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WINSLOW'S REPORTS OF THE INDIANS

Selected by
Charles F. Sherman

Introduction.

Edward Winslow, afterwards Governor of the Plymouth Colony, being one of the first to understand the Indian language, went on all the expeditions to the different Indian villages to trade for corn and furs.

In his relations to the adventurers in England, he wrote much about the Indian's habits and mode of living—1621 to 1623.

I have copied all that pertains to Indians from the book entitled: "The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers" by Edward Arber, F.S.A. In the preface he writes:

"What has been here attempted has been to select those facts which are absolutely or morally, certain; to explode whatever myths we may happen to have met with; and to give exact references for everything that is adduced. In one sense, it has been a resetting of old material; in another, the production of facts. Our great desire has been, that there should be nothing in this volume that the reader may be hereafter compelled to unlearn; but that he may feel sure that, in respect to all its contents, that he is standing upon the solid rock of truth." Edward Arber

These articles are taken from various pages of the book. We learn that they could make a rope from native material and also splice an eye in the rope "as good as English rope makers". They had in their possession a "bottle of oil". It would seem that this would be of glass rather than their clay pottery or Winslow would have mentioned it. They also found a wooden bucket, minus the bail, a copper kettle, planks, a knife, packing needle and two or three old iron things. Also he mentions finding a fine red powder used to embalm. I think the author is wrong in calling "fine white beads" wampum. I have found no wampum in digging sites, but from reading different articles, I am led to believe that wampum beads were about 3/8 inch in diameter. I would like to hear what the other members have to say about this subject. The eighteen arrows found after the "first encounter" were tipped with "brass, hart's horn and eagles claws" but none of stone.

I think it will be helpful in digging a campsite to remember that the Indians had been in contact with the white explorers for at least one hundred years before the Pilgrims settled in Plymouth.

While digging an Indian camp in

Duxbury we found an Indian buckle resting in a large piece of Indian pottery, sand tempered, 15 inches below the surface.

In another camp we found a square, chisel pointed spike of copper about 3 inches long and 3/8 inches square. The top shows signs of hammering and there is a gash in the side as though cut with an axe. This was found 15 inches below the surface.

At another camp in a shell hole about 18 inches in diameter and 2 feet deep comprised of clam, muscle, razor clam shells, split bones, charcoal, stone chips and black dirt, we found a lead mackerel jig. The steel hook had eroded. There were two arrow heads in this hole. It was in this camp I found my bronze arrow point.

We have found sherds of glazed pottery in two different camps at various levels, some of hard, baked clay, glazed on one side, and others of porcelain.

I hope the articles submitted will be as interesting and helpful to the other members as they were to me.

SAMOSET, THE FIRST INDIAN TO GREET THE PILGRIMS

Patuxet now Plymouth

And whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again. For there presented himself a savage; which caused an alarm.

He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous: where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in; as undoubtedly he would, out of his boldness.

He saluted us in English, and bade us "Welcome!" For he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monchiggon [Monhegan, off the coast of Maine]; and knew by name the most of the Captains, Commanders, and Masters that usually came [there].

He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind; and of a seemly carriage.

We questioned him of many things. He was the first savage we could meet withal. He said, He was not of these parts; but of Morattigon, and one of the Sagamores or Lord thereof; and had been eight months [July, 1620 - March, 1621] in these parts. It
lying hence a days' sail with a great wind; and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province; and of their Sagamores, and their number of men and strength.

The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him: for he was stark naked [having] only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long or [a] little more. He had a bow and two arrows; the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man. The hair of his head [was] black; long behind, only short before; none on his face at all.

He asked [for] some beer; but we gave him strong water [spirits; brandy], and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding with a piece of strong water (spirits; brandy], and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and some so called Patuxet: and that, about four years ago [in 1617], all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague; and there is neither man, woman nor child remaining; as indeed we have found none. So as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it.

All the afternoon, we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night; but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard; wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallow: but the wind was high and the water scant [shallow], that it could not return back. We lodged him that night at STEPHEN HOPKINS'S house; and watched him.

The next day [Saturday, the 17th], he went away, back to the Massasoits; from whence, he said, he came: who are our next bordering neighbours. There are sixty strong as he saith.

The Nausites are as near south-east [or rather north-east] of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they, of whom our people were encountered; as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English; and about eight months ago [7 July, 1620] slew three Englishmen; and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhhiggon [Monhegan]. They were SIR FERDINANDO GORGES his men; as this savage told us. As he did likewise of the huggerie, that is "fight" that our Discoverers had with the Nausites: and of our tools that were taken out of the woods; which we willed him should be brought again, otherwise would fight ourselves.

These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one [Captain] THOMAS HUNT, a Master of a ship, who deceived the people; and got them, under colour of trucking [appearance of bartering] with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven from the Nausites: and carried them away [to Spain], and sold them for slaves for £20 a man; like a wretched man that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the savage; and gave him a knife, a bracelet and a ring. He promised, within a day or two to come again; and to bring with him, some of the Massoyts, our neighbours, with such beavers' skins as they had, to truck with us.

Saturday and Sunday [were] reasonably fair days.

On this day [Sunday, the 18th March, 1621], came again the savage: and brought with him five other tall proper [sturdy] men. They had, every man, a deer's skin on him; and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had, most of them, long hosen [leggins or gaiters] up to their groins, close [ly] made and above their groins to their waist, another leather. They were altogether like the Irish trouses [trousers].

They are of complexion like our English Gypsies. No hair or very little, on their faces. On their heads, long hair to their shoulders; only cut before: some [with it] trussed up before with a feather, broadwise like a fan; another [with a] fox's tail hanging out.

These left, according to our charge given him before, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town.

We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting [to] them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like anticks [grotesque persons]. They brought with them, in a thing like a [long] bow case [leather girdle], which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn pounded to powder [parched meal]; which put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drank [it, i.e. smoked it], when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad: others, after other fashions, as they liked.

They brought three or four skins, but we would not truck at all that day; but wished them to bring more and we would truck for all: which they promised within a night or two; and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should. And they brought us all our tools again; which were taken in the woods in our men's absence.

So, because of the day [i.e. Sunday], we dismissed them so soon as we could.

But SMOSET, our first acquaintance,
either was sick, or feigned himself so; and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning.

Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not, according to their words: and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings, and shoes, a skirt, and a piece of cloth to be about his waist [i.e. a loin cloth].

The Sabbath Day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles; especially the principal of them. We carried [escorted] them along, with our arms [armed men], to the place where they left their bows and arrows: whereat they were amazed; and two of them began to slink away, but the others called them.

When they took their arrows, we bade them farewell; and they were glad. And so, with many thanks given us, they departed; with promise they would come again.

Monday and Tuesday proved fair days. We digged our grounds, and sowed our garden seeds.

Wednesday [the 21st of March, was] a fine warm day. We sent away Samoset.

That day, we had again a Meeting to conclude the Laws and Orders for ourselves; and to confirm those Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twice broken off by the savages' coming: but so we were the third time.

For, after we had been an hour together, on the top of the hill over against us [i.e. Watson's Hill], two or three savages presented themselves; and made semblance of daring us, as we thought. So Captain STANDISH with another, with their muskets, went over [the Town Brook] to them; with two of the Master's Mates, that followed them with our arms [side arms], having two muskets with them.

They whetted [sharpened] and rubbed their arrows and strings, and made show of defiance; but when our men drew near them, they ran away.

Thus we were again interrupted by them.

This day, with much ado, we got our Carpenter [i.e. of the Mayflower] that had been long sick of the scurvy, to fit our shallop, to fetch all from abroad. [On this day therefore, the Pilgrim Fathers finally left the Mayflower.]

Thursday, the 22nd of March [1621], was a very fair warm day.

About noon, we met again about our public business; but we had scarce been an hour together, but SAMOBET came again; and SQUANTO, the only [surviving] native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit [who] was one of the twenty captives that, by HUNT, were carried away; and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill [in London] with Master JOHN SLANY, a Merchant; and could speak a little English, with three others; and they brought with them, some few skins to truck; and some red herrings newly taken and dried, but not salted.

And [they] signified unto us, that their great Sagamore MASASBOYT was hard by, with QUADEQUINA his brother, and all their men. They could not well express in English what they would: but, after an hour, the King came to the top of a hill over against us [Watson's Hill] and had in his train sixty men; that we could well behold them, and they us.

We were not willing to send our Governor [JOHN CARVER] to them; and they [were] unwilling to come to us. So SQUANTO went again unto him; who brought word that we should send one to parley with him; which we did, which was EDWARD WINSLOW: to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our Governor, which was to have trading and peace with him.

We sent to the King a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel to it. To QUADEQUINA, we sent likewise a knife and a jewel to hang in his ear. And whithal a pot of strong water [spirits ? brandy] a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter; which were all willingly accepted.

Our messenger made a speech unto him, That King JAMES saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our Governor desired to see him, and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbour.

He liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively: though the interpreters did not well express it.

After he had eaten and drunk himself, and [had] given the rest to his company; he looked upon our messenger’s sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it: but, on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it.

In the end, he left him in the custody of QUADEQUINA his brother; and came over the brook [The Town Brook], and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger.

Captain STANDISH and Master WILLIAMSON [or rather ALLERTON. None of the Pilgrim Fathers, then at Plymouth, was named WILLIAMSON] met the King at the Brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him; and he, them. So one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to a house then in building;
where we placed a greer rug and three or four cushions.

Then instantly came our Governor [JOHN CARVER], with [a] drum and [a] trumpet after him, and some few musketeers.

After salutations, our Governor kissing his hand, the King kissed him: and so they sat down.

The Governor called for some strong water, and drank to him: and he drank a great draught [of it] that made him sweat all the while after. He called for a little fresh meat: which the King did eat willingly, and did give his followers.

They then treated of peace, which was

1. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt, to any of our people.
2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours; he should send the offender [to us], that we might punish him.
3. That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work; he should cause them to be restored: and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.
4. If any did unjustly war against him; we would aid him. If any did war against us, he should aid us.
5. He should send to his neighbour[ing] confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us; but might be likewise comprised in the Conditions of Peace.
6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them; as we should do our pieces, when we came to them.
7. Lastly, that doing thus King JAMES would esteem of him as his friend and ally.

All which the King seemed to like well; and it was applauded of his followers.

All the while he sat by the Governor, he trembled for fear.

In his person, he is a very lusty man, in his best years, [of] an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech. In his attire, [he] was little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers: only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck, hange a little bag of tobacco, which he drank [smoked], and gave us to drink [smoke]. His face was painted with a sad [deep] red like murrey [the colour of a mulberry]; and [he] oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise wore, in their faces, in part, or in whole, painted: some black, some red, some yellow and some white; some with crosses, and other antiq [grotesque] works. Some had skins on them, and some [were] naked: all strong, tall all [and all] men in appearance.

So, after all was done, the Governor conducted him to the brook, and there they embraced each other, and he departed; we diligently keeping our hostages.

We expected our messenger's coming: but anon word was brought us, that QUADDEQUINA was coming; and our messenger was stayed till his return.

Who presently came and a troop [company] with him. So likewise we entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared. He was very fearful of our pieces [muskets]; and made signs of dislike, that they should be carried away: whereupon commandment was given that they should be laid away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance; and he did kindly like of our entertainment. So we conveyed him likewise, as we did the King; but divers of their people stayed still.

When he was returned; then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would have stayed all night: but we would not suffer it.

One thing I forgot. The King had in his bosom, hanging at a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet; and some of his men would sound it as well as they could.

SAMOSET and SQUANTO they stayed all night with us: and the King and all his men, lay all night in the woods, not above half an English mile from us; and all their wives and women with them.

They said that, within eight or nine days, they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook [the Town Brook], and dwell there all summer; which is hard by us.

That night, we kept good watch: but there was no appearance of danger.

The next morning [of Friday, 23rd March] divers of their people came over [the Town Brook] to us; hoping to get some victuals, as we imagined.

Some of them told us, The King would have some of us come [to] see him.

Captain STANDISH and ISAAC ALLERTON went venturously; who were welcomed of him, after their manner. He gave them three or four groundnutes, and some tobacco.

We cannot yet conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us. For they
have seen our people sometimes alone, [or] two or three, in the woods, at work and fowling: when as they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done. And especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narowhiganseis [Narragansetts] that are at war with him: against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him; for our pieces are terrible to them.

This morning, they stayed till ten or eleven of the clock; and our Governor bade them send the King's kettle, and [he] filled it full of pease: which pleased them well. And so they went their way.

Friday, [the 23rd March], was a very fair day, and SAMOSET and SQUANTO still remained with us.

SQUANTO went, at noon, to fish for eels [at Eel River]. At night, he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet. He trod them out with his feet; and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

This day, we proceeded on with our common business; from which we had been so often hindered by the savages' coming: and concluded both of Military Orders, and of some Laws and Orders: as we thought behoveful for our present estate and condition. And [we] did likewise choose [i.e. re-elect] our Governor for this year; which was Master JOHN CARVER, a man well approved amongst us.

* * *

ED WINSLOW'S VISIT TO MASSASOYT'S VILLAGE

[When Winslow and companions arrived at Massasoit's village, Massasoit was away hunting for food. A messenger was sent to the chief, who returned in all haste to his village.]

MASSASOYT being come [on Wednesday, 4th July] we discharged our pieces, and saluted him; who [after their manner] kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him. Where, having delivered our foresaid Message, and presents; and [he] having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck; he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their King so bravely attired.

For Answer to our Message, he told us: We were welcome; and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us as they had done. Also that he would send to Paomet [Pamet]; and would help us with corn for seed: according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered near to him: to whom he turned himself, and made a great speech; they sometimes interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus:

Was not he MASSASOYT, Commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins unto us?

To which they answered, These were his; and would be at peace with us, and bring their skins to us.

After this manner, he named at least thirty places; and their answer was as aforesaid, to every one: so that, as it was delightful, [so] it was tedious, unto us.

This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us; and fell to discoursing of England and of the King's Majesty; marvelling that he would live without a wife [QUEEN ANNE of Denmark had died in 1619]. Also he talked of the Frenchmen; bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narwhigansett [Narragansett], for it was King JAMES his country; and he also was King JAMES his man.

Late it grew; but victuals he offered none: for indeed he had not any; [it] being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife; they at one end, and we at the other: it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room pressed by and upon us: so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

The next day, being Thursday [5th July] many of their Sachems or petty Governors came to see us; and many of their men also. There, they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There, we challenged them to shoot with them for skins: but they durst not. Only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark: who shooting with ball shot [bird shot], they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

About one of the clock, MASSASOYT brought two fishes [? bass] that he had shot [with an arrow]. They were like bream; but three times so big, and better meat. These being boiled; there were at least forty [that looked for share in them]. The most eat of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day [i.e. at Squaws]; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting.

Very importunate he was, to have us stay with him longer; but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home; and feared we should be lightheaded for want of sleep. For what with bad lodging; the savages' barbarous singing, for they use to sing themselves asleep; lice and fleas within doors; and mosquitoes [mosquitoes] without: we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there. We much feared that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.
So that, on the Friday morning (6th July), before sunrise, we took our leave and departed; MASSASOYT being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us; and retaining TISQUANTUM to send from place to place to procure truck for us, we appointed another, called TOXHAKOB, in his place; whom we had found faithful before, and after, on all occasions.

At this town of MASSASOYT'S where we before eat, [? MATAPUYST], we were again refreshed with a little fish: and bought about a handful of meal of their parched corn, which was very precious at that time of the year; and a small string of dried shellfish, as big as oysters. Instead of other victuals: as big as oysters. The latter we gave to the six savages that accompanied us; keeping the meal for ourselves. When we drank, we each a spoonful of it, [together] with [smoking] a pipe of tobacco; instead of other victuals: and of this also, we could not but give them, so long as it lasted.

Five miles, they led us, to a house, out of the way, in hope of victuals: but we found nobody there; and so were but worse able to return home.

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A LATER JOURNEY TO MASSASOYT'S VILLAGE AT SOWAMS

During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth that MASSASOYT was likely to die; and that, at the same time, there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by a stress of weather, right before his dwelling [at Sowams in Pokanoket], that, till the tides increased, she could not be got off.

Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity; either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them; therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch; not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue; the Governor again laid this service upon myself; and fitted me with some cordials, to administer to him: having one, Master JOHN HAMDEN [a Gentleman of London; who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country] in my consort; and HOBBAKOCK for our guide.

So we set forward; and lodged the first night at Namasket [Middleboro], where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in CONBATANT'S [or Corbitant's] country: where, upon discharge of my pieces, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. There they told us, that MASSASSOWAT was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank [put us at a nonplus]; but especially HOBBAKOCK: who desired we might return [to Plymouth] with all speed.

I told him, "I would first think of it. Considering now that he was being dead, CONBATANT [or Corbitant] was the most likely to succeed him; and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst [a neck of land, now called Gardner's Neck, in Swansey], his dwelling place: although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the Sachems round about; hoping, through the blessing of GOD, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections toward us.

"And though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety; because myself and HOBBAKOCK had been employed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge: yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to GOD in his mercy I resolved to put it in practice, if Master HAMPDEN and HOBBAKOCK durst attempt it with me."

Whom I found willing to that, or any other course, [that] might tend to the general good.

So we went towards Mattapuyst. In the way, HOBBAKOCK, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, Neen womau Sagimus! Neen womau Sagimus! and, "My loving Sachem! My loving Sachem! Many have I known; but never any like thee!"

And turning him to me said, "Whilst I lived; I should never see his like amongst the Indians." Saying, He was no liar. He was not bloody and cruel like [the] other Indians. In anger and passion, he was soon recalled; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving, where he loved. Yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left amongst the Indians: shewing how he, oft times, restrained their malice. Continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length, we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the Sachem's place; though they call the Sachem's place; though they call an
ordinary house [wigwam] Witeo: but CONBATANT the Sachem was not at home; but at [Sowams in] Puukanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The Squaw Sachem, for so they call the Sachem's wife, gave us friendly entertainment.

Here we inquired again concerning MASSASSOWAT. They thought him [to be] dead; but knew no certainty.

Whereupon I hired one to go, with all expedition, to Puukanokick: that we might know the certainty thereof; and withal to acquaint CONBATANT with our there being.

About half an hour before sunsetting, the messenger returned; and told us, That he was not yet dead: though there was no hope we should find him living.

Upon this, we were much revived; and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither.

About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchmen departed: so that, in that respect, our journey was frustrate [of no a-vail].

When we came thither [i.e. to Sowams], we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in; though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they, in the midst of their charms for him: making such a hellish noise, as it dis­tempered us that were well; and there [was] unlike[ly] to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs and thighs; to keep heat in him.

When they had made an end of their charming; one told him, That his friends the English were come to see him.

Having [his] understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone; he asked, "Who was come?"

They told him, "WINSNOW." For they cannot pronounce the letter "1"; but ordinarily [use] "n" in the place thereof.

He desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, and they told him of it; he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very in­wardly [in a low tone], Keen WINSNOW? which is to say "Art thou Winslow?"

I answered, "Ahhe;" that is "Yes."

Then he doubled [repeated] these words, "Matte neen wonokanet namen WINSNOW", that is to say, "O WINSLOW, I shall never see thee again."

Then I called HOBHAMOCK, and desired him to tell MASSASSOWAT, That the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD], hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same: and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself; yet he sent me with such things for him, as he thought most likely to do him good, in this his extremity. And whereof, if he pleased to take; I would presently [at once] give him.

Which he desired. And having a con­fection [preparation] of many comfortable conserves etc: on the point of my knife, I gave him some; which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it: whereat those that were about him, much rejoiced; saying, He had not swallowed any­thing in two days before.

Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred; and his tongue [had] swelled in such a manner, as it was not pos­sible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage [gullet] being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue; and got abundance of corruption out of the same.

After which, I gave him more of the con­fection; which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desiring to drink; I dis­solved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after, his sight began to come to him: which gave him and us good encouragement.

In the mean time, I inquired, How he slept; and when he went to the stool.

They said, He slept not in two days be­fore; and had not had a stool in five.

Then I gave him more [of the confection in water]; and told him of a mishap we had, by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink; which the Governor also sent him: saying, If he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make broth for him; and for the things which I knew were good for him: and would stay the return of the messenger, if he desired.

This he took marvellous[ly] kindly; and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning: against which time, I made ready a letter, declaring there­in our good success, the state of his body, etc. desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physio as the Surgeon [SAMUEL FULLER] durest administer to him.

He requested me that, the day following I would take my piece, and kill some fowl [geese, ducks etc.]; and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Ply­mouth: which I promised.

After, his stomach [appetite] coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl before I sent abroad. Which somewhat troubled me, being unacustomed and unacquainted.
in such businesses; especially having nothing to make it comfortable [tasty]: my consort [Master John HAMDEN] being as ignorant as myself. But [it] being, we must do something; I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and make the flour from it; and we set the grut [groats] or broken corn, in a pipkin; for they have earthen pots of all sizes.

When the day broke, we went out, it being now March [1623] to seek herbs; but could not find any but strawberry leaves; of which I gathered a handful, and put in the same. And because I had nothing to relish it; I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras [sassafras] root: and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it [in the broth] till it [the broth] had a good relish: and then took it [the slice of sassafras] out again. The broth being boiled; I strained it through my [pocket] handkerchief; and gave him at least a pint, which he drank; and liked it very well. After this, his sight mended more and more: also he had some moderate stools; and took some rest. Insomuch as he began to be very sick; and straining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Then they all wished he had been very well.

They asked me, What I thought of him. 

I answered, "His case was desperate: yet, it might be, it would save his life. For if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep, and take rest: which was the principal thing he wanted." Not long after, his blood stayed [the bleeding ceased]; and he slept at least six or eight hours.

When he awaked, I washed his face; and bathed and supplied his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But on a sudden, he chopt [put] his nose in the water; and drew up some therein and sent it forth with such violence as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope; but we perceived [that] it was but the tenderness of his nostril; and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned. But finding his stomach [appetite] come to him; he would not have the chickens killed; but kept them for breakfast. Neither durst we give him any of the physic which was then sent; because his body was so much altered since our instructions: neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful.

Many, whilst we were there, came to see him: some, by their report, from a place not less than a hundred miles. To all that came one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness; how nearly he was spent; how, amongst others, his friends the English came to see him; and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw: he being now able to sit upright of himself.

The day before our coming; another Sachem, being there, told him. That now he might see how hollow hearted the English were Saying, If we had been such friends in deed, as were in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness. Using many arguments to withdraw his affections; and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned [suggested] to him, not long before.

But upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches, "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me: and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me."

Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded [that of] all other strangers.

Divers other things were worth the noting: but I fear I have been too tedious.

At our coming away, he called HOBRAMOOK to him, and privately [none hearing save two or three of his Pineses, who are of his Council] revealed the plot of the Massachusets, before spoken of, against Master
WESTON'S Colony [at Wessagusset]; and so against us. Saying that the people of Nauset [Eastham] Paomet [Farnet] Succomet [Falmouth] Mattachiest [Barnstable] Agowaywam [Wareham] and the Isle of Capawock [Martha's Vineyard] were joined with them. Himself also, in his sickness, was earnestly solicited: but he would neither join therein; nor give way. Therefore [as we respected the lives of our countrymen: and our own after-safety] he advised us to kill the men of Massachusetts; who were the authors of this intended mischief.

And whereas we were wont to say, We would not strike a stroke till they first began; if, said he, upon this intelligence, they [at Plymouth] make this answer, tell them, When their countrymen at Wychagusset [Wessagusset] are killed, they being not able to defend themselves; that then it will be too late to recover their lives. Nay, through the multitude of adversaries, they shall, with great difficulty, preserve their own. And therefore he counselled, without delay to take away the principals [originators]; and then the plot would cease.

With this, he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way; that I might inform the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] thereof, at my first coming home.

Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves, for our labour and love. The like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, through the earnest request of CORBITANT [or ORBITANT] who till now remained at Sowams or Puckanuckick [Pokanoket], we lodged with him at Mattapuyst.

By the way, I had much conference with him; so likewise at his house. He being a notable politician: yet full of merry jests and squibs (quips or sarcasms); and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him.

Amongst other things he asked me, If, in case he were thus dangerously sick, as MASSASSOWAT had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for masket, that is " physic": Whether then Master Governor would send it? and if he would, Whether I would come here with to him?

To both which [questions] I answered, "Yea": wherat he gave me many joyful thanks.

After that, being at his house, he demanded further, How we durst, being but two, come so far into the country?

I answered, "Where was true love, there was no fear; and that my heart was so upright towards them, that, for mine own part, I was fearless to come among them." But, said he, "if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits; how cometh it to pass that, when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us [i.e. firing a salute]?

Whereunto I answered, "It was the most honourable and respective [respectful] entertainment [reception] we could give them. It being an order [custom] amongst us, so to receive our best respected friends. And as it was used on the land; so the ships observed it, also at sea, which HOBHAMOOK knew, and had seen observed."

But, shaking the head, he answered, That he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meals, before we did eat; and after to give thanks for the same: he asked us, What was the meaning of that ordinary custom?

Hereupon, I took occasion to tell them, of GOD'S works of Creation and preservation; of his Laws and Ordinances, especially of the Ten Commandments: all which they hearkened unto with great attention; and like well of. Only the Seventh Commandment they excepted against; thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman. About which, we reasoned a good time.

Also I told them, That whatsoever good things we had; we received them from GOD, as the Author and Giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our GOD, for that our refreshing.

This all of them concluded [to] be very well; and said, They believed almost all the same things; and that the same Power that we called GOD, they called Kietitan.

Much profitable conference was occasioned thereby; which would be too tedious to relate; yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us.

Here we remained only that night: but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

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(To be continued)
The story of Vinland has been recounted many times over, so many times that there seems no need to again go over the sages, save to refresh our memory. It is recounted that Erik the Red was banished from Norway for manslaughter and that he went to Greenland, which he discovered in 985 or 986. The stories go on to relate how he settled at Brattahlid in West Greenland, where he was much respected. Sons were born to him, Leif, Thorvald, and Thor­vald, surnamed according to our reckoning, not with the family name, but with the father's given name "Erik" plus the possessive "s," and the word "son," Eriksson, for this was the custom in those days. It is also related how Biarni Heriulfsson, setting out for Iceland to meet his father, missed him there since Heriulf had gone to Greenland with Erik, and how Biarni, deter­mined on making his home for the winter with his father's given name "Erik" plus the possessive "s" and the word "son," Eriksson, for this was the custom in those days. It is also related how Biarni Heriulfsson, setting out for Iceland to meet his father, missed him there since Heriulf had gone to Greenland with Erik, and how Biarni, determined on making his home for the winter with his father's given name "Erik" plus the possessive "s" and the word "son," Eriksson, for this was the custom in those days.

On the way his ship fell in with fog and calms, and after many "doegr" (1) they saw the sun again and made sail in what they took to be the proper direction. They sailed another "doegr" before raising land, and when they did, they found it to be low and wooded. This did not meet with the descriptions of Greenland known to Biarni, all of which spoke of the land as being full of icy mountains. Accordingly they left the land on the larboard and sailed for two "doegr" before finding more land, which was again low and wooded. And so they continued, turning their back on the land and running before southwesterly gales for three "doegr" to a high island, but held off for it did not seem to fit descrip­tions, finally making Greenland and Heriulf. On the north. Here there was a broad bay with much shoal water where they grounded their ship and took the small boat to shore. A certain river flowed from a lake at that place, the river and lake being full of larger salmon than they ever had seen. There was said to be no frost here in winter, an abundance of fodder for cattle, and it is said that the days and nights were more nearly of equal length than in Greenland or Iceland (2). They determined to spend the winter there, and set about building winter quarters. When this had been completed, Leif set out to explore the land, leaving part of his crew to guard the winter camp, or by turns staying in camp while others explored the land. It was apparently in this exploration that Tyrker, a German, discovered grapes and vines on the land, and so the land was called Vinland. This was in the year 1003.

Many descriptions of capes, islands, and bays are given, while some mention is made of plants and animals and fish. Little is said concerning the "Skraelings," or natives of the land, save that the story of Thorvald Karlesfne says that they paddled in skin canoes apparently with double paddles, and had a weapon that is said to have been like a bladder on a pole. This may be an incorrect translation of a passage referring to the bolas, or may refer to the...

(1) "Doegr" or "daegr": - A Norse unit for reckoning distances travelled. It may have been equivalent to a "day's sail." There are so many unknowns and variables involved that it is impossible to equate a "doegr" with any given number of miles.

(2) As the Greenland colony and Iceland lie at 60 and 65 degrees north latitude respectively the days and nights are of very unequal length. "More nearly of equal length" might mean anything. It is also conceivable that a Nova Scotia winter might appear mild by comparison, with a Greenland winter especially along the southeast coast, while a Newfoundland winter, especially at St. John, would be equally mild. No region north of Connecticut and Cape Cod would have a winter mild by comparison with southern Iceland which is bathed by the Gulf Stream.
sealskin poke used with the seal harpoon.

We ordinarily attribute the use of skin canoes to the Eskimo, but the Penobscot have memories of moose-hide canoes for use in descending rivers after the winter hunt, and it is conceivable that other Algonkians may have also used them even at sea. The double paddle seems too Eskimoan to allow canoes to the Eskimo, but the Penobscot "runes" on Cape Cod were current a number of years ago, and it is conceivable that other Algonkians for any other identification of the Skraelings. While certain evidence to be published in "Man in Northeastern North America" would indicate that there were certain elements in the coastal Algonkian languages that were so different from Central Algonkian as to indicate the possibility that perhaps Beothuk speaking groups had been absorbed by the coastal Algonkians, there is no known archaeological evidence (1942) of any distinctly northern influences south of Maine. Rumors of 'Eskimo' sites on Cape Cod were current a number of years ago, but until the collectors who harbor specimens from these sites will allow the examination of sites and specimens, no weight can be given to these reports. It must also be remembered that occasional Eskimo specimens may have been brought back by Cape Cod whalers, to be lost or discarded. Such out of place finds have been made on more than one occasion (3). An undoubted site with a material culture of Eskimo complexion would be necessary for undoubted evidence of the presence of these people in New England.

Attempts to locate Vinland have been made by botanists, astronomers, and geographers, as well as by the students of the sagas. No two agree. Some place Vinland in Nova Scotia, others in New England. The "lay of the land" may be duplicated from the Connecticut shore to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Yet nowhere have undoubted Norse remains been found. This is neither the time nor the place to go into the argument, there is an extensive literature available for those who would pursue it further.

It is enough to say that Edward F. Gray in Leif Eriksson, Discoverer of America, A.D. 1003 points to the Cape Cod region as Vinland, and more particularly to Martha's Vineyard and Menemsha Bight as the scene of Leif's landing, while he suggests that No Men's Land was the island to which Leif later removed, and where he built his house.

It was our rare good fortune to receive a letter from Miss Priscilla Crane, whose family now own No Men's Land, asking if the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology would be interested in undertaking excavations on the island. Miss Crane visited us in Andover, and invited us to come over to the island in June, of 1941, when she and her brother, Mr. Alexander Crane, would be on the island. We eagerly accepted this invitation to make a survey of the island, and laid our plans accordingly.

At the time of our visit, the easiest and best communication with No Men's Land was by air from Providence, there being no shelter for any boat to anchor. So Mr. Frederick Johnson and the author, accompanied by Miss Crane's niece, were taken over and landed on the tiny field on one of the level spots, further levelled and "improved for such purposes.

Local tradition points to two spots as traces of Erik's visit, one a "runic inscription" on a boulder of what appears to be gneiss, now lying below the high water mark and just above the low water mark on the southerly side of the island, the other, the remains of a stone building called "Leif's Castle" near which a row of stones is said to be the remains of the foundation of Leif's house. Our interests lay with these two.

We were fortunate in having a warm sunny day to visit the "written wrock," for it was necessary to spend some time in the water in order to clean the marine growth off the "inscription". The rock is well illustrated in the photographs between pages 162 and 163 of Mr. Gray's book. Its position has changed little, save that it appears to have been turned about sixty degrees and some of the gravel lying behind it seems to have been washed out, presumably by the hurricane. The peculiar conformation of the rock makes it possible to identify the points at which the inscription began, small quartz dikes serving as more accurate locators.

Careful examination of the rock failed to reveal any trace of the inscription, save for one or two "runes" which now appear to be pits caused by the erosion of dikes. The hurricane may have worn it smooth, but it seems strange that an inscription which was visible in 1928 and "appreciable to the touch of the finger" should now be completely eroded. Mr. Gray gives reasons for believing the inscription a forgery. Quoting Professor A.W. Brøgger, of Oslo University, he says: 1. The form of certain characters is not that used in the year 1000; 2. Leif's name is spelled incorrectly and has not the nominative ending "r", while Eriksson ought to be "Eriksson;" 3. The use of "W" for 1000 (it occurred in this inscription) and the implied knowledge of Christian recording indicates a method of dating not introduced into Norway before the 12th century and probably not used for inscriptions before the 14th or 15th. Professor Finmur

(3) As, for example, the fish hook from the Marquesas Islands found on an Indian site near Exeter, New Hampshire, and the monolithic club from the Northwest Coast found in Connecticut.
Jonsson says: 1. The custom of leaving runic inscriptions did not arise until after 1000; 2. The language and the form of the runes is very late, was unknown at 1000, cannot be assigned to 1500, and more probably belongs in the 19th century! There are still more reasons cited, but these seem to be sufficient.

Mr. Gray would narrow the making of the inscription to three principle periods as follows: 1. The last seven years (1829-32) during which the writer has been gradually narrowing his investigations in the direction of No Mans Land; 2. Between 1828 and 1837 when Professor Rafn's book attracted much attention both in Europe and the United States; and 3. Between 1837 and, say, 1500, during which period many navigators and early settlers passed the vicinity.

Without knowing anything about runes, and not posing as an expert, the writer would suggest that the making of the inscription recorded by a probably occurred between 1827 and 1828 (when it is reported to have been discovered) and more probably between 1823 and 1828.

The stone itself is a boulder from the glacial drift, and contrary to the statement by Mr. Gray on the bottom of page 168 of his book, there is another boulder of the same material less than fifty yards away at the foot of the bluff, while others are to be seen in bluffs or on the beach all around the island. It is therefore not a stone brought there by man as some suggest. Its texture would make it easier to inscribe than the coarse-grained granite of light color, of a glistening sandy nature, and apparently much softer in texture which Gray notes.

Except for large ice rafted blocks of granite now exposed above the sod on the old moraine surface the boulders transported by the ice, and rounded off are buried in the till, to judge from cliff exposures, at some distance below the soil and heavily weathered old land surface. The boulder bearing the inscription is decidedly rounded, while a large ice-rafted block of granite which rests beside it is not smoothed and rounded, hence it seems doubtful that the rock which bore the inscription could have been rounded since it came under wave action through the erosion of the cliff. Had it fallen from the cliff with the inscription already on it, one wonders what "lucky breaks" would be necessary to bring the inscription into the correct position for reading, and the easiest one for carving.

On page 168 Gray states that the discovery of the inscription was made "by Mr. Joshua Crane about three years after the writer had mentioned to him that he was investigating the subject of the Vinland voyages in the neighborhood of Martha's Vineyard." On page 167, Gray states that "It was only at a date subsequent to the discovery of the inscription that the writer's researches led him to No Man's Land as the locality of Leif's house." On page 168 Gray suggests that the inscription might be the work of a practical joker "possessed of an abnormally fine sense of artistry." It is reported on good authority that Mr. Joshua Crane is just such a person, a man with patience and the artist's touch which permitted him to set the stage and then to wait and wait for the completion of the joke which sometimes occurred when he could not see it. It is recounted that on an occasion a friend expressed a desire for an arrow head for his collection of curiosities, and that Mr. Crane expressed an opinion that it should not be hard to find one. It was more than a year later that this same friend is said to have seen the tip of an arrow point just at eye height on the wall of the trench leading to a blind from which geese were shot. He is reported to have been overjoyed until he pulled it from the bank and found it would make a base which bore the inscription "With Love to ---." To one with such a fine touch, the making of an inscription on the seaward side of a boulder on the shore of a lonely island would not appear so difficult an undertaking. There is a possibility here that seems too great to dismiss, particularly in view of the fact that Professor Finnur Jonsson indicates that the form of the runes is very late, and possibly dates from the 19th century.

Leif's Castle we also visited. Here we dug test holes inside and outside the foundations, and around a "line of stones" that Gray thought might be an old foundation. Inside Leif's Castle there is only sheep dung and drift sand resting on hard-packed till. A test outside showed the same situation, nor could any sign of human workmanship be seen about the boulder that to be the old foundation. The "castle" seems only a stone sheep shelter although constructed in a rather odd shape. Two other open, unroofed stone structures are also to be seen on the island. These are known only as sheep shelters. Such structures are needed to shelter sheep, left out on the moors, from the storms of winter which sweep with great violence across the island.

No Man's Land is composed of old moraine material, the surface of which is very irregular. Between the hills and ridges are swamps which are fed by springs. Some of these have been dammed to provide ponds for ducks and geese. It was Mr. Gray's opinion that the swamp back of "Leif's Castle" had been a lake, drained through the removal of the natural dam by erosion of the cliff face. No one has yet shown that there ever was a dam that ponded the waters of this swamp, and it is doubtful if it ever could be shown that one had or had not existed. The estimated rate of erosion of the cliffs at Squibnocket and Naushauitsa on Martha's
Vineyard is five and one-half feet per annum. If this rate were also true for the south side of No Mans Land, and if it had been maintained for the 946 years since Leif is supposed to have wintered there, it would mean that the bluff at that time stood about 5220 feet farther seaward—a distance greater than the present width of the island! Anything might have lain in this old land. However, it is interesting to note that there is now no sign of an old strand line or wave-cut bench to mark the supposed shore of the old lake. It is, of course, possible that the feet of generations of sheep have obliterated such a mark, yet one might expect that some trace would remain if the waters of the swamp had stood at a height much greater than that at which they stand at the present day.

That the seaward extension of the land was once great enough to impound waters to form marshes in the area now washed away is attested by numerous peat deposits on the bluffs now some hundred feet above the beach on the southeast portion of the island. From one of these peat deposits it was possible to take a series of samples, from the top to the bottom, for study by Dr. William S. Benninghoff. As the front of the last Wisconsin ice advance probably stood some distance north of No Mans Land, these peat samples may have great significance.

Tests in what remains of a small shell heap (M49/31) behind the barn on the east side of the spit on the north side of the island showed that the material here is almost identical with that from the shell heap on Squibnocket Head, facing the island on Martha’s Vineyard, and from other sites on the Vineyard.

With the peat samples and specimens from the shell-heap we were flown back to Providence through the teeth of a thunderstorm three days after we landed on No Mans Land. No proof of a Viking occupation was evident, nor was there any evidence to suggest that intensive excavation on the island might yield such a proof. The inscription, on the other hand, may well date from a very recent period, and may even have been occasioned by Mr. Gray’s researches. There seems no reason to believe that “Leif’s Castle” marks the former site of Leif’s house.

While this is not intended in any way as an attack on Mr. Gray’s thesis, it is, perhaps, only fair to say that in certain points of geography, concerning which the writer has first-hand knowledge, Mr. Gray appears to have distorted the facts slightly to make the conformation of the land suit his theories. As, for instance, when he says that the highest land is on the southwest side of No Mans Land, where the bluffs reach fifty feet, when, in reality it is near the southeast corner of the island where a hill reaches 110 feet according to the map of the U.S. Geological Survey. Such inaccuracies go far to undermine one’s faith in the author’s interpretations of other details.

It would not be right to close without making some mention of our great indebtedness to the Grays, whose guests we were during our stay on the island. Their hospitality and our cordial reception on their island will remain with us for many years as pleasant memories of our trip.

Andover, Massachusetts

Jesse Brewer

A survey of Indian camp sites in and around Plymouth which has been carried on for a number of years reveals some rather interesting information which it seems appropriate to record at this time. Accordingly this paper, which is a restatement of the facts presented at the Plymouth meeting of the Society, has been prepared for publication.

The location of the camp sites is evidently chosen with an eye to taking advantage of all natural conveniences. The camps are usually situated on a southeastern slope, giving them the advantage of early morning sun, while the wooded hills to the north and west would afford protection from storms and cold winter winds. A gradually sloping site would be well drained, a condition that would be absolutely necessary during the winter and spring seasons.

One thing that is essential is a good water supply. Almost all shell heaps in this locality are close to a brook or river. There are many good reasons for choosing such a location, among them the ease of traveling from the camp to the shore, ability to catch the fish that run up our streams at the different seasons of the year, and the presence of running water which does not freeze to any extent, a convenience of not an absolute necessity.

What evidence we have leads us to believe that the bulk of the Indians’ animal food was made up of shellfish, all kinds of scale fish, eels, turtles, and apparently everything that had life and flesh. Deer bones are found most plentifully, but this preponderance of deer bones may be because...
the bones of the smaller animals have en-
tirely disappeared. I believe that in this
district venison was a luxury rather than a
common food.

I think that the following evidence
will be of some help in establishing the
fact that shell heap sites were permanent
homes and not summer camps, which is the be-
lief held by some. Shell heaps are a maze
of post holes, fire pits, refuse pits, and
storage pits. It seems reasonable to as-
sume that the storage pits were dug for
the storage of the winter food supply. I might
add that I excavated one pit that was six
feet deep and six feet across which had a
fire pit at the bottom. This could have
been for the purpose of keeping warm. In
shell heaps are found all kinds and types of
artifacts of stone and bone and quanti-
ties of potsherds in quantity large enough
to prove that they used which is
preserved to us. I feel that the shell
fish could easily have been a winter food
to a greater extent than is generally sup­
posed, as shell fish, water fowl, seals, and
frost fish are all easy to get here, and
are plentiful during the winter.

Mr. William W. Whiting and I have work-
ed out several of the inland sites, and we
do not feel that they were in any per­
manent camps. The locations of these sites were
not of the type that would be chosen for
winter homes, as they are practically all
on high ground, usually a flat-topped hill,
and therefore exposed to all kinds of wind
and storm. There were no post molds that
we could find, nor pits of any kind, and
seldom more than two or three hearths to a
site. The pits are not like those in the
shell heaps, as they are very small and con­
tain very little ash and pottery. As to ar­
tifacts, they were nearly all of chipped or
flaked stone, and nearly all of these were
arrow points and scrapers. The number of
perfect pieces is from four to five times
as great as in a shell site, and we have
found several points, perfect and probably
never used, in a group of flakes removed
from the point in the process of making it.

In some cases, these sites are near
ponds, in others, near swamps or bog holes,
often without springs or running water near
them. I realize that pond water would be
easy to get in the summer, and that the In-
dians could dig and use a seepage well near
a bog. In the winter, when we may have
from ten to seventeen inches of ice lasting
over a period of months in this vicinity,
living conditions at such places would have
been very difficult for the Indians.

Inland sites might be for one of sev­
eral purposes. They may have been head­
quar ters for hunting parties, war parties,
or stop-overs on trips across the Cape.

This summary is based on over forty
years of personal observation.

As an example of the difference in lo­
cation of sites, I list below the sites in
the Eel River Valley, which was probably one
of the most thickly settled regions around
Plymouth. In the past forty years I have
found in an area approximately one and one
half miles long, by one-half mile wide, a
total of eighteen sites, eleven of which are
shell heaps, and seven, workshops, varying
in size from fifty paces across up to half
an acre or more in size. These may be tab­
ulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHELL HEAPS</th>
<th>WORKSHOPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 face southeast</td>
<td>4 on high hilltops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 face southwest</td>
<td>1 on southerly slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 face west</td>
<td>2 on westerly slope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition there was one known Indian
burying ground now destroyed, where seven
burial sites were found, according to my infor­
mation. One of them proved to be a double burial.
Both stone and copper artifacts were found
in these burials.

I append an account of the excavation
of a large pit on the Nook Farm or Avery
Shell Heap, M41/8, with a cross section of
the pit as an illustration of one of the
large pits in shell heaps.

I started working on this pit about
May 10, 1940, and finished it on July 17,
1940, just over two months of spare time
work.

I started to dig Trench 1, Section A,
at a depth of 14 inches, came upon the edge
of a large pit that had been dug and refilled
at some later date. In following out the
edge of this pit to find the extent of its
circumference, it took me over into Trench 1
Section B, and then back into Trench 2, Sec­
tion B. It then went through Section A,
Trench 3 to the starting place. This work,
when completed, exposed a slightly oval pit
or shaft, 8½ feet from north to south, and
8 feet from east to west.

The first three feet of fill consisted
of black humus, charcoal, ashes, a large
quantity of broken clam shells, mostly shore
clams, a few sea clams, and a very few coo­
kies, and several caches of bones of small
animals and fish. There was also a large
quantity of deer bones, some split and some
badly burned. There were some perfect spec­
imens of sturgeon bones, the lower jaw of a
raacoon, the skull of a field mouse, and
some deposits of fish scales. There were
probably two quarts of chips and flakes, a
bout fifty per cent white quartz.

At the depth of three feet there was a
hearth on the northwest side of the pit,
taking up about one-fourth of the floor
space. This hearth was circular in shape,
of fairly small stones, probably of from
three to four pounds in weight. The west
side of this hearth had been built into the
main wall of the pit about 10 inches, probably
to protect that side of the pit from the heat of the fire.

At this three-foot depth, I had, to all appearances, reached the bottom of the pit except for what appeared to be a small pocket of broken shell, about ten inches across, directly in the center of the shaft.

After working out this ten-inch circle to a depth of eight inches, I found that it appeared to work back from the center on all sides towards the walls of the main shaft, undermining what I had previously thought to be the floor.

In order to continue working out this pocket, it became necessary to break down the edges of the pocket in order to find out the extent of underlying deposit. This breaking down and working back over lower deposit eventually brought me back to the original sides of the main shaft, as above layer of clay.

This layer of clay and gravel was clean of any Indian refuse, and packed very hard in a depth of about 1½ feet. The fill beneath had the appearance of being of much greater age than the upper deposit, as the ash, charcoal, shell and humus were of a much finer quality and more thoroughly mixed.

This fill contained only one deer lower jaw, one large round hammer stone, one odd shaped polishing stone, and one good large drill, or reamer.

The bottom of the pit was undercut all the way around about six inches, making the pit seven feet across at the bottom, and six feet across the main shaft.

There was an inch of clear sand at the very bottom which might have been put there, or might have been seepage from the clam shells.

The following articles were found by me in the pit: 1 large flaked knife, 3 worked antler prongs, 1 bone arrow point, 9 quartz scrapers, 15 triangular, concave base, arrow points, 35 potsherds, shell temper, 1 shell scraper, 11 broken arrow bases, 6 broken arrow tips, 6 broken knife bases, 1 raccoon lower jaw bone, teeth perfect, 1 mouse skull, sturgeon bones, 1 seal's tooth, 5 rejects, 3 rubbing stones, and 1 small piece of green polished, decorated slate.

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Cross Section of Pit A.I. Noek Farm Shell Heap.

Fig. 10

Plymouth, Massachusetts
December, 1941
A TRADING CENTER FOR LOCAL PRODUCTS FOUND ON THE HOOCANUM ROAD IN THE TOWN OF HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

William J. Howes

A short distance north of the westerly end of Mt. Holyoke Range, with the Connecticut River almost adjoining, is a plot of land where fragments of local material have been found which indicates most convincingly that the location was a trading center for this product in exchange for other material desired by the local Indian not found within his own territory.

The location is on the westerly side of the Hoocanum road from South Hadley to Holyoke, which follows the old Indian trail bordering the river for a long distance north and south. It ran northerly from the great settlement of the local Indians laying between Stony and Bachelors' Brooks. This was described by Sophie Eastman in her History of South Hadley as the most populous of all the settlements of the Indian within this section, and it continued on to the prehistoric fort on Fort River and to the settlement and other forts within in the township of Hadley, as noted by Sylvester Judd in his history of that town.

The plot of land is a cultivated tract that originally consisted only of fine sand as found elsewhere surrounding it. Within a short distance westerly is the river and opposite, some six or eight hundred feet easterly, is the talus or embankment of angular fragments that were thrown off the great ledge or escarpment of basalt or trap rock each year by the action of the frost from this outcropping on the northerly side of Mt. Holyoke. From this embankment large quantities of these angular fragments of different size and form, suitable for the different type of artifacts that might be fashioned from them, were taken across to the site of their trading post where they were disposed of to customers arriving by water or by the trail.

Upon this tract large quantities of cubes of the large ends and also of the points of the material are scattered all over the tract. They evidently were sliced off the rough stock, thus adapting it to the size required for such artifacts as axes, adzes, gouges, pestles, mauls, etc., and leaving the burdensome surplus on the ground for by so doing they were enabled to transport more of the proper size material back to their homes.

This plot of land was ideally located for a trading post, and it is the only location where refuse of this type has ever been found. In quantity of refuse and the sites proximity to the source of supply, together with the river and the trail as routes for acquiring the material it would seem evident that here was a trading center where the material was disposed of for distribution to distant territory.

Holyoke, Massachusetts
October, 1940

NEW MEMBERS

Mrs. O.W. Hanson, 3103 Northampton Street, Holyoke, Mass.
Mrs. Frank J. Jones, 11 Silver Street, North Hadley, Mass.
Mrs. H.H. Plough, Amherst, Mass.
Mr. Howard A. Jones, 70 Greenwood Avenue, Greenwood, Mass.

The Certificate of Incorporation of the Society was received from the Secretary of State on April 3, 1942.

ERRATUM

In Volume III, No.3 of the BULLETIN page 37 and page 38 were reversed. Read page 38 for 37 and page 37 for 38.

Through an oversight in this same issue "A Grave in Middleboro" by William L. Greene on page 35 was omitted from the table of contents on the cover.