Of Historic Susquehannock Cemeteries

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ABSTRACT

Excavation of two cemeteries in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, has cast fresh light on the beginning and end of a sequence of Sus-quehannock sites in that area. The Blue Rock Cemetery appears to be the cemetery of the nearby Schultz town site (36 La 7) of 1575-1595, the earliest Susquehannock town known in the Washington Boro area. The Middle Cemetery at the Strickler Site (36 La 3) is Cemetery at the Strickler Site (36 La 3) is thought to be the earliest of three cemeteries of a village of 1640-1675. This sequence is supported both by pottery seriation and by changes in the quantity and kind of European trade goods, especially glass beads. A new early Susquehannock pottery type, Blue Rock Valanced, is defined; this has previously been treated as a subtype of Schultz Incised. The anomalous late type of Schultz Incised. The anomalous late type, Strickler Cord-marked, is seen as a result of a combination of forces acting on the Susquehannock potters after ca. 1625. These include contacts and possible consolidation with such western tribes as the Monongahela people of the upper Ohio, during the fur trade wars of the 17th century, rapid dilution and generalization of the Susquehannock ceramic traditions, a reversion to functional styles, and degeneration of the native ceramics as brass kettles became available through trade with Europeans.

INTRODUCTION

N THE middle or latter part of the N THE middle or latter part of the sixteenth century a numerous band of Iroquois-speaking people, moving down the Susquehanna Valley, established a town on the east bank of the river in what is today Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The town was located on twin knolls overlooking the river, which at this point is two miles wide. The twin knolls have no name locally but are known archaeologically as the Schultz Site (Cadzow, 1937, pp. 156-200; Kinsey, 1959, pp. 66-68; Witthoft, 1959, pp. 24-26).

The Schultz Site is in the approximate center of a low-lying basin of land that borders the river for about two miles. To the north and south of the basin are rather high ridges with steep cliffs cut by the river. For approximately one century, with perhaps a short interruption, this two-square-mile valley was the home of the Susquehannocks.1 They undoubtedly had their own name for it, but unlike many other Indian names in the area this one did not survive. For want of a better name, the valley shall be referred to here as the Washington Boro Basin, after a present-day village which gives the valley its postal address and which stands on one of the Susquehannocks' larger, more complex town sites. The population of the valley was several times greater at the beginning of the seventeenth century than it is at the middle of the twentieth.

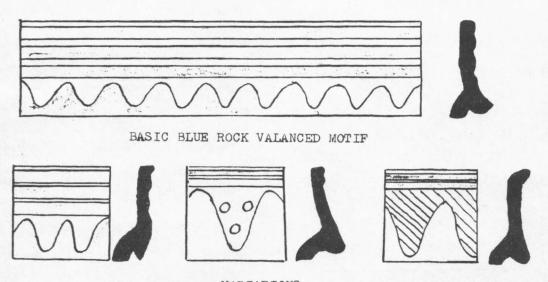
Although the Susquehannocks were a numerous people in the context of their time, historical references to them are for the most part vague, ambiguous, contradictory, and sometimes demonstrably inaccurate. Ethnographers usually assign them a large, vaguely defined area of central Pennsylvania and lump their traits with the rest of Iroquoia.

For convenience in excavation and record-keeping, portions of the Washington Boro village complex have been given separate site designations. These include the Eschelman refuse midden (36 La 12), the Frey village site (36 La 8), the Keller cemetery (36 La 4), and the Ibaugh cemetery (36 La 54).

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^o Henry W. Heisey, Washington Boro, Pa. [†] J. Paul Witmer, Washington Boro, Pa. ¹ The valley contains three major Susque-hannock sites: Schultz (36 La 7), Washington Boro and Strickler (36 La 3). A fourth, the Oscar Leibhart Site (36 Yo 9), is on the west bank of the river opposite Washington Boro, and a fifth, the Bert Leibhart Site (36 Yo 170), is less than a mile farther south, also on the west side of the river.



VARIATIONS Figure 2–Blue Rock Valanced rim forms and motifs.

expected, but our sample is not large, and this emphasis might have been anticipated from the relatively high incidence of the same motif at the Schultz town site.

Typologically the pottery from Blue Rock divides as follows:

Schultz Incised	66.66%
Washington Boro Incised	2.38%
Blue Rock Valanced	30.33%

When these percentages are correlated with Kinsey's chart, rearranged in a manner to emphasize ceramic trends rather than site sequence, the relationship in Figure 3 (next page) results.

The chart appears to present a series of steps rather than smooth trends, but we believe that samples tabulated from segments of the well-known sites, as well as from poorly-understood sites such as the Herriot, the Roberts and the two Leibhart sites, would tend to close the gaps. The possibility of unknown sites, especially between the Washington Boro and Strickler-Leibhart periods cannot be ruled out. A note of caution concerning the seeming popularity of Strickler Cord-marked toward the close of this period, as indicated by the chart, is called for. Brass kettles appear at about the time of Strickler Cord-marked and are prevalent with it. No adequate figures are available at present, but if Strickler Cord-marked were correlated with total utensils in the burial offerings, it would then appear as a much smaller fraction of the whole. The same is true, but to a lesser extent, of Washington Boro Incised.

BEADS

The beads at Blue Rock are about equally divided numerically between those of native manufacture (Figure 4) and glass beads of European origin (Figure 5). The favored material of native manufacture is marine shell. A number of styles, as well as great irregularity of workmanship within each style, are represented. Numerically, the largest group is of the small discoidal type (Fig. 4, Nos. 8-9), about half of

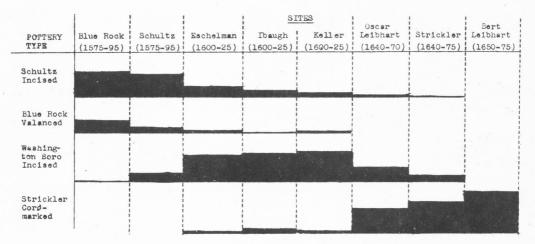


Figure 3-Trends in Susquehannock pottery types.

which are stained black. An unusual type for this area is an oblate elliptical bead with notched ends (Fig. 4, No. 5). These also are stained black.

A few bone beads were found in the grave fill on the site. However, since none of these were found in close association with the skeletal material and since they are identical with those associated with the Shenk's Ferry component on the site, no beads of this material could be credited to the Susquehannock occupation. After shell, the material represented by the largest number of beads of native manufacture is cannel coal.

In the absence of documentation for the sites in the Susquehanna Valley, and in view of the general ambiguity of casual references by early historic period observers, the character of trade material in conjunction with ceramic and other trait trends is the only available basis upon which to determine the chronological and temporal position of the occupation at any given site. Unfortunately, the greatest possible use of the method has not been made. Trait trends and character of trade materials do establish a convincing chronology for the sites, but when it comes to a specific location in time, we have little more than what we hope are good guesses.

What is needed first of all is a definitive work on European glass beads of the 16th-18th centuries. As it is, our samples offer circumstantial internal evidence at best—impossible to relate to an exact or even closely approximate external time or place of origin. The second need is for a standardization of terms. Glass beads are difficult to illustrate, especially without color (see Orchard, 1929), and description in terms every reporter chooses for himself leads to confusion.

A third need is for better tabulation and reporting. Hundreds of thousands of beads have been taken from the Washington Boro Basin. Most collections have never been reported and have in the meantime been broken up, scattered, or lost. In one case large samples have been adequately described as to types, considering the information available at the time, but no idea is given as to the rate of incidence of each type. Only one sample, Kinsey's from the Ibaugh Site, has been adequately described and tab-

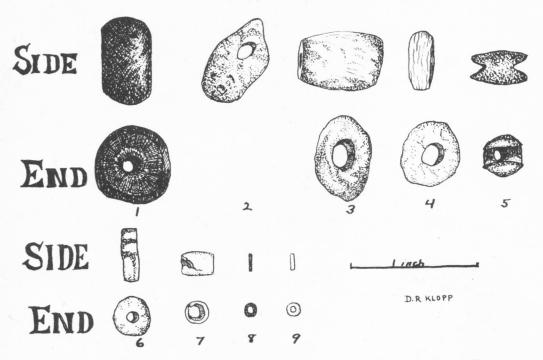


Figure 4–Beads of native manufacture: 1, cannel coal; 2, elk's tooth; 3-9, shell. No. 7 is lavender wampum.

ulated by types (Kinsey, 1960; pp. 90-93). However, Kinsey's sample is not entirely representative of the Washington Boro Site beads. (The Ibaugh Site is only a segment of the Washington Boro town site.) This cannot be verified from reported material; it is only an impression gained from examination of other, unreported, collections.⁸

As a matter of fact, there is no small sample that is entirely representative for a site as a whole. Percentage composition of bead samples varies widely from different segments of the same site. There is very little carry-over of types from one site to the next. This fact probably results from the combined effects of two attitudes concerning beads in the historic period: the Susquehannocks buried their beads with the owners, with little or no handing down from one generation to the next, and the vogues in Europe shifted rapidly.

It is impossible to deal comprehensively with the glass beads from the three sites in Table I within what anyone is likely to consider reasonable space. To take up minor types and subtypes would result in hundreds of entries which in some cases would refer to only one bead. The subtypes have therefore been combined and the minor types omitted. Kinsey's Type 7 (Star or Chevron), for example, combines six variants in the Blue Rock sample. The tubular type from the Strickler sample has thirty or more variants-depending on the extent of difference to be considered. The types considered in Table I are therefore limited to the two most popular types in each

⁸ There is little to be gained from tabulating most of these collections at this date. In too many cases those types having the highest value in the relic trade have been sold off.

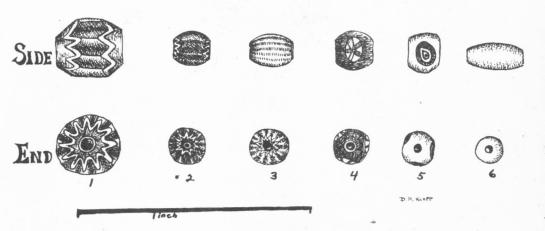


Figure 5-Major Glass Bead Types at Blue Rock.

- Nos. 1-3-Kinsey's Type 7 ("Star" or "Chevron"), 33.5% incidence. Nos. 1 and 2 have white cores, successive corrugated layers of blue, red, white, and a smooth outer layer of blue. The outer layer is thin, and white ridges underneath produce striped effect. Red is cerise and blue is navy.⁹ No. 3, a variant, has a median gray core and successive corrugated layers of white, cerise and white. The furrows in the outer white layer are filled alternately with cerise and navy to produce red, white and blue stripes, which are covered with a smooth transparent coating. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and two minority variants have twelve points on the "star."
- Nos. 4-5—"Flusheye," 6% incidence. No. 4 has a core of translucent cobalt blue, a thin middle layer of white, and a surface of opaque Italian blue. The flusheye is cerise and white, inlaid, and elevated slightly from blue field. No. 5 has a solid body of opaque pale jade or Nile green varying to white; the flusheye is navy and white, inlaid, and elevated slightly from surface of field. Types 4 and 5 have three "flusheyes" per bead.
- No. 6-Blue Rock Green, 44.5% incidence (including color variants), is opaque pale jade or Nile green varying to white. The variants are navy, opaque and translucent, translucent amber, and translucent French Italian and cobalt blue.

^o Colors from *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition, Unabridged; Color Charts and Spectrum following p. 540. The shades of color of the major types (cerise red, navy, Italian and cobalt blue, and Nile green) occur consistently in the minor types as well.

sample. Flusheyes are included because they are considered good time indicators.

The type referred to as Blue Rock Green we suspect is sometimes described as blue. It is a subtle shade that artists refer to as pale jade. Pale jade is not listed on the color chart and spectrum used for reference, but Nile green is almost identical. Blue is not helpful because it embraces highly contrasting variants of cobalt, navy, French and Italian. Kinsey's Type 1 (Early Blue),⁹ the largest percentage in the Ibaugh sample, ranges from calamine blue through turquoise blue to turquoise green. There is no clear color distinction between this type and the second most popular type in the Strickler sample. The Strickler type ranges from turquoise green into turquoise blue. The two types

^o See Kinsey, 1960, pp. 90-93 for descriptions of types not described here.

TABLE I

GLASS BEAD TYPE CORRELATION

SITE Segment Sample Size	schultz Blue Rock 1,020 (31 burials) 1575-1595	wash. boro Ibaugh 3,093 (12 burials)	STRICKLER Middle Cemetery 11,515 (42 burials) 1640 - 1675
Bead Type			
Blue Rock Green	44.5%		
Flusheve	6.07		
Kinsey's Type 7			
(Star)	33.5	.06%	
Kinsey's Type 1			
(Early Blue)	2.5	62.5	1.7%
Kinsey's Types			
2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 5b	3.3	12.5	2.5
Tubular			70.4
red, white, blue			10.4
Turquoise Green, small spherical			21.1
sman spherical			- 1 . L

are separated because the Strickler type is made of weaker glass and shows more weathering and pitting.

A few explanations concerning minor types seem necessary. A type of bead that is present only in the Blue Rock sample (4%) is a large ellipsoid form, five-eighths by three-cighths of an inch, blue-black iridescent, with curvilinear erosion fissures and a tendency to fracture along curvilinear longitudinal planes -suggesting that the glass was twisted while in a semi-plastic state. A type of Coralline d' Aleppo is present in small numbers in all three samples but the cores in each case are different. These differences might be good indicators of time if there were sufficient external (European) evidence. Imitation gold beads which occur in the Strickler sample with an incidence of about .05% are also considered good indicators of time. Roman beads which occur in other parts of the Strickler Site are not represented in the middle cemetery sample.

The samples indicate a clear chronological sequence from Blue Rock to Ibaugh to Strickler, but the exact time of the occupations is not so clearly indicated. If glass beads are disregarded, trait trends at Blue Rock and the Schultz Site correspond closely with the Adams and Tram sites in the Seneca sequence.¹⁰ Trade material at Blue Rock, excepting the glass beads, is limited to one iron knife and a few rolled sheet brass beads. This would seem to indicate a very early contact situation. But the glass bead styles spill over into those described by Wray and Schoff for the Cameron and even the Dutch Hollow and Factory Hollow sites.

One reason for this may be that the Susquehannocks stayed longer in their towns than did the Senecas. From the early contact period until the Susquehannock extinction (1676) the Senecas had six sets of sites while the Susquehannocks seem to have had only three. Another factor may have been the geographic position of the Susquehannocks. The very earliest trade, in the period prior to the highly organized colonial trading activity that eventually developed, would have been with casual European adventurers and explorers in the bays of the Atlantic coast. The Susquehannocks were in a position to control the upper portions of two of the most

¹⁰ Wray and Schoff, 1953.

important of these bays, the Chesapeake and Delaware. It is quite possible that the Susquehannocks received some of this early material before their contemporaries among the western groups of the northern Iroquois. This advantage of geographic position would have been lost by the time of organized and competitive colonial and trade activity, and the opening of the St. Lawrence Valley. At any rate, glass beads are not numerous at Blue Rock (average about thirty per burial as compared with about three hundred in the Ibaugh and Strickler samples), and are mostly of types that had disappeared by the time of the most extensive trade activity.

II. THE MIDDLE CEMETERY AT STRICKLER

The most thoroughly reported Susquehannock site in the Washington Boro Basin is the Washington Boro Site (Cadzow, 1937, pp. 97-152; Witthoft, Kinsey, and Holzinger, 1959, pp. 99-119; Kinsey, 1960). In sequence it occupies a middle position in the Susquehannock occupation of the basin. The Schultz Site, of which the cemetery at Blue Rock is a part, predates it and lies one-half mile down river. Four hundred yards down river from the Schultz Site is still a third Susquehannock site, the Strickler Site, the latest of the three.

The Strickler town site¹¹ covers a roughly square area of about thirty acres, with the west side of the square based on the river. The terrain slopes evenly upward from the river to a low plateau.

The plateau is broken on the south side by a ravine, on the east by a low grade decline, and on the north by an incline going up to a somewhat higher elevation. Three separated cemeteries are known on the terrace edges, located approximately at the southwest, southeast, and northeast corners of the square. All three lie immediately outside the area of village debris. Two of these cemeteries have been excavated and reported previously, the one on the southwest by Donald A. Cadzow in his Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania (Cadzow, 1937), and the one on the northeast by Arthur A. Futer in Susquehannock Miscellany (Futer, 1959). The cemetery concerned with here, because of its spatial relationship to the other two, shall be referred to as the Middle Cemetery at Strickler.

The Middle Cemetery at Strickler was known to exist for a number of years but was not excavated until the summers of 1959 and 1960. It, parts of the other two cemeteries, and the ground separating all three are on what is presently known as the Heisey farm. The Middle Cemetery is on a low grade slope or terrace edge declining to the southeast. Erosion has not affected it directly but some silt from farther up the slope may have been deposited. At any rate, topsoil on the area is sixteen to eighteen inches deep, a condition with its own problems archaeologically. No idea of the extent or direction of the cemetery was gained in the normal course of cultivation. A north-south line was therefore drawn from a datum point along the slope to make provision for whatever course the excavation would have to take.

Site soil conditions differ from those at Blue Rock. Although the soil on the Strickler Site also belongs to the Wheeling series, a marked segregation of al-

¹¹ The only controlled excavation on the Strickler town site was conducted in the summer of 1959 by the Conestoga Chapter of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology. A line of post molds and a paralleling trench were traced for a short distance but not to any end. The work was not extensive enough to determine the exact nature of the features and has not been published.

luvial deposits prevails in the subsoil. In some areas there is almost pure sand and gravel and in others heavy clay. The Middle Cemetery happens to be underlaid with clay that becomes increasingly dense with depth. Percolation of water through this subsoil is slow, and the bathtub-shaped pits the Indians dug in it for graves tend to be collecting reservoirs. The water in them is a dilute acid solution as a result of heavy applications of chemical fertilizer and long intensive cultivation, and is highly destructive to calcareous material of any kind. The fill in the deepest pits has the consistency of paste and is difficult to trowel or brush.

The burials range from twenty to fifty inches in depth. Since all of them are well below the cultivation level, there has been no mechanical destruction. In the lower levels, below thirty inches, however, chemical destruction of skeletal material is nearing completion. In some cases tooth enamel is the only remaining human evidence that a burial had been made. In the upper soil levels percolation of water is more rapid. Also, it is possible that applied ground limestone which is not highly soluble may nevertheless have effected a degree of neutralization to a limited depth. At any rate, the only skeletal material approaching even fair condition is limited to the shallower levels. This material was reconstructed to the limits of practical possibility and six skeletons were recovered which can be measured with a reasonable degree of confidence. They will be included in a separate treatment of physical anthropology.

The Susquehannocks who buried in the Middle Cemetery at Strickler practiced a consistent pattern of placement and orientation. Of forty-two separate burials excavated and recorded on the horizontal distribution map (Figure 6) forty were oriented between 225° and 315° (SW-NW). One exception was part of a double burial and the other that of a child between two adults. All skeletons were flexed in bathtub-shaped pits, seventy per cent resting on the right side with face to the south. Thirty per cent were divided between supine and leftside flexure. Graves are more widely and uniformly spaced than at Blue Rock and tend toward a conventional cemetery pattern. Because of the wider spacing, only part of the distribution map is reproduced, in order to use the same scale as at Blue Rock.

Seven burials in the part of the cemetery excavated could be described as "placed-bone" or "bundle" burials, but in each case the ragged outlines of the pit indicated that the grave had been fumblingly looted previously. (People who write about it choose their own terms.) Whoever the archaeologist was in this case, he was interested primarily in artifacts and believed in "disturbing the dead" only moderately. The bones were regrouped in one end of the pit.

Even though the skeletal material was generally in poor condition, an effort was made in each case to determine sex and age at death. This could of course be done in cases where reliable anthropometric values could not be taken, but in some instances the evidence was too slight to justify even a guess. The figures given include only twenty-nine of the forty-two individual skeletons identified. A few of the figures in the twenty-nine are no more than what we hope are good estimates.

We have not the confidence in our overall figures for the Middle Cemetery at Strickler that we have for the corresponding figures at Blue Rock. For one thing, the thirteen individuals that

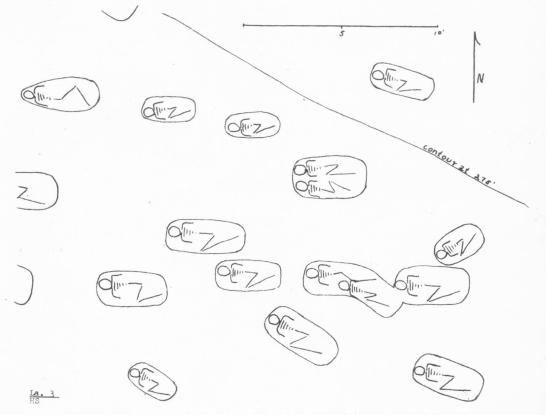


Figure 6-Horizontal distribution of burials, Middle Cemetery at Strickler Site.

could not be aged came generally from deep burials. Judging from rather consistent Susquehannock burial practices, they were probably mostly adults. On the other hand, children were buried at shallower levels, as at Blue Rock, and because of the better state of preservation at these levels at Strickler this age group could be determined with a higher degree of confidence.

Twelve individuals fell within the narrow range of six to eight years. At the other extreme were two fair to good skulls that were near forty years of age at death. This must have been quite an advanced age in the Susquehannock population. The average age at death for the twenty-nine individuals is 16-18. As at Blue Rock, infants are missing from the cemetery and, also as at Blue Rock, the ratio of females is too high in relation to the probable ratio in the population. The cemetery may again represent an epidemic period.

A true picture of the material culture of the Susquehannocks who buried in the Middle Cemetery at Strickler is somewhat obscured in the categories of bone, shell, and possibly wood, by the advanced degree of disintegration. Powdery fragments of shell impossible to recover from the paste-like fill indicated that a tally of the material recovered in this category would be meaningless. As far as could be determined, however, the use of this material was limited to beads, both doughnut-shaped and wampum forms, gorgets, and salamander effigy pendants.

Trade with the Europeans had been

in progress for at least fifty years. Most of the material in the burial offerings was of European manufacture. A percentage figure as sometimes given will not be attempted. One offering, for example, consisted of 2,100 "seed" beads and a ceramic pot. The problem we could not solve was whether to weigh or count the items in order to arrive at a percentage figure.

The material in the Middle Cemetery at Strickler, unlike that from Blue Rock, included tools as well as utensils. Iron knives with bone or antler handles were the most numerous single item. Twentytwo were identified. Next in order of frequency were: forged nails, iron axes, iron hoes, a number of unidentifiable iron objects, and two flintlock guns. Native whetstones were often included with metal cutting tools. Ornamental items of European manufacture included iron and brass bracelets, brass hawk bells, coils and cones, thimbles drilled and worn on a string, two mirror boxes, two latten spoons, and of course glass beads.

Bows and arrows had not gone out of use, but about half of the points in the offerings were made of triangular, unperforated pieces of brass. Three caches of points were found. One consisted of nine brass, one of six flint and four brass, and the third of twelve flint, quartz and jasper points. There was also a cache of Indian-made flints and lead balls with one of the guns.

The Indians apparently had more faith in the magic than in the ballistics of their firearms. The barrels of these guns alone are four feet long—in other words, with the stocks, longer than the grave pits. In one instance the barrel was bent around two sides of the pit. In the other the barrel was broken into two pieces and overlapped. If this concept was carried over into their usage, there may have been some uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the casualty when the guns were fired.

There were sixteen ceramic pots and three brass kettles in the offerings. Fragments of wood preserved by contact with metal indicate that wooden vessels were being used—to what extent could not be determined. Two well-preserved wooden dippers or ladles were recovered from a brass kettle.

The pottery without exception falls into the late Susquehannock Strickler Cord-marked type. The majority is undecorated except for the cord-marking. The rims are variable and sometimes have a row of punctates at the base. The lip is sometimes indented. Two vessels are decorated with four appliquéd vertical strips which extend into castellations on the rim. Capacities range from four quarts to one-half pint.

Ceramic tobacco pipes were becoming popular. Their manufacture was one native skill that was not degenerating. Fourteen such pipes were recovered. Nine are of the undecorated trumpet variety (Plate 8, Nos. 5, 7-9). On two the bowl is decorated with an owl or hawk effigy (Plate 8, Nos. 1 and 4), one has a "watch-wheel" design, and on one both stem and bowl constitute a snake effigy (Plate 8, No. 3). One is a phallic effigy¹² (Plate 8, No. 6).

The range of glass beads is rather narrow. The most numerous are of the tubular cane variety, red, blue, white and

¹² The phalloid pipe is a comprehensive design of combining external human generative elements. The testes are represented by bosses on the base under the bowl. Two protuberances overhanging the posterior side of the bowl (partially broken away) were probably mammae. Under each mamma is a vulvo-vaginal design. The bottom of the bowl has an anterior and a posterior passage with an urethral and an anal orifice. The glans is scarified. This pipe was in the burial offering with a child who had died at the age of four or five years.

black in that order. Next in number are "seed" beads, green, blue, red, black and yellow, in that order. Lesser numbers of polychrome, imitation gold, and round red with black core, complete the range. Round red and black Roman beads, which occur on the site surface and in the other Strickler cemeteries, did not appear in the Middle Cemetery. A few very long (4-6 inches) tubular cane beads were present and appeared to have been worn in the hair.

A comparison of the material from the part of the Middle Cemetery excavated with material from other cemeteries on the site indicates that it was being used in the early part of the Strickler occupation. The proportion of pottery to brass kettles favors pottery, while the reverse is true everywhere else. Some of the later-type glass beads that occur other places on the site are absent. While ceramic pipes are becoming popular, they have not yet become as numerous nor as elaborately designed and decorated as in the slightly later period. There were no pipes of European manufacture in the Middle Cemetery but these do occur on the town site and in the other cemeteries. In general, trade material is not as abundant and is not of as wide variety as elsewhere on the site. Composition of the material in the offerings as well as burial practices correspond closely with those on the Power House and Steel sites in the Seneca sequence.13

Considering these differences and similarities in relation to the period of occupation at the Strickler Site, the years covered by the part of the Middle Cemetery excavated are estimated at 1640-1650.

STRICKLER SITE POTTERY

Pottery from the Strickler Site is anom-

alous. Out of its association with trade material it has been mistakenly considered to be older than Susquehannock wares that preceded it. It is primitive in appearance and workmanship. Typologically, all the vessels from the Middle Cemetery belong to the Strickler Cordmarked¹⁴ category. The type is a departure from Susquehannock traditions, in style, paste, form and method of construction.

There also appears to be a gap in the trade material sequence between the Washington Boro and Strickler-Leibhart periods, but this appearance is misleading if allowance is not made for the Susquehannock practice of burying each generation's cultural material in the funeral offerings. Glass beads are the most conspicuous element in the trade material but perhaps the most unreliable. European vogues in bead styles shifted rapidly within short periods of time. This fact, working in conjunction with the Susquehannock burial practice, would tend to produce little but gaps. There are, in fact, wide differences in composition of bead samples from different segments of the same sites.

The most obvious explanation for Strickler Cord-marked pottery is a degeneration of the ceramic craft of a native culture demoralized by a deluge of European influence. The changeover is so abrupt as to suggest missing sites in the sequence between the Washington Boro and Strickler-Leibhart periods, but there is little evidence for such sites except a seeming need for transitional wares. The material from the Middle Cemetery at Strickler suggests other, partial, explanations.

The following brief comparison of pottery from the Middle Cemetery at Strickler with that from Blue Rock demon-

¹⁸ Wray and Schoff, 1953.

¹⁴ Kinsey, 1959; pp. 89-90.

trated and lacking in initiative. The art of pipe-making was one native skill that flourished. Perhaps the fact has significance, along with the presence of rum bottles. No doubt the women were forced to make a few funerary pots from time to time-when the shipment of brass kettles was late in arriving, or when the men failed to take, buy, or hijack enough furs. Old traditions lingered, and the precious guns were buried along with the pots. An inherent penchant for selfadornment proceeded to ridiculous limits with the un-understood objects from Europe. Reproduction within the organism was unequal to the demands of war and disease. The consolidation of local ethnic fragments had been completed, there were no longer any infusions from that process, and the Strickler Susquehannocks were still a shrinking population. A few years later they too disappeared as a recognizable culture.

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