age of 70 Keen (Kalm 1770:355) would have been regarded as a respected elder and assumed by Kalm to be a reliable source of information. These stories from Keen were recorded by Kalm and appear in his travel manuscripts recording information in three volumes that were published shortly after his return to Sweden in 1751. Kerkkonen (1959:177-179) extracted from these the accounts regarding Native behaviors, published along with references to them. In every example, reference is made to "the Indians" as if all the tribes in the Northeast region shared the same practices. Beginning with a description of a generic mortuary feast supposedly attended by colonist Keen in southern New Jersey (Kerkkonen 1959:177-178, 353, 355 data from "Kalm MS. Jun. 22, 1749"), Kerkkonen indicates that Pehr Kalm was given the following information.

> About eight miles from the place where old Keen lived there was a cellar built into the ground which the Indians used as a repository for the bones of their dead. Even the bones of those who had died far away were brought here to join the rest. Some of the bones were said to have been there a long time already. All those who were subjects of the same chief brought the bones of their dead to the same place. Only dry bones were put there. Once or twice a summer they would be taken out of the cellar and put in the sun to dry. This was done by a nearby Indian who received a small reward for his trouble from every family. Outside the door of the cellar was a wooden effigy of an Indian. Each year as it ripened fruit was sacrificed to this effigy. Once in his youth Keen had passed the cellar at the time when peaches were ripe and had seen a basketful of peaches before the effigy. – Some Swedes who had been hunting and had not had any luck had once come across a platform resting on poles high up in a tree. Thinking it held goat's meat drying in the air one of them had climbed up, only to find a partly decomposed Indian's corpse. Keen thought that this was the way Indians got the flesh off dead men's bones before taking them to the cellar. Later the cellar had caved in and became one with the field around [(Kalm Manuscript December 19, 1748)]. Bartram allowed Kalm to make a copy of a letter which described an Indian chief's cellar grave which had been found in the east part of New Jersey some years earlier. There had been a big stone on the grave and Kalm had a picture of this ([Kalm 1756:263-264; Kalm Manuscript April 2, 1749] from Kerkkonen 1959: 178).

In fact, as Gall (Personal Communication: 2021) points out, the latter part of Kerkkonen's above stated description does not agree with Kalm's originally published memoir. Kalm's (1756:263-264, 1770:139) actual entry reads as follows:

> In the [sic] April of the year 1744, as some people were digging a cellar, they came upon a great stone, like a tomb-stone, which was at last got out with great difficulty; and about four feet deeper under it they met with a

> large quantity of human bones and a cake of maize … the stone was eight feet long, four feet broad and even some inches more where it was broadest, and fifteen inches thick at one end, but only twelve inches at the other end.

A drawing of this stone, with an irregular shape, appears in Kalm (1756: 264) and the date of 30 September appears on the following page. In the Benson (1937, I:74) translation, "they came upon a great stone, like a tombstone…" that is described as follows: "The stone was eight feet long, four feet broad, and even some inches more where it was broadest." The thickness is given as 15 inches at one end and 12 at the other." The kind of stone, said to be local, is a "coarse kind of material." The absence of stone of any size in the sandy region of southeastern New Jersey suggests that this supposed location must have been in the north central part of the present state, although I suggest that the entire narration is a fiction.

That the stories related to Kalm by locals such as Franklin, Bartram, and Keen were without validity can be inferred from three distinct points of view. First, the father and son of the family Keen, who supposedly witnessed the burial activities they described to Kalm, appear to have been perfectly familiar with the ritual feasting held at the time of any burial among the Lenopi. We should note that as recently as the 1970s members of the federally recognized Delaware Tribe of Indians in Bartlesville, Oklahoma associated the term "feast" only with a "feast of the dead." They distinguished the use of that term from that of "banqueting," or a meal during which participants ate well. The relationship, if any, between Lenopi burial feasts and the process Kalm recounted in which bones were "ritually" de-fleshed and prepared for burial in a "cellar" is not mentioned. Lacking clarity is what the Swedish term for "cellar" meant at that time, but this supposed depository for these bones had collapsed by the time of Kalm's visit and therefore was not available to him for viewing. Kalm, however, does not appear to have been interested in verifying these local tales. He merely recorded them as he heard them. He neither investigates any of the stories, nor does he sample foods that are presented to him. He creates descriptions of tastes and textures that he did not experience. In many ways Kalm was not different from many modern-day students of Indians legends who report events without firsthand experiences.

A second point that merits scrutiny, or at least appears noteworthy, relates to the famous Philadelphia naturalist John Bartram (1699-1777). Kalm interacted extensively with Bartram during his American sojourn. As related in detail above, Bartram "showed [him] a letter from *East Jersey*, in which [Bartram] got… an account of the discovery of an Indian grave" found in April 1744 (Kalm 1770:139). Kalm's 1756 (263-264) publication states: "*Indianernas* grafwax. Herr Bartram misste mig et bref från Östra Jersey, deri berate-tades, huru då man år 1744 … ungefåe 4 fot under den samma …."

The grave was found by colonists digging a cellar, and the "bones" in it are here referred to as those of "a person of note" (Kalm 1770:139), perhaps a chief. One may infer that this mortuary information supposedly was included in a letter written to Bartram by some unknown correspondent in New Jersey, but no such document is known from the Bartram papers and no actual copy has been found in Kalm's records (Benson 1937, I: 74). Unfortunately, no translation of this passage in Kalm's published works appears in the Foster edition (Kalm 1770). Neither the Benson nor the Foster translation includes the rude drawing of the irregular stone earlier illustrated in Kalm's 1756 (264) account said to have covered this grave. Native burial customs might have been a curiosity mentioned in the context of botanical

information being sent to Bartram, but no evidence of this letter has been located. In fact, we have no clear indication that Kalm made a copy of this letter. While southeastern New Jersey is, in effect, an extensive sand bar and largely devoid of stones of any size, the northern part of East Jersey includes a geologically more diverse region. In the general geological area, the discovery of a large stone, perhaps the size of a grave slab, in any Native archaeological context would be noteworthy (End Note 2).

In short, I believe that these various winter fireside revelations about scaffold burials and collective tombs in southern New Jersey were idle ramblings and not eyewitness accounts of behaviors seen by colonists among the local Lenopi bands (cf. Philhower 1931, Stewart 1932). By the 1740s the Lenopi bands may have been less evident in the settled portions of the New Jersey colony, but numbers of Native families continued to operate in this general area well into the 1800s. Families such as the Blizzards, Newcombs and Kings may have been genetically pure Lenopi. Despite the lack of archaeological or what might be called ethnohistorical evidence for scaffold burials in southern New Jersey, we do have an account from 1869 that mentions the subject. In a rambling assemblage of allusions to Indian residences, almost certainly all of them applying to locations where prehistoric stone tools have been reported by recent collectors (cf. Middleton 1932), Lucius Elmer notes that:

> There was also a settlement to the west side of the same river [Cohansey], just above Bridgeton, on the property now belonging to the iron and nail works; and the tradition is that an Indian chief was buried, or, as some accounts say, placed in a box or coffin, on the limbs of a tree on the point of land opposite North Street, since from that tradition called 'Coffin Point' (Elmer 1869:6).

My position on this examination of the tales related to Pehr Kalm regarding Native burials that supposedly took place in Colonial New Jersey leads me to give serious thought to the meaning of a report by Anon. I, whose Lenopi family is from the Cumberland County area of southern New Jersey. This indigenous descent family has long been based in the area known as Turkey Point, located between the Cohansey River and the Maurice River.

A report from Anon. I (Personal Communication: April 9, 2021) that when she "was about 6-7" years of age (circa 1962) she was out in the marsh with a grandfather, in an area far out along a private gravel road on their farm; a road that linked with Turkey Point Road or possibly "on the opposite side of Dividing Creek at Owls Nest, which was a village." Her grandfather pointed out the location of "a burial up on stilts" (a questionable scaffold burial). This was among "dead trees standing high where eagle nests were usually built." Her Grandfather, who spoke English with a regional accent, told her that they "had to walk around it" because it was a grave. It "was scary, and there was a stench, so I remember it." Anon. I remembers seeing a sort of flat bottom beneath this "burial" like a "canvas stretched; it wasn't duff or leaves underneath." During that period of the year, they "would go out almost every evening to check on the eagle eggs which were on one side of the road with a marsh with [muskrat] huts across the other side of the road" to guard them. This part of the farm was at that time planted in lettuce or beans, and was bordered by the marsh, but now this agricultural area is entirely underwater.

The meaning of Anon. I's recollections regarding this circa 1962 event merits some attention. Her recollections as relayed to me provided an opportunity for various members of her extended family to voice memories that might relate to Native and other mortuary customs in this portion of Lenopi territory. Her mother recently reported that long ago

(circa 1940s?) she had seen similar "things" up in trees but had paid no attention to them. The family offered no other mentions of scaffold burials in their recollections and aside from the Kalm statement, nothing like scaffold burials are known in any other publication. No such pattern has been reported to any of the many modern archaeologists working in that region. Nor is there any report of the deposition of de-fleshed bones of the Late Woodland period within the entire region. The caution delivered by a grandfather may relate to the possibility of a dangerous "widowmaker" being suspended in a clump of tangled vines high up in a dead tree. In forestry, a "widowmaker" refers to any loose overhead debris such as limbs or treetops that may fall at any time. His caution also may have been intended to protect nesting eagles from being disturbed. The possibility that this feature was a raised duck blind or deer hunting perch also might be considered.

Anon. I (Personal Communication: April 10, 2021) reports that she believes that there were two burial sites on her grandfather's land, but this scaffold-like site was *not* near or on either of them. In a telephone call with her mother and others, Anon. I found that they immediately recognized the place she was describing, responding "Oh, you mean Horse Heaven." This was land said to be "cursed by an Indian Chief," a legend said to have been recorded in various publications, but in fact never verified. A sister also remembers this piece of ground. The term "horse heaven" as used in southern New Jersey as understood by Alan Mounier (Personal Communication: Alan Mounier, May 3, 2021), stating horse heaven "refers to a place or places where farmers would dispatch horses that outlived their usefulness. Walking the doomed beast to a place where it could be killed was easier that dragging it there afterwards, or digging a hole sufficient to bury it" (End Note 3).

The informant's grandfather may have been warning his young granddaughter to avoid the area in order to keep her away from the sight of slaughtered beasts left for the elements and their return to nature. Mounier knows of only a single toponym "Horse Heaven," that being in the vicinity of Mauricetown on the Maurice River in southern New Jersey. The name "Horse Heaven" is currently used in at least two places across the United States, both in association with upscale boarding facilities for horses. Understandably people involved with horse breeding or any other equine activity are reluctant to discuss end-of-life matters, especially the disposal of remains.

Decades ago, one of these two burial grounds had been described as being "cursed and nothing would grow there." These two suspected Native burial areas near the Cohansey River that have been referred to by Anon. I (see Becker 2012), but are not identified on maps nor confirmed by archaeology. Both of these possible burying grounds are in an area known as Underwood. The location of "Underwood" is along the Haleyville-Dividing Creek Road. This property was once owned by Jesse Blizzard but was still called the old Potter-Nixon Place (see Unger 1933:5). Underwood appears distinct from the "Dividing Creek Indian Burial Ground, once said to have been 200 yards from the Turkey Point school house. The Dividing Creek Indian Burial Ground may have been situated elsewhere as that school closed in 1914. Dredging for sand in this area began about 1917. Possibly this second reported burial area, supposedly associated with the Dividing Creek school, was discovered during the excavation for sand, perhaps as late as 1933 (Unger 1933). Both areas now are under water. The entire surface area has been altered by a modern sand plant, but the locations of both burial areas and the unaltered terrain had been mapped by Anon. I circa 1990. Since sand mining has begun the farmland, as shown on maps of 1862 and 1880, has become largely lake surfaces; with some members of the family still owning the land.

Who was the modern informant (i.e., Anon. I's grandfather) and why was he so connected to this land? What was his, and Anon. I's relationship to the local Lenopi community? The family traces their colonial Native roots back to the Indian praying communities believed to have their origins in this region in the 1680s (Gaskell 2021). Over the years an assortment of religious groups emerged. The informant was Anabaptist, but his wife was Calvinist and her maiden name may have been Calvin. The family name "Calvin" appears among the Lenopi quite early in the colonial period (see Becker 2014: 113). Matthews (2013: 26) also identifies a "Calvin family, who have been resident in Setauket [Long Island] for several generations." Matthews identifies the New York group as part of "a community of mixed-heritage Native" and other groups that had long been resident in the area around Setauket. These families may not have been related, but both groups probably acquired the surname "Calvin" as part of Calvinist missionary efforts.

Anon. I's religious upbringing included a year at the Mennonite Brethren Seminary (1976-77). Her extended family long had been intimately connected to water industries, and to the nearby Delaware Bay (towns such as Fortesque, Newport, Bivalve, Money Island, Egg Island Glades) as well as to Cohansey Creek. Names of individual members of the Cohansey Creek band of Lenopi can be traced from back to the 1670s or earlier, and possibly into the 1750s (cf. Becker 1998, 2012). While Native ancestry has been widely reported in this region (see Becker 2021), no specific link has been made with any individual or family whose name appears on the many surviving documents of the 17th and 18th centuries. How long various families had owned the lands around Downe Township, Cumberland County, NJ and how they acquired this property is not reported, but land survey maps suggest that various brothers had farmed 3,000 acres into the 1970s. The last members of that generation say they only knew farming as long as they remembered. Other members of the family, such as the Lenopi basket maker named Noah Newcomb, appear to have been more oriented to the industries having to do with the water (Figure 1) (see Becker 2011, 2014, 2022). Anon. I's close relationship with her grandfather provided an opportunity to learn a great deal about the landscape in which the traditionalist Lenopi were operating into the 20th century. The accuracy of stories told, and of the understanding of what they meant is difficult to determine.

Defleshed Bones and other Archaeological Clues

There is no evidence to support the idea of scaffold burials used anywhere in New Jersey during the Late Woodland and Colonial period (End Note 4). The point of exposing a corpse on a scaffold built on posts is to deflesh the bones, either as part of a process of disposal of the body by abandonment, or to later gather and inter surviving skeletal remains in what usually is called a "bundle burial." When asked for comments on the possibility of scaffold burials having been used in southern New Jersey during the Late Woodland period, R. Alan Mounier, the senior archaeologist working in that region offered the following information. He has personally observed what he believes were bundled bone burials in southern New Jersey and reports that he participated in the excavation of one. "The most memorable at this moment is one from the Great Bay vicinity, not far from the Tuckerton Shell Mound." These burials were found at the Pennella Site (28 OC 60), identified and excavated by Andrew Stanzeski (Thomas and Stanzeski 2001, see also Ward and Lattanzi 2015). The Pennella Site is dated to the Fox Creek Phase of the Middle Woodland Period (circa 300-700 CE), a period long before the years when Peter Kalm wrote about supposed scaffold burials in New Jersey. Among the "ten" identified burial locations at 28 OC 60 reported by Ubelaker were at least 17 individuals, most of them

Figure 1: Basket maker Noah Newcomb and some of his oyster baskets in 1938.

mature adults. Four of the nine actual "burials" represent primary flexed individuals. Burials 1 and 2 represent multiple secondary bone deposits, and at least one (Bu. 9) is the secondary burial of one adult male. In effect, the vast majority of the individuals interred here had probably been interred elsewhere, with at least some of their bones later re-deposited at this location. There is nothing to suggest that their bodies were defleshed while on scaffolds and no evidence exists for the presence of scaffolds during that period.

Mounier recalls that he thought that the "bones from the Pennella Site had been deposited in a bag … obvious from the rounded contour of the grave outline and the position of the bones in it." Mounier suggests that the bones had been gathered up at some distance from this burial locus, but whether near or far cannot be determined, nor can any idea of whether they had been buried in the ground or defleshed while on a scaffold. Mounier's conclusion that some of these skeletons were brought to this specific site for reburial (as secondary burials) is confirmed by the osteological evaluation of these skeletal remains. A study of these skeletons was published by Ubelaker (1997), but without reference to evidence of possible scavenging by animals that might suggest use of scaffolds. No scaffold burials are noted by Skinner and Schrabisch (1913a, 1913b) during their detailed survey of the entire state. Such surveys took place during a period when villages and towns were in an early phase of expansion and Native sites of all kinds were being revealed.

Did the story, told circa 1962, relating to what might be described as a scaffold burial derive from the same tale that Mons Keen related to Pehr Kalm some 210 years before? Was this a local legend that thereafter was sustained among the local Native American population for generations? I doubt it, but any possible connection merits mention. There is no archaeological evidence or known regional

folktales that would support the idea that scaffold burials or ossuary burials were ever practiced anywhere in New Jersey. The publication of this information in this paper, however, will provide a basis for searching the existing literature for clues, as well as provide impetus for modern fictions to be "recalled" by those for whom such information might prove rewarding (End Note 5).

Acknowledgements

My deepest thanks are due to an anonymous informant (Anon. I) for providing Native perspectives on the tales that were told to Pehr Kalm in the mid-1700s. For various reasons, including fear of retribution from competing claimant Indians groups, she asked that her name not be used in this paper. Special thanks are due to Michael Gall for his careful editing and many very useful suggestions. Thanks also are due to R. Alan Mounier for sharing his recollections of burials that he excavated in southern New Jersey 50 years ago and other related information. He also has provided basic archaeological information that is of use in the interpretation of what Kalm's verbal narratives and others might mean. Thanks are due to William Liebeknecht, Hannah Harvey (PAC), Gregory Lattanzi, and to Ray Whritenour for his initial stimulus to examine Native mortuary customs in the region of southern New Jersey. Tracey Frick's input regarding horses and the use of stables in New Jersey into the twenty-first century has been of particular help.

The extensive editorial input of Sharon L. Carlisle (Radcliffe Institute of Harvard University, ret.) is deeply appreciated. Thanks also are due Stephen Marvin, Russell Meyer and Christopher Mazzoli for their input into this text. The interpretations and analysis presented here are, of course, entirely the responsibility of the author.

End Notes

[1] Among the Lenape in Pennsylvania, where we have information on a series of sequentially occupied Brandywine band sites along that river, there is a suggestion that extended burials were being made as early 1700-1720. At the Montgomery site (dated to 1720-1733) the incidence of extended burials is greater than in previous years (Becker 2017a). This may be influenced by proximity to colonial farmers. During this same period, Lenape burials to the west may have retained more traditional forms.

[2] The linking of burials with large stones or boulders in New Jersey is rarely reported. William Liebeknecht (Personal Communication: December 18, 2021) recalls that when he and George Cress were working for Hunter Research, Inc. on the extensive Route 29 project in the Trenton area some years ago that they encountered a burial that was "partially under a large boulder." Liebeknecht recalls that the head was resting on a rectangular rock and that the burial "was sprinkled with ochre." Red ochre is commonly associated with Archaic Period burials, but these remains were dated to the Late Woodland. Liebeknecht does not recall if this burial was included in the CRM report, or any information about the relevant report.

[3] I am personally familiar with this matter of disposal of farm animal carcasses from my experiences with excavations at the Taylor Farm Site, in Chester County, PA (Becker 2009). Circa 1973 the farmer-owner disposed of a cow and then a donkey by throwing them into our open excavations. The revised plans engendered by these acts significantly slowed our excavations, but such are the possibilities when digging a site based only on a handshake agreement.

[4] Not only are no known scaffolds used for burials among any of the Indian tribes of New Jersey, but reports of Native "villages" built

on piles (Skinner 1913:11-12) have never been substantiated. The meaning or functions of reported posts in swamps that appeared more than a century ago appears to have gone unverified.

[5] A photocopy of a brief newspaper account reporting the find of a "skeleton in the Gravelly Run Swamp" has been sent to me by Anon. I, but without date or name of the specific newspaper. Gravelly Run is a small stream flowing west into Great Egg Harbor River, entering about one mile south of Mays Landing in Hamilton Township. The comments in this brief item include the name of an a Native American and other bits of information that may relate to burials from southern New Jersey. The entire text is reprinted here:

> ---The finding of the skeleton in the Gravelly Run Swamp has been the means of bringing back to the minds of some of the old residents a few mysterious disappearances which have taken place. Nathaniel Ford, who lived near the bridge at the upper end of town disappeared about forty-five years ago and no trace of him has ever been discovered; another was that of Col. Mulich, a prominent citizen of Egg Harbor, who disappeared about ten or twelve years ago, and the Indian-darkey, Levin Smith, mentioned in last week's RECORD, who left about ten years ago. We are still inclined to the belief that the skeleton found was that of one of the wood choppers, and that he lay there for very nearly half a century. [*The Record*? Date unknown]

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