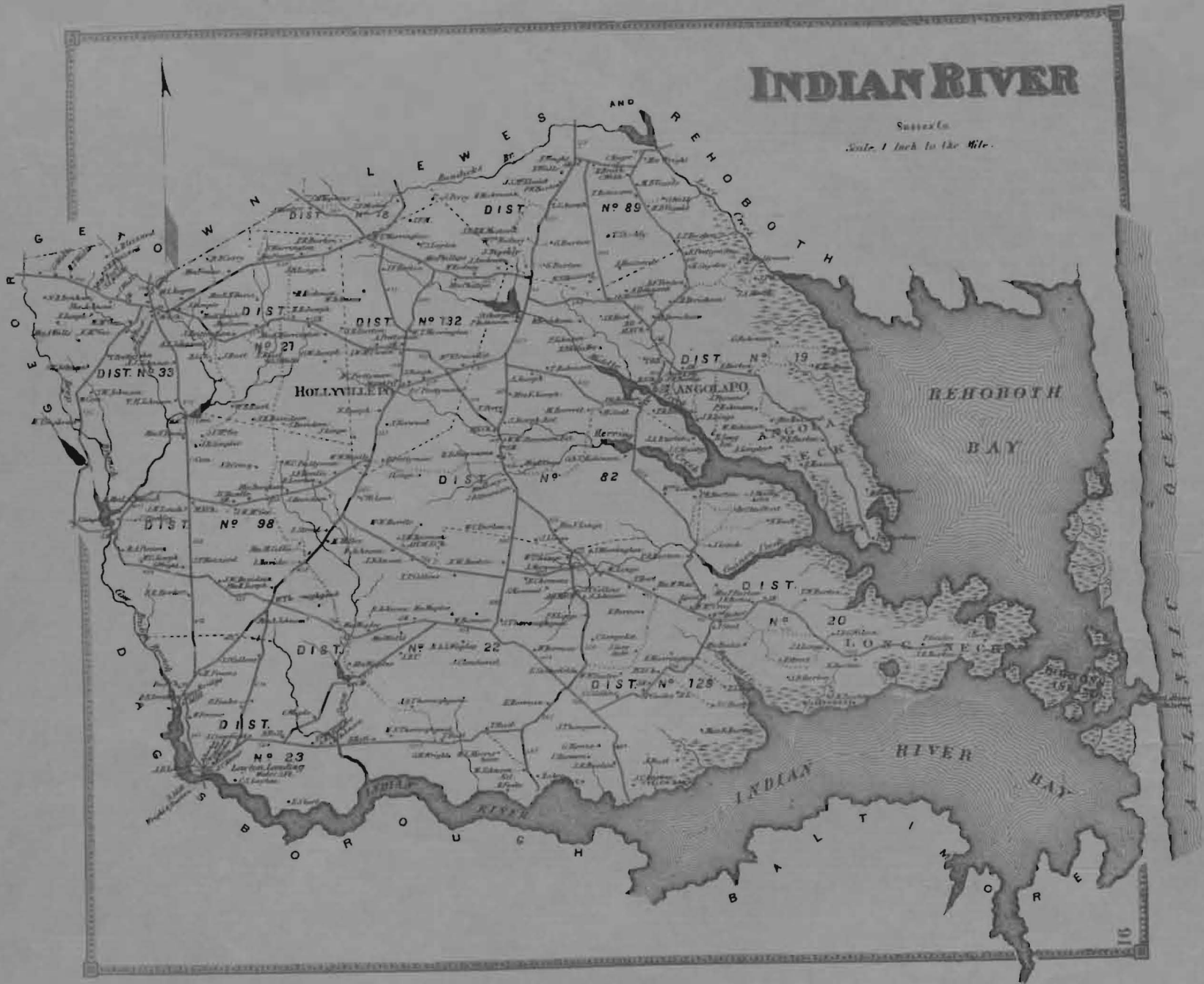


A Photographic Survey Of Indian River Community



Compiled by
Nanticoke Indian Heritage Project
with an Introductory Text by
Frank W. Porter, III

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MILLSBORO: INDIAN MISSION CHURCH, 1977

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"The Indian is virtually extinct in the eastern United States," Julian H. Steward remarked in 1945, and "In a matter of years the last survivors will disappear without leaving any important cultural or racial mark on the national population." In the years since this statement was made, however, a significant amount of research and writing aptly demonstrates the error of Steward's prediction.¹ This paper is a preliminary report of a case study in cultural change and survival which focuses on the Nanticoke Indians who originally resided along the Nanticoke River on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, but subsequently removed to Indian River Inlet in Delaware. The central undertaking of this study is to examine the processes of change whereby the Nanticoke have survived and maintained their cultural identity to the present. To accomplish this task five major time periods have been identified: initial contact and accommodation (1525 to 1642); resistance (1642 to 1722); migration and amalgamation (1722 to 1784); self-imposed and enforced isolation (1784 to 1881); and assimilation (1881 to the present). Each of these periods involved specific responses on the part of the Nanticoke to the continued presence of western civilization.

Reconstruction of Aboriginal Culture

Because of the early date at which the aboriginal population of the Chesapeake Bay region came into contact with western civilization, and the paucity of surviving written material from that period, relatively little information is available about the behavioral traits of the culture of specific tribes. In order to achieve a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of aboriginal culture of the Chesapeake Bay region, diverse information from the available early first-hand accounts must be compiled and organized. The historical reconstruction of a culture from such sources, however, requires more than a mere compilation of data because of contradictions and gaps in the record. Complementing the observations contained in written primary sources is the wealth of information embedded in archaeological reports, fieldwork performed by anthropologists and ethnologists, and the insights offered by cultural geographers. The synthesis and critical analysis of this material is presenting a more complete and accurate account of the culture of the aboriginal population of Maryland at the time of contact with European culture.²

Reaction and Interaction after Initial Culture Contact

The reaction of an aboriginal people to the presence and culture of an intrusive and colonizing people is, to a certain degree, conditioned by their cultural background, their present political, social and economic organization, the degree of their cultural self-sufficiency, and their population numbers.³ On the other hand, the attitude and reaction of the intruding culture towards an aboriginal people is influenced by their immediate objectives: exploration, conquest, colonization, or exploitation. Significantly important is whether the indigenous people are part of an integrated village with tribal organization under the control of a headman or chief, or if they are semi-nomadic and food-gatherers with no settled villages, permanent gardens, and centralized political authority. In the latter case the intruders often perceive that these people are virtually without culture. For this reason they are unlikely to recognize, let alone respect, native ways, customs, beliefs, and values; or to adjust to them their method of economic, administrative, or spiritual invasion. From the intruder's point of view any adaptation or change in such an instance must be all on one side: that of the aboriginal culture.⁴

In the case of the aboriginal population of the Chesapeake Bay region - in this study to be identified as the

Middle Atlantic culture - their subsistence base was a combination of food-gathering, hunting, fishing, and agriculture dependent on seasonal migration to different ecological niches.⁵ The Indians had devised a variety of economic adjustments to these differing habitats and were able to satisfy all of their basic needs. Moreover, they possessed a sophisticated political organization with a centralization of authority. Their particular reaction to the permanent presence of Europeans from 1607 to 1748 resulted in an anomalous pattern when compared to the experiences of Indians in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Mainly, there was a marked absence of bitter strife and warfare and no serious or widespread outbreak of disease normally associated with contact between Europeans and Indians.⁶ Yet by the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Indians in Maryland had decreased significantly. Raphael Semmes, in his study of aboriginal Maryland from 1608 to 1689, calculated the total aboriginal population to be 6,500. James Mooney, estimating the aboriginal population of America north of Mexico, noted the following for Maryland:

Maryland	1600	1907
Conoy or Piscataway, Patuxent, etc.	2,000	Extinct
Toxwogh and Ozinies	700	Extinct
Nanticoke, etc.	1,600	80 (?) mixture
Wicomico	400	20 (?) mixture

According to John Smith the Nanticoke in 1608 numbered between two and three thousand. In 1722 Robert Beverley described the principal Nanticoke village, called Nanduge, as containing one hundred inhabitants; their total population numbered five hundred. In 1765 they still had a population of five hundred, but by 1792 they had decreased to a total of nine individuals.⁷ What happened to effect this decline in population?

Migration and Amalgamation

Unlike the Susquehanna Indians, who finally resorted to war and hostility to resist the Europeans, the Nanticoke ultimately abandoned their villages on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and migrated to Pennsylvania, New York, and later, Canada. Fortunately, the historical record provides insights as to why the Nanticoke left Maryland and the various locations where they established villages. During the seventeenth century the English inhabitants had steadily occupied the Eastern Shore of Maryland, resulting in the reduction of Indian land and destruction of their hunting grounds.⁸ In order to protect their habitat the Nanticoke had sought legal council, waged war, and resigned themselves to reservations, but to no avail. As early as 1722 individual tribes of Nanticoke began to leave Maryland; and by 1748 a majority of the tribes had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania, while another group established a village at Chenango near present day Binghamton, New York. The Rev. John Heckewelder, the noted Moravian missionary, wrote in May 1740 that "a considerable Number of the Nanticoks with their Chief called White, at their head, emigrated from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to this place [Wyoming Valley] & settled on the one side of the River, within sight of the Shawanese Town."⁹ Representatives of the Six Nations of Iroquois, speaking in behalf of their "Cousins" the Nanticoke, informed Pennsylvania authorities in 1749 that Maryland was preventing further removal of the remaining Nanticoke.

You know that on some differences between the People of Maryland & them we sent for them & placed them at the Mouth of Juniata, where they now live; they came to Us while on our Journey & told us that there were three Settlements of their Tribe left behind in Maryland who wanted to come

away, but the Marylanders kept them in fence & would not let them; . . . use your utmost Interest that the fence in which they are confined may be taken away . . . & that they may be allowed to come & settle where the other Nanticokes are . . .¹⁰

Soon after establishing a village at Juniata, delegates from the Nanticoke and several other tribes complained to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania that Whites "were Settling & design'd to Settle the Lands on the Branches of Juniata." The delegates insisted on their removal because this was the hunting ground of the Nanticoke and other Indians living along the Juniata.¹¹ Within a short time the Nanticoke moved to Wyoming Valley only to be forced out in 1755 with the outbreak of hostilities during the French and Indian War. By 1765 they had temporarily resided at Owego, Chugnut, and Chenango in New York. From New York the remnants of the Nanticoke tribes settled in Canada and came completely under the dominance of the Six Nations, becoming almost virtually denationalized by the Iroquois.¹² Charles M. Johnston, in his documentary study of the Six Nations at Grand River Reservation, Ontario, argues that the number of Nanticoke during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was negligible when contrasted with the population of the Six Nations, thus relegating the tribe to a minor role in political affairs and the economy.¹³ The following census figures reflect the small number of Nanticoke living on the Grand River Reservation:

1785	11
1810	9
1811	10
1813	2
1843	47

An equally small number apparently returned to Maryland where they claimed five thousand acres of land reserved for them by the Assembly of Maryland. William Vans Murray, while collecting a vocabulary of the Nanticoke dialect in 1792, left a vivid description of the survivors of this once influential tribe.

The tribe has dwindled almost into extinction. The little town where they live consists but of four genuine old wigwams, thatched over with the bark of the Cedar - very old - and two framed houses . . . They are not more than nine in number: The others of the tribe, which in this century was at least Five hundred in number, having died or removed towards the Frontiers, generally to the Six Nations.¹⁴

In 1799 the Nanticoke sold all their land in Maryland.¹⁵

The northward movement of the various Nanticoke tribes demonstrates how the process of amalgamation with other tribes and migration away from the continual presence and encroachment of Europeans was a significant factor enabling them to withstand and survive culture contact. Primary sources abound with references to displaced tribes applying for asylum and being granted land. William Byrd of Virginia recognized that many of the Indian tribes were forced to band together because they were not "Separately Numerous enough for their Defence." ¹⁶ Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post observed in the Iroquois policy of accepting into their territory refugees from other tribes another form of amalgamation.

They settle these New Allies on the Frontiers of the white People and give them this as their Instructions. "Be Watchful that nobody of the White People may come to settle near you. You must appear to them as frightful Men, & if notwithstanding

ing they come too near, give them a Push. We will secure and defend you against them.¹⁷

The Nanticoke, for many years harassed by the Iroquois of central New York and suffering from encroachments by whites, ultimately found refuge among their former enemies the Iroquois rather than the whites who occupied their land. Frank G. Speck noted that the "political idealism of the Iroquois League, harsh though the methods may have been, showed forth in the policy of adopting subjugated peoples and giving them complete freedom besides inviting them to reside in their midst."¹⁸ There was, however, a negative aspect to the process of amalgamation. Because of the dispersion of the Nanticoke, and through their association with other refugee tribes, they lost much of their traditional culture by merging their customs, blood, and later their language with Indian groups of foreign affinities. James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, in their article on the Nanticoke in the *Handbook of American Indians*, stated: "... the majority of the tribe, in company with remnants of the Mahican and Wappinger, emigrated to the W. about 1784 and joined the Delawares in Ohio and Indiana, with whom they soon became incorporated, disappearing as a distinct tribe. A few mixed bloods live on Indian r., Delaware."¹⁹ Yet in 1911 Frank Speck recorded that the Nanticoke residing in Delaware numbered approximately seven hundred.²⁰

Miscegenation, Isolation, and Survival

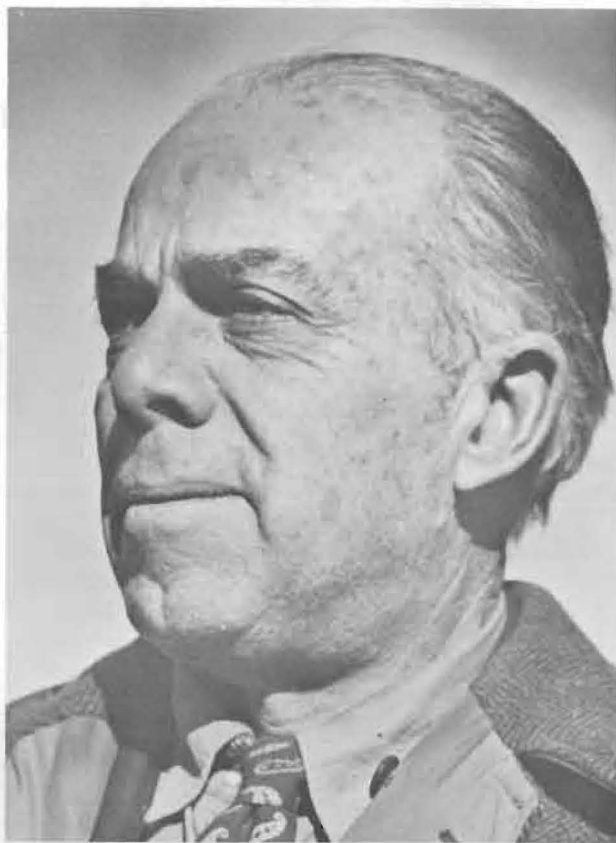
After approximately one hundred and fifty years of migration away from the continual encroachment of their land and inroads into their socio-economic way of life by white culture, the Nanticoke in 1784 sought refuge and sanctuary at Indian River Inlet, Delaware. This particular group numbered approximately thirty individuals and may be considered the survivors of the original tribal group, many having remained among the Six Nations of Iroquois in Canada, while others moved to Oklahoma to join the Delaware. From the outset of the nineteenth century until the present the Nanticoke have resided at Indian River Inlet and successfully have maintained their cultural identity, although the last person who spoke the Nanticoke language died some time between 1840 and 1850.

The cultural survival of the Nanticoke can be explained by both internal and external conditions. After nearly a century of continual migration the remnant Nanticoke in Maryland sought a settlement site which would have been perceived by contemporary European standards as a marginal environment (unfit for commercial agriculture and lacking transportation links with tidewater ports), but offered the necessary resources to satisfy the basic needs of the Nanticoke. Such land would not be actively cultivated by whites at that time. By 1830 the Nanticoke had developed a self-sufficient community. External pressures further strengthened the bonds of the community. During the nineteenth century, and perhaps earlier, some of the Nanticoke intermarried with individuals outside of their tribe and community. As such the Nanticoke were labeled "colored persons" and/or mixed-bloods and were accorded the same treatment as Negroes. Consequently they were segregated culturally and spatially from white society.²¹ William H. Gilbert, in his study of mixed-blood racial islands of the eastern United States, offered the following analysis:

In many of the eastern States of this country there are small pockets of peoples who are scattered here and there in different counties and who are complex mixtures in varying degrees of white, Indian, and Negro blood. These small local groups seem to develop especially where environmental circumstances such as forbidding swamps or inaccessible and barren mountain country favor their growth. Many are located along the tide-water of the Atlantic coast where swamps or islands and peninsulas have protected them and kept alive a portion of the aboriginal blood which greeted the first white settlers on these shores.²²

This physical, cultural and spatial separation from the broader white society allowed the Nanticoke during the nineteenth century to acculturate gradually by selectively integrating specific new traits, material and non-material, into their denuded cultural framework.

Unfortunately, the published sources regarding this critical period are virtually silent with respect to the Nanticoke. Instead there has been an overemphasis on the search for their origins, with many pages devoted to the local tradition that the Nanticoke are descendants of Moorish sailors shipwrecked off the Atlantic coast, or that they are descended from an Irish mother and a Negro father.²³ William H. Babcock, who visited the Nanticoke in 1899, clearly was preoccupied in describing the physical appearance of the people.²⁴ Apparently, the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of the community exhibited a lack of homogeneity. Frank G. Speck observed that "the types of physiognomy, color, and hair [ranged] from the European, the mulatto, and the Indian through all the usual gradations. Some individuals have straight hair, fair skin, and blue eyes; some have brown skin and kinky or curly hair; others have broad faces and straight, black hair, the color and general appearance of Indians. It is common to find these characteristics divided irregularly among the members of the same family."²⁵ More



DR. FRANK G. SPECK

important, Speck, who began ethnologic work among the Nanticoke in 1911, was also responsible for gathering and preserving numerous ethnological specimens illustrating life in past generations, recording fragments of material life and folklore, and describing the present-day life of the community. Invaluable as Speck's work is, he did not make any sustained effort to do intensive historical research into county, state, and federal archives. None of the literature relating to the Nanticoke makes use of eighteenth and nineteenth century travel accounts. No research has utilized manuscripts of local families or county and state officials. As a result the processes whereby the Nanticoke maintained their cultural identity during the nineteenth century have neither been completely discerned nor thoroughly analyzed.

The one notable exception to this has been the literature devoted to the study of White-Indian-Negro racial mixtures, more commonly termed "Tri-racial Isolates."²⁶ Edward T. Price notes that these people of mixed ancestry "are recognized as of intermediate social status, sharing lot with neither white nor colored, and enjoying neither the governmental protection nor the tribal tie of the typical Indian descendants. Each is essentially a local phenomenon, a unique demographic body, defined only in its own terms and only by its own neighbors."²⁷ As a mixed-blood community the Nanticoke have received considerable attention since Babcock's visit in 1899. Particular attention has been directed at miscegenation with Negroes, erection of special schools and churches, struggle for Indian status, and trends in mate selection.

Although the Nanticoke have long recognized their mixed-blood ancestry, they staunchly maintain their Indian identity. One of the first episodes to bring the status of the Nanticoke under scrutiny materialized in 1855. Delaware law prohibited the sale or loan of firearms to a Negro or



LEVIN SOCKUM AND WIFE,
EUNICE RIDGEWAY

mulatto. Levin Sockum, a major landholder who owned and operated a general store in Indian River Hundred, was accused of selling a quarter-pound of powder and shot to Isaiah Harmon, alleged to be a free mulatto. George P. Fisher, the prosecuting attorney, described Harmon as a man "about five and twenty years of age, of perfect Caucasian features, dark chestnut brown hair, rosy cheeks and hazel eyes." Sockum attempted to defend himself against the charge. None of the court's witnesses could detail Harmon's ancestry. At that point, Fisher called Lydia Clark as his major witness. Lydia Clark testified that before the American Revolution an Irish lady named Regua purchased and later married "a very tall, shapely and muscular young fellow of dark ginger-bread color." The offspring of this union intermarried with the remnant of the Nanticoke tribe. This testimony established to the court's satisfaction that Harmon was indeed a mulatto. Sockum was found guilty and fined twenty dollars. No sooner had the trial ended that Sockum was brought into court on a second charge - possession of a gun. The court accepted testimony that Sockum was a Negro or mulatto and fined him another twenty dollars.²⁸

Another major event threatening to question the status of the Nanticoke erupted in 1875 when the Legislature of Delaware enacted a law entitled "An Act to Tax Colored Persons for the Support of Their Schools." This legislation stipulated that an assessment of thirty cents on every one hundred dollars of property be levied on all Negroes for the erection and maintenance of separate schools for Negroes. Unwittingly the legislators classified the Nanticoke as Negroes, thus legally requiring their children to attend school with Negroes. The Nanticoke resisted, organized, and hired a lawyer to exert pressure on local politicians to exempt them from this tax on the condition that they erect and maintain their own school. In 1881 the State legislature acquiesced and authorized them to construct and support two schools of their own.²⁹



HOLLYVILLE SCHOOL



NANTICOKE INDIAN SCHOOL

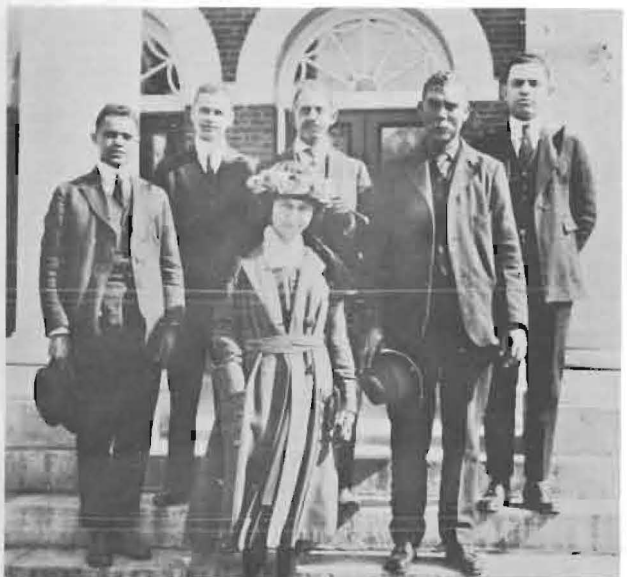


JOHNSON SCHOOL, WARWICK # 203



HARMON SCHOOL

Once again the Nanticoke were able to stave-off a major inroad jeopardizing their cultural identity. To insure their status as Indians the Nanticoke appeared before the legislature and demanded that they be called "Indians" and not "colored persons." In the following session of the legislature there was passed "An Act to Better Establish the Identity of a Race of People Known as the Offspring of the Nanticoke Indians." In 1921 the Nanticoke, with the aid of Frank G. Speck, further strengthened their legal status with the formation of the **Nanticoke Indian Association of Delaware**, and a corporation was formed.³⁰ One of the



HISTORIC SCENE ON STEPS OF CAPITOL, DOVER FOLLOWING GRANTING OF CHARTER TO NANTICOKE INDIAN ASSOCIATION. THE LADY IS GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON; THE MEN READING LEFT TO RIGHT: FRED CLARK, E. LINCOLN HARMON, W.R. CLARK, WARREN WRIGHT, ISAAC JOHNSON.

underlying objectives of the Association was to heighten interest in the old Indian traditions. An annual festival, commemorative of native campfire powwows, was to be held each Thanksgiving. Speck further aided them in the preparation of costumes, strings of beads, and feather headdresses. They learned the steps of simple Indian dances and the words to Indian songs. "There was no intent to hold up these things as direct survivals of their Nanticoke Indian forebears," Clinton A. Weslager cautions, because "Native ceremonial rites, like the Indian language, had been dead in Delaware for over a century." The intention was to "revive the Indian individuality by attaching some

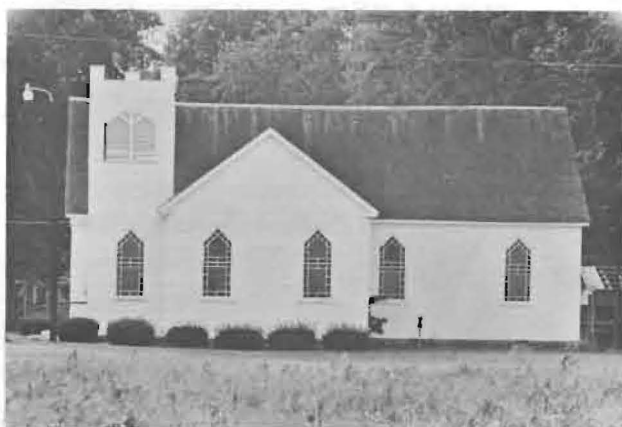
aboriginal practices to their own denuded cultural framework."³¹ The Association was quite successful and remained active until 1936 when the last powwow was held, lack of funds preventing further meetings. Only their churches and schools remained to hold the interest of the Nanticoke and maintain their isolation from white society.



JOHNSON'S CHAPEL,
OLD INDIAN MISSION CHURCH



INDIAN MISSION CHURCH



HARMONY CHURCH

Assimilation

Despite these efforts forces of change, which have come with the twentieth century, had taken advantage of the waning interest of the Nanticoke in their Indian heritage. Brewton Berry, who has studied many of these remnant native American communities in the eastern United States, considers the following factors as detrimental to the isolation which had protected and somewhat shielded them from contact with the outside world.

Paved roads have been built right through their remote sanctuaries. Compulsory school attendance laws have snatched their children from them. Two world wars have called upon their young men for service in distant places. The depression of the 1930's destroyed the sources upon which they relied for their meager cash needs.³²

As a result many of these groups have been swept into the main stream of white society. Economic motives are primarily responsible for the out-migration of many individuals and family groups from these communities as they seek steady employment, higher wages, and better living conditions.

Although the Nanticoke community has been exposed to similar experiences, fieldwork which I performed during the Summer of 1976 and 1977 indicates a significantly different reaction on the part of the Nanticoke. The cultural isolation and spatial segregation which had for so long been a part of their daily lives has disappeared. Yet even with the removal of these cultural and spatial stimuli there has been a re-newed interest among the Nanticoke to once again re-capture their Indian heritage. They face a critical and almost insurmountable problem. The earlier loss of traditional Nanticoke traits, especially non-material culture, makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to revive a previous way of life. On the other hand many material culture items have survived to the present in folklore, written records, or intact and can still be studied and passed on to the next generation.

The following photographic survey of the Indian River community is an initial step in achieving a sense of identity. One point which must be made is that these photographs in no way provide complete coverage of the various facets of the community. They represent a compilation of extant photographs which were solicited from many families living near Indian River. An effort was made to cover photographically and as thoroughly as possible the growth and development of the Indian River community.

FOOTNOTES

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8. William H. Browne, et al., ed., *Archives of Maryland* Baltimore, 1883 to present, 2 p. 196. Also Jane Henry, "The Choptank Indians of Maryland Under the Proprietary Government." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (1970): 171-180; and Arthur E. Karinen, "Maryland Population: 1631-1730: Numerical and Distributional Aspects." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 54 (December 1959): 406.
9. *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn & Co., 1851, 4 pp. 656-657; "Wyoming Described in Letter Written by Rev. John Heckewelder." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 6 (October 1937): 48.
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20. Speck, *The Nanticoke Community of Delaware*, p. 2.
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25. Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
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Nanticoke Craftsmanship and Material Culture



YELLOW PINE SLABS READY TO BE SPLIT INTO FOUR INCH WIDTHS AND SOAKED IN THE BARRELS AT THE LEFT. AFTERWARDS THEY WILL BE SHAVED DOWN INTO SPLINTS TO BE WOVEN INTO UPRIGHTS AND FILLING OF BASKET-WORK EEL POTS.



ELWOOD WRIGHT, NOW DECEASED, PERFORMING FIRST STAGE OF YELLOW PINE SPLIT EEL POT ON REVOLVING MOLD.



SECOND STAGE OF FILLING IN PINE SPLINT EEL POT.



THIRD STAGE OF BUILDING PINE SPLINT EEL POT



COMPLETED EEL POT



JANIE HARMON STREET, SEATED IN OLD LOG CORNCRIB, GRINDING CORN WITH MORTAR AND PESTLE.



GUM LOG CORN MORTAR AND PESTLE.



EDGAR MORRIS SHOOTING A CROSS-BOW OF HIS OWN MANUFACTURE



QUILTING IN 1962. ELIZABETH PATIENCE (WRIGHT) HARMAN AND EPHRAIM LINCOLN HARMAN.



LOG CORN CRIBS ON ISAAC HARMAN'S FARM



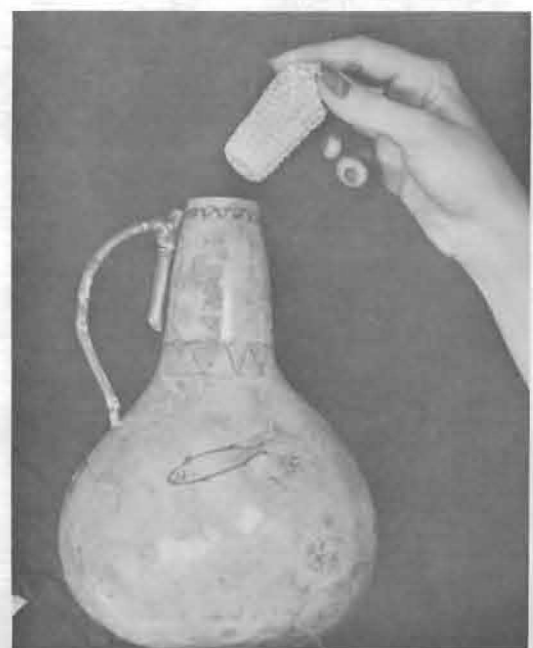
TED STERN, ONE OF FRANK G. SPECK'S STUDENTS, EXAMINES A BOX TRAP.



ROOSEVELT PERKINS IN 1944 WITH HERBS FORMERLY USED AS MEDICINES.



YELLOW PINE BASKET



GOURD RECEPTACLE MANUFACTURED BY OSCAR WRIGHT

Changing Architecture within the Community



DAVID P. STREET (MARCH 10, 1822 - APRIL 5, 1911), HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN



HOME OF ARTHUR JOHNSON AND FAMILY



FARMHOUSE OF ROBERT DAVIS.



LOG CORN CRIBS ON ROBERT DAVIS' FARM



HOME OF WARREN T. WRIGHT



HOME OF ISAAC HARMON



ABANDONED CHICKEN FARM OF AMES HITCHENS

HOMES OF THE COMMUNITY TODAY



WATER FRONT HOME OF FLORENCE
DRAINE CLARK AND HER HUSBAND
EX-CHIEF RUSSELL CLARK.
INDIAN NAME WAS WYNIACO.



E. LINCOLN HARMON



GILBERT JOHNSON



ELWOOD WRIGHT

Agricultural Activity



HOG KILLING



NOAH HARMAN PUTTING UP HAY



HOG KILLING



CECILIA COURSEY AND LELLION BATTY CLEANING CHICKENS



"HAULING CORNCOBS". WALTER B. WRIGHT, ANNA C. DAVIS WRIGHT, AND GLENN W. BARRENTINE, JR.



FIRST FARMALL TRACTOR SOLD BY H.S. OKIE TO E. LINCOLN HARMON



JEAN HARMON DRAWING WATER



WILLIS STREET PICKING PEPPERS



NANTICOKE BOY AND GOAT USED FOR FLOWING



DRAFT HORSE OWNED BY WILLIAM E. NORWOOD

Revivalism



EPHRAIM LINCOLN HARMAN (JANUARY 16, 1891 - MAY 18, 1967). "RUHAH" MEANING CROW



INDIAN DANCE - SACAJAWEA HARMON, DAUGHTER OF JOHN WESLEY AND LILLIE MAE CLARK HARMON



BOY STOCKING WOLF, AMY SCREAMING EAGLE, VIRGINIA SAMMONS, CHARLIE SAMMONS, JOHN RED BIRD



NANTICOKE POW-WOW



NANTICOKE POW-WOW

The Families

BARRENTINE



GLENN W. BARRENTINE, JR. - SON OF GLENN W. BARRENTINE, SR. AND GLORIA HARMON BARRENTINE.

BURTON



THOMAS BURTON, INEZ DAVIS BURTON



FONDELLA BURTON



THE HARRY C. BURTON FAMILY
EFFIE, COURTLAND, BERTHA, HELEN, EVELYN, JACK, HARRY C., SR., HARRY C., JR., NICIE, THOMAS

CLARK



WILLIAM CLARK, SON OF WILLIAM & LOUISE CLARK.



WILLIAM RUSSELL CLARK, "WYNIACO"



MABLE CLARK



WALTER CLARK AND ARZIE (MORRIS) CLARK;
WALTER CLARK - SON, BILLY CLARK;
ARZIE (MORRIS) CLARK - DAUGHTER OF SADIE
RIDGEWAY MORRIS



LOUISE (WRIGHT) CLARK, DAUGHTER OF DAVE WRIGHT
AND HER DAUGHTER, ANNA JOHNSON



HELDIA (SPEED) CLARK, WIFE OF NORMAN CLARK



LILLIE (CLARK) HARMON, DAUGHTER OF
RUSSELL CLARK, WIFE OF WESLEY HARMON



NORMAN CLARK - SON OF WALTER AND ARZIE CLARK

COURSEY



MELVIN COURSEY, CECELIA COURSEY (MOTHER),
MARSHALL (SONNY) COURSEY AND (BABY) JOHN COURSEY



TAKEN AT BEAVER DAM

FIRST ROW - LILLIAN BATTY, CHARLES COURSEY, MARSHALL COURSEY
SECOND ROW - PARIS STERRETT, SR., JOHN STERRETT, HOPE STERRETT
THIRD ROW - JOHN COURSEY, PARIS STERRETT, JR., BUTCH COURSEY



AMOS COURSEY,
BROTHER OF MARSHALL COURSEY

DAVIS



CLARENCE DAVIS, SON OF CHARLES & MINNIE DAVIS



WALTER DAVIS - GRANDSON OF HESTER M. DAVIS



DORIS DAVIS - DAUGHTER OF ROBERT AND LILLIE DAVIS, DENTAL TECHNICIAN AND ARTIST.



CONSTANCE, ARDITH, OSCAR, JR., SHIRLEY
CHILDREN OF LILLIAN (DAVIS) AND OSCAR HARMON
SYLVIA, DORIS DAVIS — DAUGHTERS OF ROBERT & LILLIE DAVIS



SYLVIA (DAVIS) PINKETT



BARBARA DAVIS, SABRINA JOHNSON, SHERRI HOPKINS,
DENISE JOHNSON, MAUREEN MOSLEY, WANDA HOPKINS

HESTER (MORRIS) DAVIS,
DAUGHTER OF HATTIE
MORRIS



HARRY, ETHEL, AND DAUGHTER, SHEILA DAVIS
WITH AN INDIAN FRIEND AT CHEROKEE, N.C.



REGINALD DAVIS — BROTHER OF WALTER DAVIS AND
MACKLIN C. HARMON, SON OF WILBUR AND MADGIE HARMON



LILLIAN DAVIS
DAUGHTER OF ROBERT
AND LILLIE DAVIS



CARRIE DAVIS



HERSEL DAVIS, SON OF HESTER (MORRIS) DAVIS



LILLIE MAY (JOHNSON) DAVIS, SON - WILLIAM H. DAVIS, ROBERT H. DAVIS



SARA JANE (DAVIS) KIRBY, SISTER OF ROBERT DAVIS
AND ANNIE C. WRIGHT

DRAIN

HELEN (DRAIN) MAULL,
SISTER TO CLARENCE DRAIN.



CLARENCE DRAIN, HIS WIFE, LOUISE (MAZE) AND CHILDREN, JOSEPH, WILTON, NANCY & JESSE

DRAINE



THE JACOB DRAINE FAMILY
EDWARD, LILLIAN, MURIEL, BUD, LOUISE, NELLIE, HILDA, DONELDA

HALL



AMOS AND LAURA HALL



RADIA (HALL) MORRIS, DAUGHTER
OF AMOS AND LAURA HALL



DORIS (HALL) JOHNSON, DAUGHTER
OF AMOS AND LAURA HALL



JOSEPH HALL, GRANDCHILD
OF AMOS AND LAURA HALL



JACKIE MORRIS, GRANDCHILD
OF AMOS AND LAURA HALL

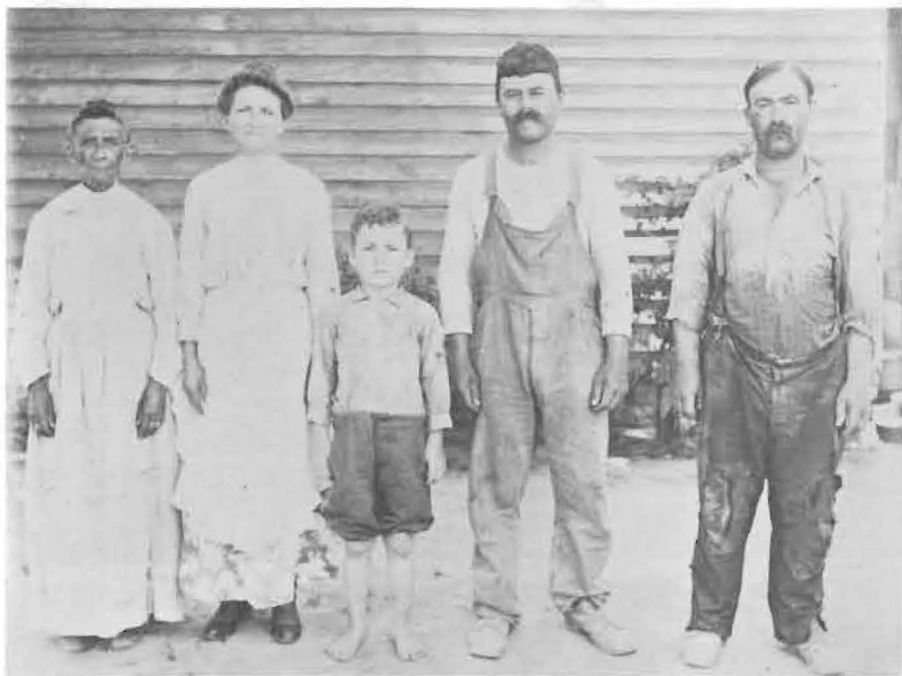


EDNA (HALL) HARMON,
DAUGHTER OF AMOS AND LAURA HALL



EVERETT HALL, SON OF AMOS AND LAURA HALL,
AND BETTY (JACKSON) HALL, HIS WIFE

HANZER



ANN PERKINS HARRIET HANZER MARSHALL HANZER ROBERT HANZER ALEC HANZER

HARMON



FERDINAND HARMON, EPHRAIM HARMON'S SON



SUSIE (BLUNT) HARMON, WIFE OF FERDINAND HARMON



ROBERT HARMON, FATHER OF JOSEPH W. HARMON



HARVEY HARMON



MARY (GAMES) HARMON, MOTHER OF JOSEPH W. HARMON



WESLEY HARMON, SON OF ISAAC AND SARAH HARMON



ISAAC HARMON,
SON OF LEVIN &
REBECCA HARMON



NEVA HARMON,
DAUGHTER OF
HARRIET HANZER



CHARLIE HARMON



NOAH HARMON, SON OF ISAAC AND SARAH HARMON
OWNER OF NOAH'S PARK — OWNED AND OPERATED
A GIST MILL AND GROCERY STORE

HARMON



LEVIN T. HARMON, SON OF ISAAC AND SARA HARMON



CORA HARMON, DAUGHTER
OF HARRIET HANZER



ELIZA JANE HARMON, 1893 - 1918,
MOTHER OF HELEN R. HARMON
AND GLADYS JACKSON, MARRIED
TO RALPH B. HARMON



REBECCA (JACKSON) HARMON, WIFE OF LEVIN T. HARMON



JOSEPH W. HARMON



ISAAC WILLIE HARMAN, HUSBAND OF VINA
FARMER AND LAND OWNER



GOLDIE HARMON



VINA HARMAN — WIFE OF ISAAC WILLIE HARMAN,
DAUGHTER OF THEODORE HARMON



RALPH BUMBRAY, JR., GRANDSON OF ISAAC AND SARAH HARMON



ELMER HARMON, SON OF HARRIET HANZER



RALPH B. HARMAN, SON OF ISAAC
WILLIE AND VINA HARMAN

HARMON

WILSON HARMAN, RALPH HARMAN, EPHRAIM L. HARMAN (STANDING),
LEVALLE HARMAN, JEAN HARMAN, IDA HARMAN, CONCHITA WRIGHT,
THELMA JOHNSON, ELLOISE JOHNSON, EPHRAIM L. HARMAN, JR.
PATIENCE HARMAN, JEAN JOHNSON, EVERETT JOHNSON



LEON HARMON, JR.



MATILDA HARMON, MOTHER OF WILLIS & CHARLIE HARMON



PARKER N. HARMON, MARRIED TO FEDORA HARMON,
SON OF PARKER & ANNIE HARMON



WEST & ELLA HARMON



ISSAC WILSON HARMON,
SON OF VINA & WILLIE HARMON
13 children, 40 grandchildren,
12 great grand children



JEANETTE HARMON



RAE (JACKSON) HARMON, DAUGHTER IN LAW,
ANNA M., DAUGHTER EUNICE HARMON



WILLIAM THOMAS HARMON,
SON OF WILLIS AND ETHEL HARMON



WILLIS HARMON AND WIFE ETHEL
(WRIGHT) AND GRANDSON, JACK



LINCOLN'S PARK CONCESSION STAND
JUNE HARMON (BURTON)
EUNICE HARMON
THELMA HARMON (JOHNSON)
ELVANETTA HARMON (JACKSON)



ANITA HARMON CARNEY

HARMON



WILLIS STREET AND WIFE, ANNA JANE (HARMON)



THEODORE PARKER HARMAN, SON OF ISAAC WILLIE & VINA, HUSBAND OF ANNIE JOHNSON



ANNIE PATIENCE JOHNSON HARMON, DAUGHTER OF PATIENCE AND WILLIAM ARTHUR JOHNSON



HELEN R. HARMON, DAUGHTER OF ELIZA & RALPH HARMON, HER SON, WILSON AND GRAND DAUGHTER, BEVERLY JEAN



GRANVILLE MORRIS, PHYLLIS (HARMON) MORRIS
JEANETTE HARMON, WANDA (HARMON) RADISH,
FRANCIS (HARMON) NORWOOD, FAYE (HARMON) BLANKS



FEDORA HARMON AND SONS, GREGORY, GERALD, JOSEPH, LEONARD



JAMES HARMAN, HUNTER & TRAPPER, MADGIE (STREET) HARMAN AND HER HUSBAND WILBUR (COBBLER)



RACHAEL HARMON, ANNIE P. HARMON, ROHNEER HARMON, KENNETH HARMON



ANNA JOHNSON HARMON AND THEODORE HARMON



FRED HARMON



LESTON A. HARMON (SHORTY)
SON OF WILBUR AND MADGIE HARMON



MYRTLE (SAMMONS) HARMON, DAUGHTER OF SADIE RIDGEWAY & GEORGE SAMMONS MOTHER OF 13 CHILDREN, CECILE, MYRTLE, LORRAINE, ELENA, BETTY, JAN, MARIAN, BEATRICE, JUNE & CONRAD



SYLVESTER HARMON AND WIFE, DOROTHY (NORWOOD)
ROBERT DRAINE AND WIFE, EUNICE (HARMON), THEIR GRANDSON, DELANO



RONALD ORTIZ AND HIS WIFE DEBORAH (JACKSON)
AND SON, ANDREW

HITCHENS



MILDRED HITCHENS NORWOOD, 4 YEARS OLD TAKEN AT FRIENDSHIP CAMP MEETING, DAUGHTER OF DONALD HITCHENS



JOSHUA HITCHENS, INDIAN RIVER HUNDRED, FATHER OF JOHN ROBERT HITCHENS



DONALD HITCHENS, SON OF EDITH HITCHENS



EDITH (WRIGHT) HITCHENS, DAUGHTER OF DAVID WRIGHT AND HER DAUGHTER MADLINE HITCHENS



SARAH STREET, GRANDMOTHER OF JANIE JACKSON AND EMILINE, HER DAUGHTER

JACKSON



JOHN A. JACKSON, 1840 - 1915



JAMES JACKSON, SON OF WESLEY JACKSON, BROTHER OF ROBERT JACKSON



MARY ELIZABETH (JACKSON) DAVIS



LYDIA ANN (WRIGHT) JACKSON, SISTER OF DAVE WRIGHT AND PATIENCE (WRIGHT) JOHNSON, WIFE OF ROBERT JACKSON

JACKSON



ELENA MORRIS AND HER MOTHER, MARY (JACKSON) MORRIS



GLADYS (HARMON) JACKSON,
WIFE OF BLAINE JACKSON



LAYTON JACKSON, BROTHER TO BLAINE JACKSON



LAYMAN JACKSON, SON OF JANIE JACKSON



ORVILLE JACKSON, SON OF JANIE JACKSON



DELILAH, SAMUEL B. MEREDITH, WILLIAM EARL
AND THEIR MOTHER, JANIE JACKSON



BLAINE JACKSON, AND HIS DAUGHTER, GERI



CAROLINE (JACKSON) WRIGHT, SALLY (JACKSON) HUGHES,
ALICE (JACKSON) WEBB, REBECCA (JACKSON) REED, PERRY HUGHES,
DANIEL JACKSON, LEVIN JACKSON, ARTHUR JACKSON



PRESTON, SON OF SAMUEL H. AND MARY JACKSON

JOHNSON



WILLIAM ARTHUR JOHNSON, SON OF WHITTINGTON JOHNSON,
A FOUNDER OF INDIAN MISSION CHURCH



NELSON JOHNSON, SON OF PATIENCE AND W.A. JOHNSON, AND HIS BRIDE,
LOTTIE WRIGHT, DAUGHTER OF SARAH & WILLIAM WRIGHT



PATIENCE (WRIGHT) JOHNSON, SISTER OF DAVE WRIGHT



ELDRIDGE JOHNSON, MARRIED TO MATTIE JACKSON



SARAH JANE (JOHNSON) BURTON,
DAUGHTER OF ELLA & ED JOHNSON



ELIZA ANN (HARMON) JOHNSON,
DAUGHTER OF ISAAC HARMON
AND SARA JANE SOCKUM



LAURA & FLORENCE
JOHNSON, DAUGHTERS
OF EMMA JANE AND
SAMUEL JOHNSON



MATTIE JACKSON (JOHNSON)



HARLEY E. JOHNSON, BARNARD JOHNSON, SON
OF ELIZA ANN & WILLIAM HOWARD JOHNSON



WILLIAM HOWARD JOHNSON, SON OF WILLIAM ARTHUR
AND PATIENCE JOHNSON, MARRIED TO ELIZA ANN HARMON



LUCY JOHNSON



HELEN JOHNSON

JOHNSON



VIOLA MUNTZ, DAUGHTER OF
FRANCIS MUNTZ AND SADIE
(JOHNSON) MUNTZ



FANNIE (JOHNSON) RAYMOND, DAUGHTER OF
EVA & CHARLES JOHNSON



MARTHA MUNTZ, DAUGHTER
OF FRANCIS MUNTZ AND SADIE
(JOHNSON) MUNTZ



CLIFFORD JOHNSON



YVONNE (RAYMOND) BERNADINA,
DAUGHTER OF ALDIS (TOADY)
AND FANNIE RAYMOND



RETURN JOHNSON



CLARENCE GILBERT JOHNSON, SON OF DORSEY &
ANNA (CLARK) JOHNSON



WILHEMINA JOHNSON PIERCE



CLINTON JOHNSON, CUSTIS JOHNSON, ELLA JOHNSON, CHILDREN
OF PATIENCE & WILLIAM ARTHUR JOHNSON



MABLE JOHNSON, LEON JOHNSON, CHILDREN OF
ELIZA & WILLIAM HOWARD JOHNSON



ANNA (CLARK) JOHNSON 1892-1965. HER HUSBAND, DORSEY E.
JOHNSON 1892 - 1969, AND CAROLINE (JACKSON) WRIGHT 1877 - 1961

MILLER



SALLY (MILLER) CLARK, DAUGHTER OF
MARY (MILLER) DRAIN, FREDERICK
MILLER'S AUNT



MRS. ROSIE MILLER & MR. WILL MILLER, PARENTS OF: ROLAND MILLER, ELSIE (MILLER) JACKSON,
ETTA (MILLER) STREET, DELIMA (MILLER) HARMON



MARY MILLER DRAIN, MOTHER
OF SALLY (MILLER) CLARK,
FREDERICK MILLER'S
GRANDMOTHER

MORRIS



SARAH ADELINE MORRIS, MOTHER OF MARY MORRIS
JACKSON AND CHARLIE MORRIS



EDGAR MORRIS AND HIS COUSIN, MARY
(MORRIS) JACKSON



CHARLIE MORRIS



DAVID MORRIS, SON OF
EARL & BETTY MORRIS



HATTIE MORRIS



EARL MORRIS,
SON OF DAVID MORRIS
& LIZA (JOHNSON)
MORRIS



ROY MORRIS



DAVID MORRIS



ELLEN G. MORRIS, HER MOTHER, SARAH JANE (HARMON)
MORRIS AND SISTER ALBERTA COURSEY, WITH HER
DAUGHTER, RHONDA

MOSLEY



DUPONT MOSLEY



RAYMOND MOSLEY,
SON OF HARRY & MAGGIE MOSLEY



LILLIE MOSLEY,
DAUGHTER OF HARRY & MAGGIE MOSLEY



MAMIE MOSLEY, OSCAR WRIGHT,
MABEL JOHNSON



ELLA (MOSLEY) BURTON



CHARLES MOSLEY, STORE KEEPER — MARRIED TO BERTHA WRIGHT

RUFUS MOSLEY, BROTHER
TO CHARLES MOSLEY,
BERTHA DAVIS



TEEN MOSLEY, MOTHER OF
CHARLES & WILL MOSLEY

MYRTLE MOSLEY



DELORES HOOPER,
THE GRAND-DAUGHTER
OF HARRY MOSLEY



NORA MOSLEY, BESSIE MORRIS



ADDIE MOSLEY, WIFE OF WILL MOSLEY



WILL MOSLEY, BROTHER TO CHARLES
MOSLEY, JAMES STREET, SON OF ETTA
& LAWRENCE STREET



MAURICE MOSLEY FAMILY,
MAURYM MAURICE, MAUREEN,
ARDITH, MAURICE



CARLTON MOSLEY,
SON OF HARRY & MAGGIE MOSLEY

NORWOOD



FREDERICK NORWOOD, SON OF RICHARD & JANIE NORWOOD



ROBERT NORWOOD, BROTHER OF LUTHER NORWOOD,
SHIP CAPTAIN, HUDSON RIVER, NEW YORK



ARTHUR HILL NORWOOD, SON OF GEORGE NORWOOD



SARAH NORWOOD,
DAUGHTER OF LUTHER NORWOOD



VINCENT NORWOOD, NEPHEW OF LUTHER NORWOOD



JANIE (HARMON) NORWOOD, AND
HUSBAND, RICHARD LUTHER NORWOOD



CLARENCE NORWOOD,
SON OF GEORGE NORWOOD



LUTHER NORWOOD,
SON OF SAMUEL B. NORWOOD



THOMAS NORWOOD, SON OF GEORGE NORWOOD



CORA, AGNES, DELORES, HILDA, DAUGHTERS OF CLARENCE &
LORETTA NORWOOD, ALL SCHOOL TEACHERS



ROBERT SYLVESTER NORWOOD

PRETTYMAN



MAYMIE PRETTYMAN,
DAUGHTER OF
JAMES & PRISCILLA PRETTYMAN



JAMES AND PRISCILLA
PRETTYMAN, PARENTS OF
MAGGIE MOSLEY

SAMMONS



IDA (WRIGHT) SAMMONS, DAUGHTER OF DAVID
WRIGHT, CHARLIE SAMMONS, HER HUSBAND,
CHILDREN, OSCAR AND HELEN (JOHNSON)



GEORGE SAMMONS, SON OF SADIE (RIDGEWAY)
SAMMONS-MORRIS AND GEORGE SAMMONS



WILL AND EDITH SAMMONS, GEORGE
SAMMONS' BROTHER, AND BABY,
MYRTLE HARMON'S UNCLE



VIRGINIA (STREET) SAMMONS,
DAUGHTER OF ELMER STREET

RIDGEWAY



RHODA RIDGEWAY, GRANDMOTHER
OF MYRTLE HARMON



SADIE (RIDGEWAY) (SAMMONS) MORRIS
AND ELSIE RIDGEWAY, DAUGHTERS OF RHODA
RIDGEWAY, SADIE MORRIS - MOTHER OF
GEORGE SAMMONS, MYRTLE HARMON
AND ARZIE CLARK

SOCKUM



STEVEN SOCKUM



MAMIE SOCKUM SEARLES



SARAH SOCKUM, WIFE OF ISSAC HARMON

STERRETT



JOHN ALBERT STERRETT



SUSAN STERRETT,
GRANDMOTHER OF CECELIA COURSEY



LILLIAN STERRETT, PARIS STERRETT, LINDA
(MOSLEY) STERRETT, MOTHER,
CECELIA STERRETT, WILLIS STERRETT,
AND JACK STERRETT

STREET



AMELIA STREET



DAVID P. STREET



ARZELIA (STREET) HARMON,
DAUGHTER OF AMELIA STREET



MARVIN HARMON, FEDORA HARMON,
GARDINER STREET, JR., ALMEDA
STREET, HOLDING THELMA HARMON,
GARDINER STREET, LYDIA NORWOOD,
BUD STREET, HATTIE STREET,
BURTON STREET



SARAH DAISEY,
FLORINE STREET'S MOTHER

BENJAMIN A., RICHARD C.,
HAROLD C. AND
WILDON A. AND FATHER,
ELMER R. STREET
FATHER OF 27 CHILDREN -
SON OF DAVID R. STREET,
A FOUNDER OF
INDIAN MISSION CHURCH



BURTON STREET,
SON OF ROBERT & MATILDA STREET



MARY THOMPSON STREET
AND DAUGHTER BEATRICE



HATTIE STREET, ROBERT STREET
MATILDA STREET

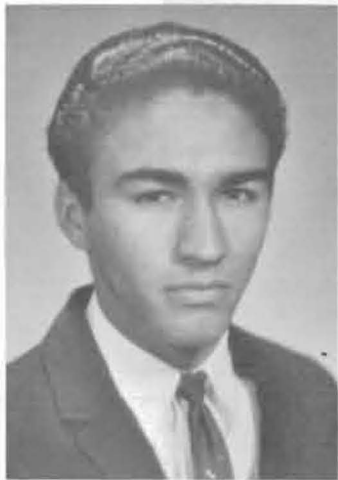


MILDRED STREET,
DAUGHTER OF ROBERT & MATILDA STREET

STREET



EVERETT STREET AND CHILDREN



BUTCH



RICKY



LUCY



HELEN STREET ALEXANDRA,
DAUGHTER OF DAVID STREET



MITZIE WARD,
DAUGHTER OF HELEN STREET ALEXANDER



WINGATE AND SARAH STREET



ISABELLE STREET HARMON,
WIFE OF JOSEPH W. HARMON



LAWRENCE & ETTA STREET AND THEIR SON, VINCENT,
AT HASKELL INSTITUTE - LAWRENCE, KANSAS



LEVI STREET,
SON OF HOWARD & MARY STREET



CLARENCE STREET, SON OF DAVID STREET,
& JAMES STREET, SON OF LAWRENCE STREET



HARRY STREET AND HIS WIFE, MARY (THOMPSON)



LINDA JOHNSON, DAUGHTER OF
BEATRICE (STREET) JOHNSON
HONOR GRADUATE FROM
SOUTHERN CALIF. UNIV.,
LOS ANGELES LAW SCHOOL



MELVIN STREET, SON OF MARTHA & ALBERT STREET
AND PATIENCE G. HARMON

THOMPSON



ASBURY THOMPSON,
BROTHER OF ASHER & BARTH THOMPSON



SARAH AND JOHN THOMPSON,
PARENTS OF ADDIE THOMPSON



ASHER THOMPSON,
FATHER OF MARY (THOMPSON) STREET

ADDIE THOMPSON,
MAY (THOMPSON) HITCHENS
(DAUGHTER OF ADDIE THOMPSON)
CHILDREN OF MAY HITCHENS:
REGINALD, LAYTON, THELMA,
SARA, SUSIE



BARTHOLOMEW THOMPSON,
BROTHER OF ASHER & ASBURY THOMPSON



LOTTIE (WRIGHT) JOHNSON
AND NEICE EXA (HARMON) DRAINE

WRIGHT



REBA WRIGHT, DAUGHTER OF
ELWOOD & CAROLINE WRIGHT



LAURA (CARNEY) WRIGHT,
WIFE OF AUGUSTUS WRIGHT



AUGUSTUS WRIGHT,
OWNER OF BEAVER DAM PARK



LOTTIE WRIGHT AND HER MOTHER
SARAH WRIGHT

WRIGHT



GERTRUDE WRIGHT, SARAH NORWOOD,
ANNIE C. WRIGHT



IDA PATIENCE (JOHNSON) WRIGHT, WIFE OF WARREN T.
WRIGHT AND GREAT - GRANDDAUGHTERS
CONCHITA & LILLIE WRIGHT



ALBERTA (WRIGHT) MILLER, AND SONS
DAUGHTER OF WILLIAM & SARAH WRIGHT



MARSHALL WRIGHT - 1904 - 1926,
SON OF ELWOOD & CAROLINE WRIGHT



MARIE, LILLIE, BERTHA, WARREN, IDA, ROBERT, ROY AND WILLIAM WRIGHT



WILLIAM A. WRIGHT,
MARRIED TO SARAH WRIGHT



WILL WRIGHT AND SON ALDEN



RETURN WRIGHT, SON OF WILLIAM & SARAH WRIGHT



WESLEY, ALBERTA, AGNES, AND CHARLES (BILL) WRIGHT,
CHILDREN OF ELWOOD & CAROLINE WRIGHT

WRIGHT



WALTER T. WRIGHT
AND DAUGHTER JUNE



LILLIAN (DRAINE) WRIGHT,
WIFE OF CHARLES (BILL) WRIGHT



ROBERT C. WRIGHT



HARRY WRIGHT, SON OF
SARAH AND WILLIAM A. WRIGHT



HOWARD J. WRIGHT, SON OF WILL WRIGHT



CONSUELA DUPLESIS,
DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS WRIGHT



ANNA C. DAVIS WRIGHT, WIFE OF WALTER B. WRIGHT



WALTER B. WRIGHT, SON OF DAVID WRIGHT,
OLDEST LIVING ASSOCIATION MEMBER



RONNEY WRIGHT, GRANDSON OF WILL WRIGHT



WILLIAM E. WRIGHT, GRANDSON OF WILL WRIGHT