

# **Untangling Susquehannock Multiple Burials**

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## **Introduction**

Early research concluded that the Susquehannocks abandoned the North Branch of the Susquehanna River (the Upper Susquehanna Valley) by 1570, forming one large community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania by 1580 (Witthoft 1959). Theories regarding the reason for this move include their being driven out by the Five Nations and being drawn to Lancaster for its superior trade opportunities. En route to Lancaster, the Susquehannocks encountered villages of the Shenks Ferry people. Conflict ensued, the Susquehannocks massacred the Shenks Ferry, set up short-term residence in their villages, and continued their migration. Any evidence for co-habitation of these cultures has been explained by occasional adoption and intermarriage with Shenks Ferry captives. Once in Lancaster, Susquehannocks began to raid other local Native American villages, seeking access to the Dutch New Amsterdam trade controlled by the Delaware. Trade and land disputes continued the conflict and most of the Susquehannocks were killed or dispersed. In 1763, a lynch mob massacred the remaining Susquehannocks in Lancaster (Jennings 1978).

That this history of the Susquehannocks is overly simplistic is obvious. That it may be incorrect is suggested by a reanalysis of the contents of the Engelbert Site, Tioga County, New York (Beisaw 2007). Excavated in the late 1960s, the Engelbert Site was described by Kent as having the “largest concentration of clearly identifiable Susquehannock remains” (Kent 2001:304). However, recent research into the taphonomy of these remains suggest that half of those identified as Susquehannock may be late Owasco or early Iroquois individuals. Further, the Susquehannock burials at the site appear to have occurred throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and not at 1550 A.D. as previously believed, contradicting the Witthoft hypothesis of complete group migration to Lancaster by 1580 A.D..

Engelbert’s multiple burials (burials of more than one individual in a single grave) proved to be a crucial component to this new interpretation. Susquehannock individuals appear to have been interred in existing non-Susquehannock (Owasco and Iroquois) graves. Qualitative and quantitative analyses support this interpretation but additional research was needed to test the results. Multiple burials are uncommon for the region but over 100 have been excavated at Susquehannock and Shenks Ferry sites throughout Pennsylvania’s Susquehanna Valley.

A reanalysis of Susquehannock multiple burials whose field records are held by The State Museum of Pennsylvania was undertaken to test the hypothesis that Susquehannocks re-excavated existing graves of previous cultures and incorporated these predecessors into their own burials. Ample evidence of grave reuse was found but given the relative lack of grave goods in Shenks Ferry burials it is impossible to determine if grave reuse included those of previous cultures. The Pennsylvania dataset is dominated by graves of a single adult with one or more children, a pattern not found at the Engelbert Site, suggesting the Susquehannock multiple burials were created to reunite relatives in death.

## **Research Design**

Excavated in 1967 and 1968 as a largely volunteer highway salvage operation, the Engelbert Site has gone understudied for a variety of reasons. First, the difficulties inherent in excavating a large site while it was being mined for gravel forced the excavators to focus on burial recovery instead of site sampling. Second, the largely volunteer force produced field notes of varying quality. Third, the field maps proved impossible to compile into a single comprehensive site map without the aid of computer technology. In addition, the standard methods of archaeology in the 1960s were quite different than they are now. The switch to more systematic excavation techniques in the 1970s made Engelbert's collections unattractive to student and professional archaeologists of subsequent generations.

A dissertation on the Engelbert Site was recently completed (Beisaw 2007). This research focused on site formation processes and bone taphonomy as a means for reconstructing lost data. A comprehensive site map was created with the aid of Geographic Information Systems (GIS), which now allows researchers to "see" the site as only the excavators could have previously. Together with a review of field notes and photographs it was clear that the Engelbert Site still had stories to tell, particularly about Iroquois and Susquehannock burial practices, as burials were the focus of the excavation.

Through a detailed review of excavator's field notes, drawings, and photographs, it became clear that the Engelbert's double burials, defined here as two individuals interred in one grave feature, must have been formed through a practice of reusing existing single graves. To discern if this practice was occurring elsewhere a larger dataset was needed, and as most of the Engelbert double burials contain Susquehannock artifacts, Susquehannock burials were the obvious choice.

The State Museum of Pennsylvania curates the records of several Susquehannock sites that were excavated in the same general time period as the Engelbert, the 1960s and early 1970s. These sites, therefore, were recorded using similar techniques and make for a quite comparable dataset. The same method of field documentation review used for Engelbert could be easily applied to test the hypothesis of grave reuse.

## **Methodology**

Burials to be examined for this research were mainly identified with the aid of a dissertation (Boza Arlotti 1997) on Susquehannock social organization that analyzed 47 Shenks Ferry and 532 Susquehannock individuals and their burial contexts from seven cemetery sites in and around Lancaster, Pennsylvania (Table 1). An appendix of this dissertation compiles information on each individual analyzed, including whether or not the individual was part of a multiple burial (defined here as more than one individual in a grave feature). This information was then cross referenced to NAGPRA documents and original field notes using inventory codes listed in the appendix to identify all possible multiple burials from the seven sites. Additional multiple burials, not included in Boza Arlotti, were identified by skimming NAGPRA inventories and field notes of selected

sites (Table 2). Therefore there is some discrepancy in counts between this research and that of Boza Arlotti.

Table 1. Number of individuals of each culture identified at each site (Boza Arlotti 2007).

<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Susquehannocks</b>	<b>Shenks Ferry</b>
Schultz	1575-1600	72	49
Funk	1600	185	14
Ibaugh	1600-1625	58	2
Frey Haverstick	1625-1645	39	7
Strickler	1645-1665	157	0
Byrd Leibhart	1665-1680	52	0
Conestoga Town	1690-1763	80	0
<i>Total</i>		<i>643</i>	<i>72</i>

Table 2. Number of Susquehannock individuals identified at each site in all mortuary contexts and the subset from multiple burial contexts.

<b>Site</b>	<b>Occupation (A.D.)</b>	<b>All Contexts</b>	<b>Multiple Burials</b>
Schultz	1575-1600	23	6 (26%)
Funk	circa 1600	171	29 (17%)
Ibaugh	1600-1625	56	17 (30%)
Frey Haverstick	1625-1645	32	10 (31%)
Strickler	1645-1665	157	57 (36%)
Byrd Leibhart	1665-1680	52	31 (60%)
Conestoga Town	1690-1763	80	43 (54%)
<i>Total</i>		<i>571</i>	<i>193</i>

Once identified, each multiple burial was studied by examining field notes, drawings, and photographs, and its corresponding NAGPRA documentation where applicable. Research notes were made to compile this information and field photographs were digitally scanned to allow for examination of skeletal element and artifact positioning. Additional notes were made regarding any observed patterns or anomalies. Due to the sensitive nature of depicting Native American burials, images of burials are not included here but digital versions of the images studied are curated by the State Museum in an electronic file specific to this research. Curated images are labeled by site and inventory number, following the organization system below.

Specific burials are referred to using the inventory number of the first cataloged individual from that burial. If no catalog number exists, the burial was referred to using the format <site number/burial number>. For the purpose of this research, adults are defined as individuals of 15 years in age or more as long as there is another adult in the burial. Individuals of 15 with another adolescent of under 15 are considered children. This determination was made after the data was compiled and burial patterns became more obvious. The rationale here is that the adult/child burial pattern seems appear in burials that contain only adults with young children. Adolescents are either uncommon in

multiple burials were identified as young adults by those determining skeletal age. All age, sex, and pathology data presented here were obtained from field notes and NAGPRA inventories. No additional skeletal work was conducted as part of this research.

### **Data Analysis**

The multiple burials for each site were studied to discern site-specific patterns. Each site is discussed in chronological order below, following the occupation sequence laid out in Boza Arlotti (see Table 1). Although a significant number of multiple burials were identified at these sites (see Table 2), few resemble the double adult flexed burial pattern seen at the Engelbert Site in New York.

#### Schultz Site

Only one double burial of two “adults,” in this case a 40 year old male and a 15 year old of undetermined sex (49.001), was identified. This is an extended burial with very slight skeletal overlap, the 40 year old is the upper individual. Some skeletal anomalies may be present with the upper individual but soil staining suggests that this is due to differential decomposition. A quartz triangular projectile point as near the sixth thoracic vertebra. Dog mandibles were found between the skulls of the two individuals and one canine was at the lower individual’s mandible. This may have been the remains of a dog mask, like the one potentially identified at the Engelbert Site. The burial is associated with Shenks Ferry due to the extended positions of the individuals, no pottery was associated with it.

Three double burials containing children were identified, one Shenks Ferry and two Susquehannock. The Shenks Ferry double burial is an extended burial of a 5 year old child (49.003) that also contained a second sub-adult occipital an unidentified molar. The only grave good was a single bone bead. One Susquehannock double burial contained a flexed female, 30 to 35 years in age (49.009) with the remains of a 2-year old identified in the lab. The adult female was associated with two Schultz pots, one smashed and covering the burial. The other Susquehannock double burial was identified as a cache pit in the field (49.018) but the teeth of an adult and a child were identified in the lab. The cache contained only beads.

#### Funk

This site contained one extended Shenks Ferry double burial of two adults, again containing a 15 year old (51.0124). The two females, 15 and 20 years of age, slightly overlap at the arms as at the previous site. However, here the upper individual appears to have been slightly too wide for the grave and her right arm is flexed inward at the shoulder to demonstrate this. This implies that there was an avoidance of any greater degree of overlap of individuals. No ceramics were found, only some bone beads. Each individual had a triangular arrow point at roughly the same vertebra in their chest cavity.

The only other double burial of two adults at this site is a flexed Susquehannock burial containing a possible male of 20 years and an unaged and unsexed individual (51.0088), due to poor bone preservation. It appears that there may be a slight overlap of the individuals, based on the close positioning of their legs, however the bone preservation issues limit this analysis. The northern, and possibly upper, individual had ochre on its

chest, a brass spiral under its jaw, and a triangular point and ochre at its ribcage. The southern, and possibly lower, individual had beads on its chest. Other artifacts include a Native American rouletted tidewater pipe and untyped shell-temper pottery.

The thirteen remaining burials of two individuals are all of an adult and a child (n=5) or two children (n=7) or a cremation (n=1).

The cremation burial (51.009) included three Schultz-incised pots, one of which contained the bulk of the cremated remains. Three individuals were identified in the NAGPRA inventory but it is unclear if each pot contained its own cremated remains. An iron axe and galena were associated with this burial.

The first of the adult and child double burials contained a cremated adult and an uncremated child of 9 months (51.0017). The child's remains are slightly charred suggesting that it was near a fire or the heated remains. Three large stones capped the burial and artifacts recovered included two triangular points, galena, and an iron chisel. Affiliation is listed as Susquehannock although no ceramics were recovered.

Two additional adult-and-child double burials were identified as double interments in the field. The first (51.0056) contains a flexed adult female with an extended child, probably less than 3 years in age based on the photo alone. The child is clearly on top of the woman's hands and it appears that the child's pelvis was on the woman's knees. The child had a necklace of glass beads. A Schultz Incised pot was between the two individuals and a triangular arrow point was at the right shoulder of the woman.

The second adult-and-child double burial identified as a double interment in the field (51.0045) is not as easily analyzed; the field drawing is not very detailed and there are no photographic images. It appears that a child of 7 years was represented by only a skull. A flexed adult of 30 to 40 years in age was represented by a skull and a few long bones. A brass bead and hundreds of Schultz Incised pot sherds were found, as was a single grit-tempered sherd.

The two remaining adult-and-child double burials were identified as single interments in the field. One contained a flexed adult and the dental remains of a child under 6 years in age (51.0128), seven triangular arrow points, and a shell-tempered pot. The other contained a 32-year old male with no grave goods (51.034) and the cranial elements of a subadult. Neither of these burials have corresponding photographic images.

### Ibaugh

Although the Ibaugh site map suggests that there were at least seven double, one triple, burials and a series of overlapping burials at this site, the fact that it was excavated by multiple individuals throughout the years hinders analysis of many of these. Seven multiple burials had enough documentation for analysis; two are burials of two adults plus a child (55.0014, 55.0059), two are burials of two children (55.0028, 55.0034), two are burials of two adults in overlapping features (55.0051, 36LA54/15&18), and one is the double burial of two adults (55.0026/36).

The two triple burials of two adults with a child are quite different from each other. While one (55.0014) is a loosely flexed burial of two adults facing the east and a child of unknown location, the other (55.0059) is that of two tightly flexed adults, facing each other, whose bodies are intertwined and a child placed in between the two. According to the NAGPRA inventory, the loosely flexed burial contains pots of both Washington Boro and Strickler types. Pots of the tightly flexed burial were not identified. It is not possible to determine if either burial contained a male and female pair plus a child.

The two double burials of children are quite different from each other but this may be due to the differences in ages of the children they contain. One burial (55.0034) contains two children of 3 to 5 years in age. The children are both flexed and facing each other with the legs of one on top of the other. Both are wearing necklaces of beads with a hawkbell. The other (55.0028) is that of a 10 year old and a 15 year old. [Note that 15 year olds are being considered adults when buried with an adult]. The two children are facing the same direction, not each other. The two are close but based on the field notes alone they do not seem to overlap. One child has a bead necklace, the other had a possible false face. A Susquehannock pot of indeterminate type was adjacent to each individual.

The two overlapping burials have quite a few similarities. Both (55.0051, 36LA54/15&18) are orientated in the same way, facing the southeast, and are loosely flexed. The burial to the southeast is about half a foot deeper than the one to the northwest. The notes for both are limited and only one (36LA54/15&18) has corresponding photographic images. Based on the notes and images, the following procedure appears to have created this burial. Burial 15 was created as a flexed burial. Burial 18 was then created by digging through burial 15 and down an additional half foot of soil. Individual 18 was then placed in the grave with significant grave goods. The lower body of Burial 15 was tossed into 18's burial as part of the first components of grave fill. Both burials were then filled. Interesting no grave goods were found associated with burial 15. The two overlapping burials both contained several pots, however these were not identified. One burial (55.0051) contained a sword and a brass plate.

The only clear double adult burial (55.0026/36) at Ibaugh is that of a male and a possible female who are facing each other with the west individual's legs overlapping that of the east's. In between the hands of the two is a cache of antler flakers, points, and paintstones that appear ritually arranged in the field drawing. At the pelvis of the west individual are two metal artifacts, and a copper point is at its shoulder. No grave goods are specifically associated with the lower individual. No pottery was found but one of the points were identified as a "Hopewellian" type.

#### Frey Haverstick

This site contains one extended double burial of two adults (48.001), similar to the one at Schultz with the exception that the two slightly overlapping individuals have their heads turned to face each other. Interestingly this burial also contains an adult and a 15 year old. The extended position marks this a Shenks Ferry burial although no associated grave goods were found.

A flexed double burial of two adult males (48.0013) is identified as Susquehannock based on flexure, although no pottery was recovered. There is a heavy degree of skeletal overlap of these two individuals, with Burial A described as under Burial B in the field notes, although the images show more of an intertwining of the individuals. Burial A is missing his mandible.

A second Susquehannock double burial of two adults (48.9013) shows a heavy degree of skeletal overlap. While the skulls of both individuals are facing each other, their legs both face the same direction. Both individuals have a Washington Boro pot to the outside of their pelvis and a cache at their feet. The lower individual's cache included flint triangular points, a crooked knife, kaolin pipe, ochre, and graphite. The upper individual's cache included gunparts and an iron box. Two crossed kaolin pipes were at the center of the burial. The lower individual was wearing an iron bracelet.

Two children (6 and 8 years of age) comprise another double burial (48.016). Both individuals are tightly flexed but show little or no skeletal overlap. They are side by side and in the same relative position, although field drawings suggest that their legs are turned away from each other. Each individual has a Washington Boro pot by their skull, to the outside of the burial. The burial is affiliated with Susquehannock, due to flexure. Some cord-marked pottery is noted in the NAGPRA inventory but it is not clear if this is identifiable to type.

The remaining burials of two individuals are both of flexed adult female with an infant placed behind her, at the head line. One (48.020) contained a brass coil and a Susquehannock pot. The other (48.020) contained a Shenks Ferry-like Washington Boro pot, a second Washington Boro pot – this one with lobes – an iron ax and hoe. Ochre and beads were associated with the child.

### Strickler

Strickler's multiple burials are different from those at Funk, Frey Haverstick, and Schultz. Here the dominant form is an adult with the remains of one or more children (n=14). Only eight of these multiple burials were identified as such in the field (64.0010, 64.0011, 64.0026, 64.0033, 64.0041, 64.0087, 64.0098, 64.0132). The remainder were classified in the lab, based usually on the presence of juvenile teeth (64.0049, 64.0071, 64.0075, 64.0120, 64.0127). In some of these cases (64.0049, 64.0071, 64.0127) it appears that the juvenile teeth may have come from a bead cluster area often located around the skull or arms of the adult. This is most clearly illustrated by 64.0071 and by the propensity for children to have bead or shell necklaces in the burials from which their bones were preserved (64.0026, 64.0033, 64.0098, 64.0132).

Without more complete skeletons of the children, it is difficult to assess the burial pattern of these adult-child double burials. There is one exception (64.0010). This burial is of a flexed adult male, over 30 years in age, and an extended burial of a child of 8 to 10 years. The child's right arm appears to be overlapped by the adult's left arm; however, the child's tibiae clearly overlap the right knee of the adult. Further, the child's skeleton

seems overly extended, as if there are unnatural gaps between the femurs and tibiae. Grave goods were scarce but include hawkbells on a chain at the child's neck, a knife by the child's side, and a steatite pipe by its pelvis.

Only one burial of multiple children without any adult was identified (64.0145).

Of the nine burials which contain two adults (64.0017, 64.0022, 64.0028, 64.0045, 64.0113, 64.0135, 64.0152, 64.9015, LA3/316), one was identified as a single burial in the field (64.0045), two also contain children (64.0028, 64.0135), two contain three adults (64.0017, 64.9015), and two include at least one bundle burial (64.0022, 64.0113). The two remaining double adult burials (64.0152, LA3/316) both appear to be of a flexed and an extended individual, the older of which is flexed in both cases.

The burial identified as a single burial in the field (64.0045) fits the same pattern as those of the adult and child. A cluster of bones is adjacent to one shoulder of the extended adult and a cluster of beads is adjacent to the other shoulder. It is likely that the "adult" teeth identified in the NAGPRA inventory came from one or both of these clusters. No images of this burial are known to aid in analysis.

Neither of the burials containing two adults plus multiple children (64.0028, 64.0135) were identified as containing more than one adult in the field and seem to represent their own burial pattern. A single prominent adult skeleton is accompanied by several caches of grave goods and several pots, interestingly approximately one of each for each individual identified in the NAGPRA inventory.

Bone preservation was quite poor in both of the triple adult burials (64.0017, 64.9015). The three flexed individuals of 64.9015 show no evidence of skeletal overlap; however the location and positioning of the pelvis of the middle individual is clearly out of anatomical position; the upper torso of the middle individual is against the upper torso of the right individual while the pelvis of the middle individual is so aligned with the left individual that on first examination the pelvis appeared to belong to the wrong individual. The other triple burial (64.0017) appears to contain two extended and one flexed adult. Again the center person appears awkwardly placed as its right leg crosses over the left and both shins and feet appear twisted to the left. The first triple burial (64.9015) contained a single Washington Boro pot, the second did not contain any pottery but did contain several brass kettles and a Jesuit ring among its grave goods. Three kettles and three iron boxes again may reflect items for each of the three individuals in this grave (64.0017).

The double burials that include one or two bundle burials do not show any clear pattern. One (64.022) is of a flexed adult with a bundle burial of an adolescent atop the feet of the flexed adult. A Strickler pot was covering the skull of the bundle burial. Grave goods associated with the flexed burial were quite varied and included an Archaic projectile point, gun parts, strike-a-lites, and a variety of metal objects. In contrast the double bundle burial of two adults contained only a single lead musketball.

The double burials of a flexed and an extended individual (64.0152, LA3/316) do have similar patterns. Both contain the flexed skeleton of an older individual on the east side and an extended younger individual on the west side. The flexed individuals have a pot just below their knees and artifacts at their hands. Both burials also contained Strickler pots. In at least one case (64.0152), a pot seems associated with each individual and both Strickler and Washington Boro were identified. In the other (LA3/316), the location of a Huron-Neutral pot is clear but that of the Strickler pot is not. The extended individual of burial (64.0152) was identified as a 15 year old (a common age in Shenks Ferry double extended burials) whose skeleton was too decomposed to assess its positioning. This individual was associated with two knives and scissors. The other burial (LA3/316) contained the extended remains of a 24 to 30 year old male whose left arm was missing, including the scapula and clavicle. The flexed individual of this burial comes right up against the extended one and may be the reason for the curved spine of the extended individual. The flexed individual has skeletal anomalies of its own, with its right pelvis and femur displaced. A turtle shell and a tulip bowl pipe were also recovered.

#### Byrd Leibhart

Byrd Leibhart is similar to Strickler in that the dominant double burial form is an adult with a child (n=8), although two of these children may be teenagers (82.0014, 82.0020) which is important since most double burials of adults and an adult with a teenager appear to reflect a similar burial pattern. There are no double burials of two adults at this site but there are two double children burials (82.0089, 82.0071) and one triple adult burial (82.009). The remaining multiple burial form is of an adult with two children (82.0027, 82.0041).

The triple adult burial (82.009) appear to contain a single flexed adult and the scattered remains of two adults atop the flexed individuals chest. There is no pattern to the scattered remains so they are clearly not a bundle burial. All three skulls are located near each other and it appears that the skull of the flexed individual is out of anatomical position. Three pottery types were recovered from this grave, Shenks Ferry, Strickler, and an atypical Washington Boro effigy pot. An iron knife and a triangular projectile point were also recovered.

Of the two adult with possible adolescent burials, one is not well documented enough for detailed analysis (82.0020). No drawings or images are known to exist and the field notes simply describe it as a disturbed burial. The other burial (82.0014) also suffers from a lack of images but does have better field notes for analysis. This burial appears to follow the pattern described for Strickler where an older flexed individual is on the west side of the grave and an extended younger individual, wearing an iron bracelet, is on the east side. No pottery was found although, not unlike LA3/316, a tulip bowl pipe was recovered.

One of the burials identified as that of an adult and a 4-year-old child in the NAGPRA inventory (82.0017) was identified as that of an adult and an adolescent in the field, an interpretation supported by a single photograph and the field drawing. This burial does not fit the previously described adult/adolescent pattern nor does it look like any other

double burial yet analyzed. However, in some ways it does resemble the triple adult burial from this same site (82.009). In this case, the adult is on the east side of the adolescent and in a loosely flexed but awkwardly placed position. The bones of the adolescent appear scattered underneath the skull of the adult and make it difficult to identify the location and placement of the adult's upper limbs. A bone comb (bird effigy), shell runtees, and an iron knife were among the grave goods; no pottery was recovered. The field notes place this burial within a Shenks Ferry midden.

Another adult and child multiple burial is listed as containing very young children (2 and 4 years-of-age) in the NAGPRA inventory and adolescents in the field notes (82.0041). Images and drawings of this burial suggest that the non-adults were heavily decomposed and mainly consisted of clusters of teeth associated with beads, as is common at the Strickler site for juveniles in multiple burials. This burial does however conform to the adult/adolescent double burial pattern previously discussed where the adult is in a flexed position on the west side of the grave, the adolescent(s) are to the east side, and a tobacco pipe separated the adult from the adolescent(s). Again this pipe is a tulip bowl form. Pottery recovered includes Washington Boro incised, Shenks Ferry cord-marked, and a grit-tempered Strickler cord-marked. Also included among the grave goods were 10 shell runtees.

Shell runtees were found in seven of the 13 multiple burials at the Byrd Leibhart site (82.0035, 82.0017, 82.0020, 82.0027, 82.0041, 82.0028, and Yo170/71), including all four burials that contained multiple children (82.0027, 82.0041, 82.0028, and Yo170/71). If the previously described adult/adolescent double burial (82.0017) does also contain a 4-year-old child, five of the seven multiple burials with shell runtees also contain more than one child.

Another runtee-bearing multiple burial is that of an extended adult female with two infants (82.0027). One of the infants is clearly on top of the right elbow of the adult, the other is adjacent to the adult's left leg. Grave goods include several iron artifacts and gun parts but also three shell runtees and a miniature Susquehannock cord-marked pot.

Of the remaining adult/child double burials, one is described simply as disturbed (82.0001), two were identified initially as single burials of a flexed adult with only minimal remains of a child identified later, in one case found under an iron hoe (82.0023) and in the other during the NAGPRA inventory (82.0033), and two included at least one bundle burial (82.0030, 82.0035).

One of the two bundle double burials appears to have the bundle of a child atop the extended burial of an adult (82.0030). The adult's skeleton appears disturbed and somewhat mixed with that of the child. Grave goods included Strickler cord-marked pottery and two Shenks Ferry sherds. The other bundle double burial (82.0035) contained a bundled adult on the west and the remains of a child to the east, position of the child is unclear. Grave goods were extensive but included a toy Susquehannock pot, a Madisonville pedestal base pot, three shell-disk runtees, and a brown saltglaze jug.

The two remaining multiple burials at this site both contain only children. One burial (82.0028) contained two 3-year-olds in a very poor state of preservation. Grave goods included Strickler cord-marked pottery and a shell runtee. The other double child burial is a double bundle burial of two side-by-side children (Y0137/71), not unlike the one at Frey Haverstick (48.0016) except in this case each child was associated with an iron hoe instead of a pot. Other grave goods included Shenks Ferry sherds and a shell runtee.

### **Data Summary**

Multiple burials of two or more adults (n=14) are not common at the sites studied. Schultz, Funk, and Frey Haverstick all have one double adult Shenks Ferry burial. Susquehannock adult double burials are found at Ibaugh (n=1), Frey Haverstick (n=2), and Strickler (n=5, two of which include a bundle burial). Byrd Leibhart has no clear adult double burials but does have one triple adult burial. Strickler has two triple adult burials.

Multiple burials of one or more adults with one or more children are more common (n=36). Schultz has one, Funk has five, Ibaugh has two, Frey Haverstick has two, Strickler has 16, and Byrd Leibhart has 10. Two of Byrd Leibhart's may be of an adult and an adolescent not unlike the double adult burials of some of the other sites.

Multiple burials of children without any adults are the most rare form of multiple burial (n=12). Funk has seven, Ibaugh has two, Frey Haverstick has one, and Byrd Leibhart has two.

### *Typology of Multiple Burials*

The Susquehannock and Shenks Ferry multiple burial populations from Schultz, Funk, Ibaugh, Frey-Haverstick, Strickler, and Byrd Leibhart can be summarized into the following typology of fifteen distinct burial patterns. Conestoga Town is not included in this typology because of the sheer range in multiple burial types found there that are not found at these other sites. The multiple burials not included in this typology are those where the positions of one or more individuals was unclear. As a result, many of the burials that contained very young children are not included here. For the most part these young children were not noticed in the field or they were represented only by tooth clusters.

### Double Adult – Extended

Three Shenks Ferry burials can be classified as double adult – extended burials. In one case the two individuals are facing each other. In the other two cases they are both facing the same direction. Images of the following are available: Schultz (49.001), Funk (51.0124), and Frey Haverstick (48.0001).

### Double Adult – Flexed

Of the double adult – flexed burials there are two types, flexed and oriented towards the same direction (51.0088) and flexed and oriented towards each other (55.0026). In two of the three cases the individuals are clearly facing each other, regardless of their body orientation. In all cases there appears to be some skeletal overlap. Images of the

following are available: Funk (51.0088), Ibaugh (55.0026), Frey Haverstick (48.9013), Frey Haverstick (48.0013)

#### Double Adult – Flexed and Extended

Of the double adult – flexed and extended burials, both include individuals facing the same direction. One shows extensive skeletal overlap (56.003) while the other appears to have one fit in against the other (LA3/316). In both cases the flexed burial seems later than the extended burial and grave goods were scarce. Images of the following are available: Strickler (LA3/316), Conoy Town (56.003).

#### Overlapping Adult – Flexed

Both overlapping adult – flexed burials occur at Ibaugh. One (55.0051) has no images and sparse field notes. The other (LA54/15&18) has images that contradict the field notes in the details. The first case appears to have two flexed individuals in the same position and facing the same direction in two separate but overlapping features. In the second case the upper individual is more tightly flexed than the lower, and some of the upper's limbs are dispersed above the lower individual. Images of LA54/15&18 are available.

#### Overlapping Adult/Child – Flexed and Extended

There is one occurrence of overlapping adult/child burials with one extended and one flexed. This Strickler burial (64.0087) has the lower individual as an extended adult and the upper individual as a flexed 10 year old. Images are available.

#### Triple Adult – Flexed

Only one triple adult – flexed burial was identified. This Strickler burial (64.9015) contains three flexed adults, all facing the same direction. The middle individual is clearly disturbed as its lower limbs are displaced. Images are available.

#### Triple Adult - Dispersed

There is one occurrence of a triple adult burial that confirms the fact that older burials were being re-excavated. This Byrd Leibhart burial (82.009) appears to have contained a flexed individual that had decomposed before the burial was reopened to add the skeletons of two additional adults. Images are available.

#### Adult/Child – Dispersed

Several additional burials could also have been formed only through the re-excavation of existing graves and incorporation of additional skeletons. Two are from Byrd Leibhart (82.0017, 82.0030), which seems to have ample evidence of grave re-excavation. One is from Frey Haverstick (48.020), where the skull of the adult is obviously displaced from the rest of its body. Images are available.

#### Adult/Child – Child on Arm

There are several burials of flexed or extended adults with a child placed atop the arm of the adult. One is from Byrd Leibhart (82.0027), another from Frey Haverstick (48.9009), and a third from Funk (51.0056). The Byrd Leibhart burial may show rearrangement of the adult as its right arms is flipped up such that its hand is on its shoulder. While this is

anatomically possible, this arrangement has not been seen before. The Funk burial is very similar to other flexed adult burials at the site with the addition of a child atop the hands of the adult. It is not clear that the child was a later addition but there is no evidence that it is not. Images are available.

#### Adult/Child – Flexed and Extended

Adult/Child burials with larger children make it easier to evaluate the position of the child. Stickler has one with the adult flexed and the child extended (64.0010). This type is very similar to the Double Adult – Flexed and Extended and may speak to the issue of at what age does a child become an adult. Images are available.

#### Adult/Child – Adult Kneeling

This type currently has two examples in it, Schultz (49.0009), Strickler (64.0041), although two additional examples may be seen in the Adult/Child - Flexed & Extended, and Adult/Child – Dispersed burials. In all cases the adult's legs appear to be bent in an unusual manner, several of which suggest that the individual was kneeling in the grave and then allowed to fall backwards onto its back.

#### Triple Adult with Child – Flexed

There is one burial of two flexed adults with a child atop of them at Ibaugh (55.0059). The remains of the three individuals are so intertwined that they must have been interred together. Images are available.

#### Double Child – Flexed

Two double child – flexed burials occur at Ibaugh (55.0028, 55.0034). This type is based only on field drawings so the positioning of the individuals is not corroborated by photographic images.

#### Double Adult – Bundle

There is one occurrence of a double adult - bundle burial. This Strickler burial (64.0113) has no images and very brief field notes.

#### Double Child – Bundle

There is one occurrence of a double child – bundle burial. This Byrd Leibhart burial (Yo170/71) has no images and very brief field notes.

#### Double Child - Commingled

Schultz (49.0003), a Shenks Ferry burial, contained the complete extended remains of one child and isolated cranial elements of a second child. Images are available.

### **Interpretation**

Susquehannock multiple burials have previously been discounted as the result of epidemic deaths (Heisey and Witmer 1962). At the sites studied here, there is no clear association of multiple burials with disease or epidemics. First, smallpox and measles epidemics are known to have hit the inhabitants of Frey Haverstick, Strickler, and Byrd Leibhart but with the exception of Strickler, these sites do not contain more multiple

burials than the Funk site, which had no known epidemic. Second, neither measles nor smallpox would leave bone pathologies so there is no easy way to identify such a cause of death in the field. Since the very young and the very old are often the most susceptible to disease, the change in burial practices that we would expect in this case would be an increase in multiple burials of children and the elderly.

It is possible that the high number of multiple burials of children with adults is obscuring a disease induced pattern. If these children were being interred in the graves of adults or the adults were being interred in existing graves of their predeceased children, the non-contemporaneity of these burials would hide any epidemic death of children. Because of the difference in burial feature size required to bury a child versus an adult, the re-excavation of a child's grave and the expansion of it to include an adult would obscure the original burial's outline to archaeologists.

Multiple burials do not appear to increase with time in a linear fashion, Schultz has 2, Funk has 13, Ibaugh 7 (counting the two overlapping burials), has Frey Haverstick has 6, Strickler has 21, and Byrd Leibhart has 13. However, without knowing the demographics of the living population and the extent of cemetery excavation it is difficult to evaluate any temporal trends. Bundle burials as part of multiple burials do appear to increase with time as they are present at Stickler (n=2) and Byrd Leibhart (n=3) and very common at Conestoga (described below).

Double adult burials are not married couples as there is not a single clear male/female pair but there are clear same sex pairs (LA3/316, 51.0124). Similarly, there is little evidence that children buried with adults are being buried with their mothers. Only 3 of the adult with child burials contain adult females (48.9009, 49.0009, 51.0056) while twice that number contain adult males (51.0034, 64.001. 64.0026, 64.0041. 82.0030 82.0033).

The orientation of individuals within multiple burials is quite variable (Table 3). There is a strong tendency throughout the dataset for multiple burial orientation towards the northwest (n=49 individuals) and north (n=31). Of the remaining orientations, west (n=13) is much more common than southwest (n=5), northeast (n=4), east (n=3), southeast (n=2), and south (n=2). This, however, is not statistically different from the Susquehannock sample as a whole, where northwest (n=174), north (n=80), and west (n=82) comprise the bulk of the individual orientations (see table). Orientations used are those recorded by Boza Arlotti and do not consider the degree of disturbance of skeletons.

Table 3. Orientation of Shenks Ferry (SF) and Susquehannock (Susq) individuals in multiple burials.

	<b>N</b>	<b>NE</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>SW</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>NW</b>
Schultz – SF	6	0	10	6	0	0	0	1
Schultz -Susq	5	1	1	0	0	1	3	1
Funk –SF	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Funk - Susq	53	5	6	2	4	1	46	23

Frey – SF	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Frey – Susq	1	4	0	0	0	3	8	3
Ibaugh - SF	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Ibaugh – Susq	3	1	0	3	3	15	6	13
Strickler – Susq	12	8	3	9	0	1	13	66
Byrd – Susq	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	25
Conestoga – Susq	0	16	1	4	0	3	6	43
<i>Total – SF</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Total - Susq</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>174</i>

To test for double adult burials to be an artifact of cultural change, the multiple burials of Conestoga Town, Conoy, and Conoy Town were reviewed. Only Conoy Town produced a double burial of two adults. Conoy’s multiple burials are all of bundled or otherwise secondary burials. Conestoga contained numerous multiple burials with children as components but did not contain any double adult burials.

*Conestoga Town (36LA52)*

Although twenty burial at Conestoga may be multiple burials, there are no clear double burials of two adults with relatively complete skeletons. Most of the Conestoga multiple burials are again adults with children or more than one child. Several of the burials appear to be multiple burials based on the NAGPRA inventory but the field notes do not reflect this. It is likely that there was a bagging or labeling issue in the field or the lab that confused the human remains in some of these cases, especially that of Burial 61/61A (53.0066) which the NAGPRA inventory suggests contained two sets of adult femurs but this is unlikely to have gone unnoticed in the field. The same is true for Burial 15/15A (53.0008) which should have contained two adult skulls.

**Conclusion**

The only clear pattern to Susquehannock multiple burials of the Lancaster area is that they tend to contain an adult with one or more children. There is significant evidence for grave reuse within some, but not all, multiple burials suggesting that these adult/child burials may be analogous to family plots; adult and child separated in life are being reunited by death regardless of the amount of time separating the death events. This is especially evident in the numerous adult burials that include a child that appears to be placed atop or adjacent to an adult in a grave that so resembles most adult graves at these sites that the child was not identified in the field.

Scant evidence for the interment of individuals of multiple cultures in these graves, as is suspected at Engelbert, is in the few graves that contain both Shenks Ferry and Susquehannock pottery or pottery that appeared untypeable to the excavators and/or those conducting NAGPRA inventories. Several graves contain pots from more than one Susquehannock type and may be suggestive of the time span between the two interments, if the grave was infact reused. Some graves also contain an extended adult and a flexed adult, which is curious since extended burials, without grave goods, are generally considered to be associated with Shenks Ferry and flexed burials, with grave goods, are

generally associated with the Susquehannock. How then should be assign cultural affiliation to a grave that contains both a flexed adult and an extended adult?

Further analysis of the data presented here is planned. A better understanding of the mortuary practices of the Susquehannock has the potential to provide a new means of studying Susquehannock history and prehistory. Additional research on the wealth of Susquehannock data, new and old, that is held in Pennsylvania museums is a crucial component of future research.

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