Revised 1/21//2010



# NATIVE AMERICAN GRAVES PROTECTION AND REPATRIATION ACT CONSULTATION/ DOCUMENTATION GRANTS TO TRIBES AND MUSEUMS INTERIM PROGRESS REPORT

The Interim Progress Report is used to monitor the progress of grant-assisted activity. Consultation/Documentation grantees are required to submit an interim progress report every six months throughout the grant period as stated in the Grant Agreement.

Grant #401_0 GP524	Report Period12/31/10to5/30/11
Name of Tribe/NHO/Museum Delaware Tribe of Indians	3
Contact Name Brice Obermeyer	
Contact Email bobermeyer@delawaretribe.org	Contact Number 918 335 7026

Use your Grant Agreement to answer the following questions on a separate sheet of paper. Reports should be typed in 12-point font and no longer than three (3) pages. Label each page with the name of your tribe or institution and grant number.

### Part I. Project Description

- Briefly describe progress to date in completing the project objectives and results as listed in the Scope of Work of your Grant Agreement.
- 2. Briefly describe the status of grant deliverables, as described in the Grant Agreement, to date. What products have been completed? What products are currently underway? What products have not yet been initiated?
- 3. Have you encountered any challenges to completing the grant work? If so, how do you plan to address these challenges?

#### Part II. Administration

List any amendments to the original grant agreement including extensions and/or modifications to the Scope of Work or Work-Cost Budget. Provide the NPS approval dates.

- 4. Do you anticipate any changes to the Scope of Work, Work-Cost Budget or Deliverables listed in the grant agreement? If yes, describe changes, and indicate when a written request for modification will be submitted.
- 5. Will you require an extension to complete this grant? If yes, describe why, and indicate when a written request for extension (with an adapted schedule for completion) will be submitted.
- 6. Attach a completed SF 425, Federal Financial Report to the interim progress report.

Authorized Signature Paula Elekonick	Date 9/12/2011
Printed Name PAULA PECHONICH	Phone Number 9/8-337-6593
Title Chief	

## Address interim reports to:

National Park Service
National NAGPRA Program (2253)
1201 Eye Street NW
8th Floor
Washington, DC 20005
ATTENTION: NAGPRA Grants

If you have any questions regarding the interim report, please contact Sangita Chari, NAGPRA Grants Coordinator at 202-354-2203 or via email at sangita\_chari@nps.gov or NAGPRA\_Grants@nps.gov.

#### 40-10-GP-524

## Part I. Project Description

1. Briefly describe progress to date in completing the project objectives and results as listed in the Scope of Work of your Grant Agreement.

Since receiving notification of our FY 2010 NAGPRA Documentation Grant in June 2010, we have been working on completing the project objectives and results as listed in the scope of work. We hired a project assistant, Gregory Brown, who began working on the grant-related work in October 2010. With his assistance, we have completed our digital database of museum inventories (objective a) and attended the NAGPRA training offered by the National Preservation Institute as well as the NAGPRA at 20 Symposium (objective b). We have also completed the interviews of tribal elders and have completed a draft of the report on Delaware Burial Practices in the Archaeological Record. Once completed, this report will be shared with the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the State Museum of Pennsylvania and the New York University College of Dentistry (hereafter *collaborating museums*) to publish revised notices of Inventory Completion, support claims to items not listed in the Notices of Inventory Completion and reunite items that are in the possession of other museums (objectives c,d,e). A more detailed description of our progress is provided in the paragraphs below.

## Objective A: Existing Database of Museum Inventories:

Our original database of museum inventories, compiled by Levi Randoll under the FY2004 NAGPRA Documentation Grant, has been updated from its 2004 version. After reviewing the *Filemaker Pro 10* software, we decided to replace the Filemaker Pro with the newest version of *Microsoft Access. Access* provided a more accessible database format that would better facilitate any potential interface with other applications. Greg Brown has now completed the Delaware Tribe's NAGPRA database, which contains over 14,600 individual records from over 1000 archaeological sites that are curated at more than 63 museums and institutions. The items in the database are also linked to over 400 scanned and digitized site forms, inventories, and correspondence related to each individual record.

## Objective B: Attend the NAGPRA trainings and NAGPRA at 20 Symposium:

NPI hosted Basic NAGPRA seminar, Oct. 4-7, 2010: Project Assistant, Gregory Brown attended the Basic NAGPRA seminar held in Phoenix, Arizona. This training event provided the project assistant with an excellent foundation on the NAGPRA legislation and its' implementation.

NAGPRA at 20 Symposium, November 15-16, 2010: Project Director, Brice Obermeyer and Project Assistant, Greg Brown attended the NAGPRA at 20 Symposium in Washington, D.C. This historic event commemorated the twenty year anniversary of the passage of NAGPRA with panel discussions from experts and practitioners in the field on the subject of the past, present and future of NAGPRA. The resounding theme of the symposium was that although NAGPRA, as civil rights legislation, has done much to correct historic injustices concerning the excavation and curation of American Indian human remains, there is still much more work to be done before the original intent of the movement is met.

#### 40-10-GP-524

## Objective C: Publication of Revised Notices of Inventory Completion:

We have initiated consultation on revising the Notices of Inventory Completion at the three collaborating museums. All three museums have agreed to change the cultural affiliation language from "Delaware Tribe on behalf of the Cherokee Nation," to "Delaware Tribe. Each museum has provided verbal affirmation that they intend to make the corrections. The three collaborating museums have also agreed to make the necessary changes to their respective notices if our research identifies the need for such changes. No written corrections have yet to be submitted. We intend to include a draft of the corrections with our final report.

## Objective D: Delaware Burial Practices in the Archaeological Record:

As the primary product of our Documentation Grant, our work is almost complete on a report that documents the archaeological signature of Delaware funerary practices. Our research has included a literature review on Delaware archaeology with a particular focus on mortuary practices, collaboration with Delaware archaeologists, first-hand experience at traditional funerals and transcribed interviews with tribal elders on the topic of traditional funerary practices. Our research has produced ethnographic evidence to support the determination that artifacts found in the grave, within the grave fill and at the surface of the grave as funerary objects according to NAGPRA. A draft of the report is completed and is included with this report. When finished, a copy of the report will be shared with the collaborating museums to support our potential claims to items not listed in the Notices of Inventory Completion.

# Objective E: Reunite items from the collections at our collaborating museums that are in the possession of other museums:

We have carried out a considerable amount of research toward reuniting the collections at our collaborating museums. Following our consultations, we determined that an online database for each of the sites in the collections at the collaborating museums would provide the best way to reunite the collections from other museums that hold items from the same sites. A copy of the cover page for the online database can be viewed at the following web address <a href="http://delawaretribe.org/culturesite/delaware-tribe-historic-preservation-office/">http://delawaretribe.org/culturesite/delaware-tribe-historic-preservation-office/</a> This site is password protected but can be accessed upon request to our office.

# Objective F: Document the Treatment Histories of the collections at the collaborating museums:

We have initiated work on the treatment histories although no written report has been produced. All three collaborating museums have provided verbal affirmation that they do not believe that their Delaware affiliated collections have been subjected to chemical treatments nor do they have any documented records of such treatment. All three museums have also indicated that they are willing to test their Delaware affiliated collections should we feel the need to do so. A more complete and final report on the treatment histories will be completed and submitted with our final report.

2. Briefly describe the status of grant deliverables, as described in the Grant Agreement, to date.

#### 40-10-GP-524

What products have been completed? What products are currently underway? What products have not yet been initiated?

No deliverables have been completed to date although work has been initiated on the completion of all four deliverables (a, b, c and d). A more detailed description is provided below.

## Deliverable A: A Comprehensive Final Report:

With Gregory Brown's attendance at the NAGPRA training in Phoenix and Brice Obermeyer and Gregory Brown's attendance at the NAGPRA at 20 Symposium in Washington, DC, we can begin to draft a report on the impact of these experiences on the Delaware Tribe's NAGPRA Program. However, Brice Obermeyer has yet to attend the NAGPRA training and intends to do so in San Diego from Oct. 25-2, 2011. The report on our experiences and the impact on our program will commence following the completion of the trainings.

## Deliverable B: Delaware Funeral Practices in the Archaeological Record:

A draft of our report is now complete. Minor revisions remain to be made before a final version can be shared with the collaborating museums and the Delaware tribes. A draft copy is included with this report.

## Deliverable C: Revised Notices of Inventory Completion:

We have initiated consultation on revising the Notices of Inventory Completion at the three collaborating museums. All three museums have agreed to change the cultural affiliation language from "Delaware Tribe on behalf of the Cherokee Nation," to the "Delaware Tribe." Each museum has provided verbal affirmation that they intend to make the corrections. The three collaborating museums have also agreed to make the necessary changes to their respective notices if our research identifies the need for such changes. No written corrections have yet to be submitted. We intend to include a draft of the corrections with our final report.

## Deliverable D: Final Report on the Treatment Histories:

We have initiated work on the treatment histories although no written report has been produced. All three collaborating museums have given verbal affirmation that they do not believe that their Delaware affiliated collections have been subjected to chemical treatments nor do they have any documented records of such treatment. All three museums have also indicated that they are willing to test their Delaware affiliated collections should we feel the need to do so. A more complete and final report on the treatment histories will be completed and submitted with our final report.

3. Have you encountered any challenges to completing the grant work? If so, how do you plan to address these challenges?

We have not encountered any challenges in completing the grant work to date.

## Delaware Tribe of Indians

#### 40-10-GP-524

## Part II. Administration

List any amendments to the original grant agreement including extensions and/or modifications to the Scope of Work or Work-Cost Budget. Provide the NPS approval dates.

4. Do you anticipate any changes to the Scope of Work, Work-Cost Budget or Deliverables listed in the grant agreement? If yes, describe changes, and indicate when a written request for modification will be submitted.

No changes are anticipated.

5. Will you require an extension to complete this grant? If yes, describe why, and indicate when a written request for extension (with an adapted schedule for completion) will be submitted.

No extension is anticipated.

6. Attach a completed SF 425, Federal Financial Report to the interim progress report.

See attached.

## FEDERAL FINANCIAL REPORT

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Paperwork Burden Statement

According to the Paperwork Reduction Act, as amended, no persons are required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a valid OMB Control Number. The valid OMB control number for this information collection is 0348-0061. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1.5 hours per response, including time for reviewing instructions, aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0348-0061), Washington, DC 20503.

OMB Approval Number: 0348-0061

Expiration Date: 10/31/2011

Delaware Burial Practices in the Archaeological Record: An Ethnographic Approach for identifying Delaware Funerary Objects A report prepared by Brice Obermeyer, Jim Rementer and Greg Brown

#### Introduction

This manuscript provides a descriptive account of the traditional Delaware funeral observance as it was practiced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to provide ethnographic evidence for identifying Delaware affiliated funerary objects in the historic and prehistoric archaeological record according to the NAGPRA regulations. The authors of this report have over 50 years of first-hand experience at over 100 traditional Delaware funerals conducted since the early 1960's. The production and research for this report was funded by a NAGPRA Documentation/
Consultation grant (40-10-GP-524) awarded to the Delaware Tribe in 2010. NAGPRA funding allowed the authors to collect published and unpublished sources on Delaware funeral practices and carry out 10 recorded interviews in 2011 with modern practitioners of traditional Delaware funerals. The interviews were transcribed, coded and analyzed in order to establish the shared beliefs and practices among contemporary tribal members who continue to carry out the traditional observance. What resulted was a rich and compelling primary ethnographic data set on the subject that remains on file at the Delaware Tribe's Historic Preservation Office in Emporia, KS.

The outcome of our analysis is presented in the following report. Although the ethnographic evidence demonstrates that considerable changes have taken place in the observance over the past 50 years, it also demonstrates a remarkable resiliency in the ceremony as traditionalists have found ways to adapt and accommodate new, non-Delaware imposed burial laws and customs. Although some of the changes are noted, the focus of this report is on presenting the traditional Delaware funeral ceremony in its entirety, much of which is still known but unable to be fully practiced.

The following report is organized into three related sections. The first section lays out the cultural context within which Delaware funerals are experienced in order to provide the reader with a Delaware perspective for viewing the traditional funeral. The sequence of events that take place throughout a traditional funeral ceremony is then presented in the second section to identify the items that are intentionally left with the deceased as part of a traditional Delaware funeral. In the final section, the results of our research are then compared with the definitions of a funerary object in the NAGPRA regulations in order to identify the most appropriate application of the definition based on ethnographic evidence from traditional practitioners in the modern era.

Our ethnographically informed definition of a Delaware funerary object is presented here in order to provide museums and public agencies with guidance for identifying Delaware funerary objects in Delaware affiliated collections. While our recommendations may broaden those interpretations that are given in the field notes or are based on an archaeological interpretation, 20<sup>th</sup> century practitioners firmly believe that objects found on the surface or in the grave fill were intentionally left to accompany the human remains found in that burial. The pages that follow will present ethnographic evidence to support this conclusion that the surface, fill and grave itself constitute a burial site from the Delaware cultural perspective. According to the NAGRA regulations, the objects found in a burial site are funerary objects and thus our ethnographic evidence supports the determination that objects found with the grave, in the grave fill or on the surface of a grave are appropriately classified as funerary objects under NAGPRA.

## Cultural Context of a Traditional Delaware Funeral

The existing archaeological work on Delaware cemeteries provides a view on the past that is written from an English grammatical framework. From such a perspective, we can view

these burials as a collection of human remains, artifacts and features that through analysis can tell us about the cultures of the past. Information is often gained through an archaeology of provenience in which interpretations are based on an object's spatial relationship with other objects and features of a site. Although this provides a powerful way for understanding Delaware cemeteries, understanding some basic elements of Delaware culture and language will open the door for an alternative way of viewing the Delaware past that compliments the archaeological perspective.

There are two Lenape words for cemetery; one of which is "ktemaksewakan" and can translate as either a cemetery or as a pitiful state. A space that deserves one's pity adds a meaningful component to a burial space beyond that of a location that is designated for the dead. Another word used is "mahchikamikink," which literally means at a bad place or bad land, probably referring to the sadness that is found at such a place.

There is no Lenape word that translates directly for the English word, "funeral," however the Lenape had a number of ways to refer to a deceased person and to the actual burial. The word which means "He died" is, "Ankel," but this was considered a very strong word to some speakers and the form, "Mata ahpii," which means "He is not here" was often substituted. The burial itself has several Lenape terms to describe it. One is, "Pokhakehoo, which translates literally as, "He broke the earth for him," while another is Towëna, which means, "He lowered him," and still another is, "Hakink hala," which translates as "He was placed in the earth". Appropriate references to the traditional observance in its entirety are those expressions that did not directly identify the event or what was taking place. As Jack Longbone described in 1970, "Then the man that's going to put him away—we called it put him away—the man..., then they'd set up with him, and the man that's going to put him away, we call it put him away."

Since there was no Delaware word for funeral, the last generation of first generation Delaware speakers would refer to their funeral ceremony in English as "putting away," the deceased. Although the Delaware now use the English word "funeral" to describe their contemporary

practice, there remains a careful respect for observing the appropriate customs of the traditional event.

The expression, "putting away," is a phrase that is not only used for funerals but is pervasive in the Delaware lexicon. "Putting away," is used to describe other pivotal moments in recent Delaware history when traditionalists carefully and thoughtfully chose to leave behind a practice out of respect for the important observance. One such moment was when the Delaware Big House leaders chose to "put away," their Big House Ceremony in 1924 only to be resurrected for short time during the end of World War II and was put away again after the end of the war. Elders of today whose parents and grandparents were among those who made this difficult decision recall that they were told two complimentary messages; that the Big House was a sacred event unique to the Delaware and it should never be revived. Though the details of the Big House Ceremony were recorded by ethnographers working with the Big House followers in the 20th century, there has been no effort to revive the ceremony among contemporary tribal members out of respect for the sanctity of this event. The ceremony was put away and should never be brought back.

"Putting Away" is thus an approximate translation for a funeral but it also encompasses more than simply a ceremony. The term also expresses finality; the observance provides closure for the deceased and for the living. Like the Delaware Big House, a Delaware person is "put away," because he or she is loved and missed but should never be brought back or resurrected after being rightfully and respectfully cared for in order to protect the memory of the deceased. Such closure then is protected among the living by following certain taboos after the funeral that also reflect the overall cultural context within which a Delaware observance takes place and is experienced.

A clear illustration of this desire to protect the deceased is in the Delaware way for avoiding the use of the deceased's name. It is not one's first choice to speak the name of the deceased, especially later in the day, and using the name of the deceased is avoided if possible

with passive references to the individual. Such passive phrases would include references such as, "one who has passed on," or, "my departed friend or relative." If one does have to speak the name of the deceased, then an "-a" is added to the ending of the name and the name is preceded by "naka," or "deceased one," to indicate that the individual is no longer with us. The Delaware explain that great care must be taken with the name of the deceased as the spirit of the deceased may want to return if they hear their name spoken.

Cemeteries are also approached as spaces within which the deceased may still be present and thus certain precautions are taken out of respect for those who have passed. Certain items are not appropriate to be brought into a cemetery outside of a funeral observance. It is not appropriate to take food into a cemetery. If one does forget and carries food into a cemetery, it is appropriate to leave the food in the cemetery. As one tribal member explained the end of a graveside feast during a traditional funeral, "if you've already ate your plate, you know, it should be left to the animals. We just dump it out, at the cemetery, at the old cemetery north of Dewey." Other Delaware explain that the deceased are drawn by the food and may feel that the food was intended for them. If the food is taken out of the cemetery, the food will draw the deceased out of the appropriate home in the cemetery and back to the homes of the living. Thus, the Delaware avoid taking food into a cemetery unless it is intended for the graveside feast that takes place during a traditional funeral.

There are also prohibitions that are followed so as to protect the living from being taken to the afterlife by the departed. As explained in the next section, a deceased person's face is adorned with a red Indian paint called "Olaman" so that the creator will recognize the deceased as a Delaware. The Delaware will also paint the face in the same way with olaman for certain ceremonial occasions. The face paint must be removed before a person goes to sleep. If not, the departed will mistake the sleeping person for one who is deceased and will attempt to take them into the afterlife. A similar prohibition occurs with the hair. When a person dies, the hair is washed and is not greased afterward. The living must always grease or dress their hair in some

way or the departed will make a similar mistake and attempt to take the person into the afterlife.

Breaking these taboos is believed to result in the person becoming very sick and eventually die.

A final consideration is that there is no word for "trash," "refuse," "debris," or "waste" in the Lenape language. A person can be a wasteful person but using the term "waste" or "trash" as a noun is not something that exists within the Lenape lexicon. Also, if a person is eating food outside after dark, the person will bite off a small piece of food and place it on the ground for the departed. The same is done with a drink. A person will take a small drink and spit it on the ground for the departed. Combining this understanding with the revelation that food is not taken out of a cemetery and that a small portion of food that is eaten after dark is offered to the departed provides a different perspective for viewing the objects, and particularly food remains, that are found in a Delaware cemetery. The items in the cemetery are perceived as objects that were very likely left behind intentionally and are not viewed as trash or refuse but have a specific purpose. Whether intentionally left or not, the remains found in a cemetery are now appropriately believed to remain with the cemetery and the departed. Removing the objects from a burial context, both above and below the surface, is not appropriate because they are not viewed as trash but as objects that now have a funerary intent once they are brought into or left in the cemetery. Such a conclusion is further strengthened by the events that take place at a Delaware funeral; many of which involve keeping the cemetery and the objects in it separate from the world of the living.

## Delaware Observances and Memories

The traditional Delaware funeral observance is presented below and will help expand an understanding of the Delaware approach to the deceased and to the afterlife as well as aid in constructing an ethnographically informed model for viewing the funerary nature of objects found at a burial. The information below is based on written and recorded testimonials from

traditionalist practitioners and our own experiences at traditional funerals. It is organized into three sections, reflecting the way in which the Delaware prepare for a burial, put the deceased away at the cemetery and then return from the cemetery to cleanse and gently encourage the deceased to move on to the afterlife.

### Preparations

Grandma always had an apron on ...

Bonnie Thaxton 2011

When a person reaches middle age, they begin making preparations for the funeral while still living. The living person prepares by first making the traditional clothes in which they will be buried. One does not have to prepare the clothes themselves and may ask someone else to prepare the clothing. As Jim Rementer describes,

It used to be that people would prepare ahead of time, for their funeral. They'd make their burial clothes, they'd have their burial moccasins. And if you attended dances or any kind of public event, you should wear that. Your funeral clothes, at least one time. So you are not putting them on new when you die. And if you don't want to do the traditional clothing, then the thing to do would be to be buried in clothes that you wore every day, you don't go out and buy a new suit or something like that. Because they say if you have all new clothing, the creator won't recognize you.

Once prepared, the person will wear the clothes at least one time at an event and then store the clothes until they are needed for the funeral. A family member or friend should be told where the clothes are stored so that they may be found for the funeral. Some will make traditional clothing for the afterlife while others will choose not to do so. Those who do not prepare traditional clothing are expected to be clothed in everyday clothing with which they are familiar. Special suits or new clothes are not normally used to dress a person once they have passed as they will be unfamiliar and uncomfortable with the clothes. As Bonnie Thaxton recalled,

"Whatever they thought would look good on them. Back when our grandma was buried she wore them old long dresses, skirts and a blouse and an apron. Grandma always had an apron on." Everyday clothing or simply an outfit that the deceased had liked in life are the appropriate burial attire.

When a person passes, a window is opened in the room so the soul can get in and out and make last minute preparations. The deceased is laid with the head to the east and their feet to the west. As Rosetta Coffey explained,

"the old way that they used to do was that they would bring the body back to the house, and there would be that you had an east window that that body was supposed to lay east. Their head would be at the east. Because they'll never see the sun come up anymore. And that's why they're facing west. ... It's supposed to be, cause you'll never see morning again. So the west would be the last thing they see."

A black handkerchief is then placed on the person's face and all the pictures and mirrors are covered with a sheet (Dean 1984:63-64). The clothing of the deceased is then collected into two bundles and tobacco is placed in each bundle in preparation to take to the cemetery. While this is taking place, word is spread of the upcoming funeral and the family identifies the two male workers and two female workers to help with the observances. The workers should be friends of the deceased but not be related to the deceased. The workers will wash and dress the body in preparation for the burial. The two female workers are responsible for cleaning the deceased's home and cooking the meals for the family.

It is the male workers who are responsible for building the coffin and grave maker. The coffin was a simple plank board box constructed in a three dimensional rectangular or elongated, body shaped hexagon using nails to secure the separate boards. Any type of wood could be used other than cedar. Cedar was not appropriate for the coffin or the grave marker for reasons described later. The gravemarker is constructed differently for men and women. One vertical board with a diamond cut in the top is used for men while two boards (one vertical and

one horizontal) make a cross shaped marker with diamonds cut in the ends for women. As Tokey Thaxton described,

they made a wooden post. And the one for the women folks, they made a cross. It was just a wooden cross. And they'd always paint that cross. If it was a man, he just had a straight post, but on the top they'd cut that out like a diamond. And then they'd paint that diamond. That way they could tell who was buried there, you know. Man or woman.

The two boards are attached by nails and the grave marker is either painted at that time or will later be painted at the graveside service in the cemetery. The painting will be abstract and the name or identity of the deceased is not indicated. Only the gender of the deceased is indicated by the type of post used.

The family also selects a "speaker" who will pray on behalf for the deceased and officiate the burial ceremony. The speaker must also not be related to the deceased and is generally a well-respected individual within the community. The family also appoints a person, usually a best friend, who will sit with the deceased at all times until the final internment. It is important that both the speaker and the best friend are not related to the deceased. The family is grieving and is not expected to carry out many of the tasks in the traditional observance.

Once the preparations are made, the family will hold the funeral service as soon as possible after a person passes. The night before the burial, the family will host an all night wake. As James Jackson described,

"Oh, the night before the burial, we have what you call a wake, you know. I seen my grandpa and them all done with, with my mom, you know. And they would sit up all night and talk. They'd talk about that person, talk about anything, you know. Funny things, ... and then Uncle John, he'd say the prayer, grandpa would say a prayer. And they'd sit up all night with that person. When the sun comes up, it's over ... Different people would talk about this person, and if you stay there, then at midnight you can go home. Some of them want to stay there. You say your piece to that person."

The wakes used to be held in the deceased person's home but in more recent times, the wake is held at a local funeral home or at the Delaware Tribe's Community Center. Wakes typically begin in the afternoon and last through the entire night ending when the gathered family and

relatives process to the cemetery on the following morning. Wakes provide an opportunity for friends and relatives to visit and comfort one another and pray for the deceased on the night before the internment. Although the moccasin game used to be played by those at the wake in the evening it is no longer practiced. Typically, wakes involve friends and relatives sharing good memories about the deceased and praying for the deceased. At midnight, everyone gathers outside and a rifle is fired. Then, the speaker will pray for the departed and those assembled. The face of the deceased is then painted with a red paint by the speaker. As one recalls,

Well, for women it's about a nickel-sized spot on each cheekbone. And for the men it's usually two little stripes back of their eyes. It may be a long time ago that those differ according to clan, I don't know, but the women all I've ever heard of is the spot. And sometimes they'd paint the part [of the hair], back about two inches. ... I've heard several people say it's so that when they get to heaven they'll be recognized as Indian, or Delaware.

One dot is placed on each cheek of a woman and three lines are traced back from the eye almost to the hairline on a man. The same paint is also sometimes applied to a centerline part in the hair. The Delaware believe that the paint marks one as Delaware and ensures that they will be recognized as such in the afterlife. The painting of the deceased's face at midnight is still practiced by contemporary observers of the traditional funeral.

Following the painting of the face, a midnight meal is served to all in attendance. After the meal, some will stay for the rest of the evening while others may leave and return in the morning. There is no expectation that one must stay through the entire night. Only the best friend is expected to stay with the body through the entire night although the speaker, workers and family do tend to stay with the deceased as well. At daybreak, another rifle shot is fired by the speaker and the women workers begin serving breakfast and gathering up the food that will be taken to the cemetery. The family of the deceased used to provide an animal to butcher (typically a domestic animal such as a hog or a steer) that will provide the meat for the graveside feast but more recently, the family will provide the meal at an indoor facility that follows the internment. After everyone has eaten breakfast, those assembled will proceed to the cemetery.

When the wakes were held in the home of the deceased, the speaker would lead the procession and the deceased would be at the end of the procession. The local funeral home that now makes the accommodations for the traditional funeral follows this observance and will bring the deceased to the cemetery once everyone has left the funeral home. It is believed that one should not look back during the procession as the spirit will fall behind if they do.

## In the presence of the departed

When this sun goes down they go to another world.

It lights up another place.

He's facing that,

he goes down with that.

That's the reason they bury the head to the east ...

Jack Longbone, 1970

Once the deceased arrives at the cemetery, the graveside observances begin. The grave was traditionally hand dug by the male workers and friends of the deceased. Relatives and children should not take part in digging the grave. Following this tradition, the local funeral home will oversee the digging of the grave in preparation for the graveside service in most cases unless the family requests that the grave be prepared by hand which happens rarely today. The casket is then placed on supports over the top of, or beside the grave pit. As Fred Washington described the graveside service,

At the cemetery the casket is placed, with the head to the east, body facing the west, in preparation for its being lowered into the ground. The survivors stand in a line, running east and west, on the south side of the grave, facing north. The preacher, standing at the head facing west, talks to the survivors telling them their loved one is going home and they should be prepared to do the same at any time. He prays for the survivors again at this time. At the close of the prayer, the survivors walk in a clockwise direction around the casket to the preacher and

shake hands with him. After all the survivors have done this all others in attendance do the same. At this time a notch is cut with a pocketknife in the southeast corner of the casket, not the lid, in the main part, which allows the spirit to escape as it is not be buried with the body. The casket is then lowered into its final resting place and any possessions of the deceased are placed upon it.

The head of the deceased is placed toward the east. Some say the body faces east in order to meet the sunrise while others explain that the deceased will never see morning or dawn again. The speaker then stands at the head of the grave, speaks to those assembled and prays for the bereaved and the deceased. Once finished, the speaker shakes hands with those near him and sits down. Then, the friend who has been with the body all night, speaks to the deceased and encourages the deceased to move on to the afterlife and think of the living no more. Those assembled are then allowed to view the body one last time before it is lowered into the grave. Some families will place a set of everyday clothing in the casket with the deceased. Others will place the set of clothing on top of the casket before lowering it into the grave. Many families will place items that were important to the deceased in the casket. Such items would include mirrors and needles for women and feathers for men. The casket is then closed and lowered into the grave. Those assembled will then move in a counter clockwise motion and sprinkle tobacco, and sometimes earth, on the grave. Then, the male workers and friends return all of the dirt that was removed from the grave back into the grave so that there is a low mound when finished.

It is very important to ensure that all of the fill dirt is put back in the grave and that all of the dirt remains in the grave. A commonly remembered event that many still discuss illustrates the importance of keeping all of the fill dirt in the grave. Adult tribal members recall the collective outrage that developed when a then rather popular elected leader took it upon himself to flatten all of the mounds in the Delaware Cemetery so that the cemetery would be more evenly landscaped and thus easier to mow. When word of what he thought was a good deed spread, he was quickly forced to resign his elected position and was never able to achieve reelection. The fill dirt and the mound it creates is both an offering to the departed and a symbol

of their presence. For some families, it is believed that the spirit is still present until the mound flattens naturally. For others, the mound is a lasting memory that the departed was interred according to traditional custom.

In much earlier times, a palisade was sometimes constructed around the mound. Today, what remains of the palisade is the wooden grave marker that is placed at the head of the grave. The plain wooden marker is then decorated with four crosses painted in red Indian paint by the speaker or one of the male workers. The Delaware believe that the grave marker, once set in place, is not to be disturbed regardless of what happens. When the wooden marker eventually rots from natural exposure and collapses to the grave that it is to not be disturbed and set back into the ground or fixed. The marker is intentionally left on the surface of the grave and will slowly decompose leaving only the iron nails on the surface as an indication of its former presence. The nails are not removed but intentionally left as part of the burial. During the last century most families have also purchased and will place a stone marker behind the wooden marker. The stone markers can be any size, style or color and will be inscribed with the deceased's name and birth and death dates. Modern traditionalists explain that is a modern adaptation they have chosen so that there is a lasting memorial for the deceased and a way of protecting the grave from potential disturbance in the future as memory fades of the location of the grave.

Once the grave is complete, the graveside feast is held called "tahkwiphotin". In earlier times, the workers would spread two sheets or tarps at an open space in the cemetery to serve as the tables for the feast. The food brought by the family would be set out on one table and the food brought by the friends would be set out on the other. The friends would eat the food provided by the family and the family would eat the food brought by the friends. Feast food is handled differently. Salt is never added to feast food as it was believed that salt ruins the taste for those who have departed (Dean 66). Feast food must also be prepared in a respectful, prayerful way by a clean, virtuous woman. Women who are menstruating are not allowed to

handle feast food. At the cemetery, food must be handled and distributed in a respectful way as well.

Before eating, the speaker prays and six large pans are prepared for the two male workers, two female workers, speaker and the best friend who sat all night with the deceased. It is the best friend who "eats" for the deceased. Those assembled then wait until these six have eaten and then everyone else eats. Some families also recall that a very small portion of each type of food in the best friend's pan will be left at the head of the grave for the deceased although this is not generally practiced today. After the ceremony is over, these six are expected to take home what has been given to them which would include the pan and any uneaten food. The graveside feast is no longer held but contemporary funerals will recreate this event at a feast that is held inside, sometimes at the Delaware Tribe's Community Center. The family still provides food as do the non-relatives. The speaker, best friend and workers will eat first and the best friend is believed to "eat" for the deceased leaving a little on their plate for the deceased when finished.

After the feast, a small fire is made at the head of the grave by either a spouse or a male worker. The fire can be very small, sometimes a collection of matches or small twigs and is done before everyone leaves the cemetery. The fire is believed to keep the deceased warm and light their way to the afterlife. The two clothing bundles prepared before the wake are then given to the workers. If the deceased was a male, one bundle is given to each male worker. If the deceased was a female, then one bundle is given to each female worker. It is expected that the recipients of the bundle will wear the clothing at least once. The graveside service is completed with the speaker announcing the end of the event and encouraging everyone to stay and visit for awhile and not rush off. Eventually, everyone leaves the cemetery on their own time and some remember that it was not appropriate to look back toward the cemetery after departing or it may encourage the deceased to follow.

## Returning without the departed

After they're buried there, you know, we don't bother them anymore. We have our feast at our own home. Rosetta Coffey, 2011

When everyone has left the cemetery and those assembled have returned home, the house of the deceased in cleansed with red cedar smoke. Red cedar leaves are sprinkled on hot coals that are smoldering in a pan or small pot and a person will take the use an eagle fan to spread the rising cedar smoke to all areas of the interior of the house. The same will be done around the outside of the home and any items of the deceased that were kept as keepsakes by friends and relatives. Also, everyone who attended a funeral will cleanse themselves and everything they wore to the funeral with cedar smoke by using either a fan or wafting the smoke with their hands. It is important to only use cedar once someone has returned home because cedar is not to be used at the cemetery. Cedar purifies the living space and returns the home to the living and separates it from the now departed person.

For the next three days, someone is expected to return to the grave and light a small fire at the head of the grave making a total of four fires at the head of the grave. Some families will also leave a small plate of food at the grave or "eat" the small plate of food at the head of the grave for the deceased. This can be done by a family member, one of the male workers or the best friend. After the third day, it is believed by some that the deceased has begun the journey to the afterlife. According to Munsee tradition, the soul of the departed remains with the living for twelve days. Some Munsee descended families will thus hold a feast in the deceased person's home on the twelfth day after the person's death.

The family remains in mourning for one year following a relative's death. The family either remains at home or limits their travel to that which is necessary. The family members do not fully participate in social or ceremonial events during the year of mourning. They may

attend such events but do not dance, sing or dress for the occasion. At the close of the year, the family may choose to hold a memorial feast for the deceased called a "Wihunge". If someone chooses to hold a memorial feast, then they are obligated to hold one every year for the rest of their life. The family of the individual who chooses to hold the feast is not obligated to continue the feast after the individual who choose to hold the feast has passed. The family hosting the feast will prepare all the foods that the deceased had liked and invite friends and relatives. The night before the feast, all of the food is placed in large pans, wrapped with tea towels and hung outside. The person holding the feast then prays and explains that the food is for those who have been put away. On the next morning, a tarp is placed on the floor in the home and the pans of food are unwrapped and set out for the invited quests. The host will then pray and explain that the food is for the departed and that the quests are eating for the departed as was done at the graveside feast. One non-relative is chosen to eat for the deceased person in whose honor the feast is being held. Everyone will then eat and is encouraged to take food home with them when they are finished.

The observances carried out during a traditional funeral thus mark the passage of the deceased to the afterlife where the deceased is encouraged to remain. Offerings of food, fire and clothing, both at the gravesite and at the family's home, play a central role. Eating with the departed the night before the burial as well as eating for the departed at the gravesite are key elements of the observance. A clear boundary is drawn between the cemetery as the place for the deceased, and the home as the place for the living. Certain objects are not to be taken into a cemetery while others are intentionally left in a cemetery in order to remain with the deceased. As friends and relatives put away a loved one and say their final farewells at the gravesite, they are sure to intentionally leave food, fire and clothing for the deceased in the cemetery and at the grave itself.

## Applying the Ethnographic Evidence to the NAGPRA Definitions

NAGPRA provides clear definitions for identifying Native American human remains and funerary objects according to the law and regulations. The following section reviews the relevant definitions, primarily drawn from the NAGPRA regulations (43 CFR 10), and applies the definitions in light of the provided ethnographic description of the traditional Delaware funeral practice in order to identify what objects would be rightfully considered a funerary object from the Delaware perspective. The NAGPRA definitions for human remains and funerary objects provide an opportunity to examine the method by which we view the funerary nature of objects found in a burial context.

NAGPRA specifically applies to only Native American human remains and funerary objects and thus determining if human remains are Native American requires the first step of analysis that most Delaware burials must endure. According to the NAGPRA regulations, "Native American means of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture indigenous to the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii." Remains that are found in prehistoric contexts are correctly classified as Native American without further consideration. However, remains found in protohistoric and historic Delaware cemeteries, or whose original provenience is unknown, must undergo further analysis in order to determine the identity of the human remains. Such analysis is generally performed by a physical anthropologist who is tasked with examining the bones for phenotypical markers that are generally shared among Native American and/or prehistoric American populations.<sup>1</sup>

The NAGPRA definition for human remains does include important provisions that limit the return of all human remains that may be in museum collections. As defined by NAGPRA, "Human remains means the physical remains of the body of a person of Native American ancestry. The term does not include remains or portions of remains that may reasonably be determined to have been freely given or naturally shed by the individual from whose body they were obtained, such as hair made into ropes or nets. For the purposes of determining cultural affiliation, human remains incorporated into a funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony, as defined below, must be considered as part of that item." This definition then clearly requires the determination that the human remains are Native American and that they were not intentionally given or naturally lost.

Items whose provenience places them intentionally placed with or near the Native American human remains are classified as funerary objects. NAGPRA defines funerary objects as, "items that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed intentionally at the time of death or later with or near individual human remains." With one exception that will be explained below, Native American human remains must be with or near an item for it to be considered a funerary object. The standard of proof used for determining if an item was intentionally placed with or near Native American human remains is that of reasonable belief. NAGPRA does not give guidance on whose reasonable belief should be used although up to this point, most institutions have relied on an archaeologically informed interpretation. This report provides the ethnographic evidence from which to consider reasonable belief from the Delaware perspective. According to 20th century practitioners of the traditional funeral, it is reasonable to believe that items that are found on surface, in the grave fill or in the grave pit; were intentionally placed with or near human remains and should remain with or near the identified human remains.

Demonstrating the original intent, timing and location of the object is another consideration when determining the funerary nature of objects. The provenience of an object is often used in an archaeological interpretation as evidence for original intent, timing and location. Objects found on or in very close proximity of the human remains are interpreted as the remains of items that were buried with or near the individual during the death ceremony.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Archaeologist Jay Custer points out the very real possibility that human remains deteriorate relatively quickly in the acidic soils of the Mid-Atlantic thus leaving behind only the most durable funerary objects. Although Custer's research points out that it is very likely to find Delaware funerary objects in pits that no longer contain human remains, it is not possible to define such objects as funerary according to the NAGPRA regulations. For purposes of completing the summary and inventory requirements, NAGPRA distinguishes two types of funerary objects. Associated funerary objects are, "those funerary objects for which the human remains with which they were placed intentionally are also in the possession or control of a museum or Federal agency. *Unassociated funerary objects* means those funerary objects for which the human remains with which they were placed intentionally are not in the possession or control of a museum or Federal agency." Funerary objects are all subject to repatriation, the distinction made here is simply for reporting purposes.

Objects found below or outside the grave pit, in the grave fill or on the surface of the grave are often not interpreted as funerary objects because it is considered unreasonable to believe that the items were intentionally placed, at the time of the death rite or later, with or near the human remains. Such an archaeological interpretation would correctly identify the durable remains from items such as the coffin, the burial clothing, the clothing bundle placed in the coffin, and the items placed in the coffin as funerary objects. However, such an interpretation would miss the funerary intent of the items placed on top of the coffin that may drift into the grave fill, the actual soil and artifacts in the grave fill itself, the remains of the graveside fire and the tokens to the departed left on the surface.

The research presented in this report demonstrates that the latter interpretation; in which all items found in or on the surface of a grave are funerary objects, is more appropriate when the ethnographic evidence is considered. Given that there is no word for trash in the Delaware language and the importance of ensuring that all of the dirt remains with the grave, the Delaware would view any object that is found in or on the surface of the grave as intentionally and appropriately left with or near human remains regardless of their relative proximity to actual human remains. Items that the Delaware would reasonably believe to have been placed with or near individual human remains would include the food remains found on or near the surface of the grave, charcoal remains from the small fire on or near the surface, soil samples removed from the grave or grave fill and any durable items such as pottery, stone tools and debitage found on the surface or in the grave fill. In all, the ethnographic evidence supports the interpretation that the items found in, or on the surface of the grave were intentionally placed with or near individual human remains.

The NAGPRA regulations also add further support for determining the funerary nature of items found in or on the surface of a Delaware grave. The additional requirement is that "Funerary objects must be identified by a preponderance of the evidence as having been removed from a specific burial site of an individual affiliated with a particular Indian tribe or

Native Hawaiian organization or as being related to specific individuals or families or to known human remains." This second requirement adds the preponderance of evidence standard that requires that the majority of the evidence supports an interpretation. This standard requires more evidence than that of reasonable belief that an item was removed from a specific human burial site.

Determining what constitutes a burial site is also addressed in the NAGPRA regulations. A burial site is defined as, "any natural or prepared physical location, whether originally below, on, or above the surface of the earth, into which, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, individual human remains were deposited, and includes rock cairns or pyres which do not fall within the ordinary definition of gravesite." Burial site is a location that, according to the NAGPRA definition, differs from a burial pit or gravesite. Any location becomes a burial site because human remains were placed there as part of a death rite or ceremony. The burial site, as a location, extends throughout the entirety of a burial pit. While a Delaware individual may be placed at the bottom of a burial pit, the burial site is a location that extends from the bottom of the grave and includes the fill and surface of the grave. Funerary objects are defined as those items that have been removed from a burial site, and not just the items found at the bottom of a burial pit or on the individual human remains. From the Delaware perspective, a clearly defined burial pit would constitute a burial site according to the NAGPRA regulations. Any objects that are found in the pit, grave fill or on the surface of a Delaware grave are correctly identified as funerary objects because they were found in association with what NAGPRA defines as a burial site. If it can be determined by a preponderance of the evidence that an object was found within the boundaries of a clearly defined burial pit, such objects are funerary objects according to NAGPRA.

The NAGPRA regulations also provide further guidance on items that may or may not be found at the burial site but may be considered funerary. Associated funerary objects can also be, "those funerary objects that were made exclusively for burial purposes or to contain human

remains." This stipulation adds items that were exclusively made for a burial without a further requirement that they be placed at the burial site. In the traditional Delaware custom, such items that fall under this NAGPRA definition for a funerary object would include the coffin, one's burial outfit and the grave marker that are all made exclusively for burial purposes. The durable remains of those objects would be the nails from the coffin and grave marker and the beads and trade silver from the clothing. If it can be demonstrated that nails were once used in the construction of a coffin or a grave marker or that beads and trade silver were once part of a burial outfit, then such objects are funerary objects even if they were not found at a burial site. Funerary objects are both objects that are found in or on the surface of a clearly defined burial pit and a coffin, grave marker and burial outfit that are exclusively made for burial purposes.

While the NAGPRA definition for funerary objects includes a number of potential items, the regulations also exclude those items that were not intended for the deceased but were used as part of the death rite. As the regulations state, "objects that were displayed with individual human remains as part of a death rite or ceremony of a culture and subsequently returned or distributed according to traditional custom to living descendants or other individuals are not considered unassociated funerary objects." According to this exclusion, the remains from the feasts that are held 12 days and one year after the funeral and the clothing of the deceased that is distributed to the workers at a traditional funeral would not be considered a funerary object. From the Delaware perspective and that of NAGPRA, the clothing and food were not intended for the deceased and the remains of such items should not be repatriated and/or reburied.

Adding ethnographic data into consideration provides a complimentary source for determining Delaware funerary objects according to the NAGPRA definitions. Archaeological data is useful in providing the provenience of an object in relation to individual human remains and there location within a burial site. Ethnographic and archaeological data are best combined to provide a more certain determination on the funerary status of an object. As the ethnography of Delaware funerary practices has demonstrated, any item that was found in or on the surface

of a Delaware grave is defined as a funerary object according to the NAGPRA regulations.

Though an ethnographically informed interpretation of the archaeological record broadens the possibilities for identifying funerary objects at clearly defined Delaware grave, it is an approach that is supported by both archaeological and ethnographic evidence while remaining consistent with the NAGPRA regulations.

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