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Leaman F. Hallett, Editor, 31 West Street, Mansfield, Mass.
Mabel A. Robbins, Secretary, Bronson Museum, 8 No. Main St., Attleboro, Mass.
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All material submitted for publication in the Society Bulletin and the Newsletter should be forwarded to Leaman F. Hallett, Editor, 31 West Street, Mansfield, Mass.
One spring day in 1951 Bill Eldridge came to the Peabody Foundation in Andover with some arrow points and other implements that he and his friend Joe Vaccaro had collected not far from Ipswich. As my colleague Fred Johnson looked over him he was surprised to find some pieces that looked quite different from the usual run of material from eastern Massachusetts. One, in particular, caught his eye; it was a point about two and a half inches long shaped like a gothic arch. Not only was it made from stone of a kind such as we had never seen before, but its entire form differed from that of points usually found in New England. Its base was concave, and from it, on either face of the point, a long thin chip led towards the tip. Here was a fluted point!

Fluted points immediately conjure up before the eyes of an archaeologist pictures of men hunting mammoths, mastodons, or giant bison—creatures long since extinct. Fluted points have been found among bones of such creatures throughout the Plains states and the Southwest, but nobody has yet made such a find in the east. It is true that fluted points, and points with bases thinned in a manner reminiscent of fluting have been found widely scattered in states east of the Mississippi. Most of these have been picked up on the surface of fields. Here was one that had been exposed by a bulldozer! Along with the fluted point there were thin flakes of chert that had been delicately chipped from one face to form a sharp graving point, other chips that were retouched from one face to form a sharp knife-like edge, and a stone knife that showed unmistakable frost spalls from one surface. Similar gravers and retouched flakes, along with fluted points, were found in Colorado at a camp of hunters of extinct bison. It began to look as if there might be something worthwhile at Ipswich.

For years we had known Bill Eldridge as a collector of Indian relics and an amateur archaeologist. He had combed fields in his spare time, and had come to know the locations on the North Shore where such things were to be found. Although one other fluted point had been found at the same place years before, Bill knew this particular field as a spot where arrowpoints, perhaps a stone gouge or an occasional plummet, fragments of rather coarse pottery, and other artifacts could be picked up. These were included in the collection that Bill

spread before our incredulous eyes that day. They spoke of Indians of what archaeologists call a late Archaic stage of culture—a time when they hunted and fished, and collected every edible thing that grew, but when they as yet knew nothing of farming. Indians lived in this way in New England well into the first millennium of the Christian era.

When we later went down winding Paradise Road to visit the site, we saw nothing to encourage a belief that much lay under ground. Bill had been joined by Joe Vaccaro and his brothers, Tony, Frank, and Nick, and by Tony Orsini. They had opened a number of pits in the abandoned farm that was being stripped of loam as operations of a gravel company were extended. Pieces of TD pipes, bricks, and fragments of earthenware dishes that were included in Bill's collection probably came once from the crumbling old stand of farm buildings at the end of the field. It was from one of the heaps of loam pushed up by the bulldozer that Joe had taken the first fluted point. Another one had recently been found in one of the pits, and the spot, close to twenty inches below the surface, had been marked for our observation.

To our disappointment, we found no sign of a buried soil—no darker streak in the sand below the loam and turf, to mark a surface on which the makers of the fluted points could have lived. We made tests of our own; we probed the walls of the pits, and still found no reason to believe that anything more would be found so deep beneath the loam. At any site in the west where such finds had been made, there always seemed to be either traces of a buried land surface camp refuse and rubbish trodden into a surface on which people had lived or bones of animals which had been killed. No such signs appeared in these pits, and so we gave it as our considered opinion that although they might have luck enough to find one or two more things, we saw no reason to believe that there had ever been any consistent occupation of the area by people who made fluted points. Never did words return to haunt so thoroughly!

The field in which they made their find lies east of the Old Bay Road, just off Paradise Road. This road follows the top of a broad sandy ridge past an abandoned farm at a narrow spot on the ridge, and then across an eastward extension where cellarholes,
lonely elms, and a few lilacs marked a farm long since abandoned. Beyond, the road leads down the bank and out onto the salt marsh between Muddy Run and Bull Brook. Bull Brook has given its name to the site, and more particularly to the fluted points and associated complex of tools.

A gravel company set up its washer near the farm barn, and power shovels were already gnawing into the fields. As gravel workings have exposed banks, they have exposed sand that is laid down in a series of over-lapping and cross-bedded deposits such as one finds in the bed of a stream. The gravel and sand were carried by a stream which flowed from a melting glacier and probably discharged eastward into a lake, if one may judge from the set of the beds of sand and gravel. A large block of ice which covered Jewett Hill and the rough land and marsh to the east did not melt away until after this phase of the history of glacial Bull Brook was over, for no traces of the ancient delta are found to the north of the brook and the steep north slope of the terrace probably represents an edge that was supported by ice. The lake must have been held in by ice which melted away, for to the east lie only isolated hills and these could not have held the water forty feet above the present level of the sea. After the glacier melted away, water in low spots to the westward found its way either into the Ipswich River by Gravelly Brook, or around the end of Turkey Hill to form the present Bull Brook. Sand and gravel from the glacial drainage remained as a sandy terrace, standing forty feet above the present salt marsh. The sea was lower then, and the beach lay well east of Plum Island. The marsh was probably a fresh meadow.

Just after the glacier melted away, the climate of Ipswich was probably very cold and windy. Damp ground must have been permanently frozen to great depths. Each summer, frost melted from the upper part of the ground and the process of freezing and thawing mixed this melting zone. How long ago this occurred, and how long the process lasted, cannot now be said. The glacier may have left Ipswich twenty thousand years ago, but glacial geology in New England is so confused and so complex that substages of the Wisconsin glaciation have not yet been unraveled. Forests may have been established fifteen thousand years ago in favorable locations, but it is quite likely that such a well-drained place as the Bull Brook terrace supported only a sparse growth of low brush or grasses. Any other ground cover would have formed a soil. As the only soil that lies on the sands is the modern one, we can only guess that when people first came to live there, the somewhat rolling ground was probably covered with sparse grasses. This cover would not prevent the sand from blowing back and forth, gradually leveling the land in the process, and burying anything that was dropped or left there. Trees probably did not begin to grow until drifting sand had built the surface up fifteen inches or so above that on which the Bull Brook people lived.

Some ten or twelve acres, we later discovered, had been occupied at one time or other by the people who made fluted points. But this we did not find out until four years had passed. We had no idea of the size of the site when we made that pessimistic prediction in 1951, nor did we properly judge the enthusiasm and endurance of the men to whom we made it. As we surveyed the fields and saw no real clue to earlier occupation, we estimated that it would cost more than ten thousand dollars to trench the field, and that seemed like a sizable sum to expend without greater prospects of success. Probably the final job would have run closer to twenty times that sum.

We visited the site from time to time, and as the bulldozers ate farther and farther into the abandoned fields, we saw the diggings of Bill Eldridge and the Vaccaros scatter ahead of them. We spent several weeks in all, digging carefully controlled trenches, and although we took careful measurements and made observations of everything there was to observe, we ourselves never found any implements until the site was nearly gone. Our friends resorted to the site in every spare moment, digging until darkness put an end to long summer afternoons, spending Sundays and holidays there in fair weather and foul, collecting several thousand pieces and close to a hundred fluted points from the place where we thought there was scant chance of finding anything! Finally, during the last year, we were called over on two occasions, and were able to observe and make careful measurements on implements which we ourselves dug up. This is about the only controlled information regarding the site. The fields have now been entirely destroyed by the gravel pit, and most of the terrace has become a wasteland.

After visiting the gravel pit, digging trenches as we could, and checking the holes in which the collectors were finding things, we formed a picture of the site that is probably a broader one than we
could have obtained through our own efforts. Unfortunately, it lacks certain precise details which are of the utmost importance. First of these details is the matter of the depth at which the Bull Brook complex was found, and the relation of the complex to details observable in the deposits that form the upper part of the terrace. By means of two trenches which we dug at the invitation of Bill Eldridge in 1954, we were able to determine that the implements occurred within a zone that lies between approximately twelve and twenty-six inches below the surface. This observation confirms what our friends had told us about the depth of the objects they had found. Furthermore, we were also able to confirm their statements about patches of pebbles which were found not far below the tools, and the scarcity of tools among or below the pebbles. There seems to be no constant relation between the depth at which pebbles are found and the depth at which implements occur. Some of the pebbles show unmistakable signs of sandblasting, a process associated with strong driving winds. Conditions like this prevailed in New England when the front of the continental glacier was not very far away, and the cold winds swept down from the ice. Evidently this process had come to an end before the original Bull Brookers made their camp there.

Above the level of the Bull Brook complex there lay six to twelve inches of sterile sand in which scarcely a chip or fragment of a tool has been found. This marks a rather long interval when no one lived there. Some six inches of loam had formed above the sterile sand, and in this lay not only white man's articles, such as china and TD pipes, but also implements that were characteristic of Indians of a late Archaic stage. A reasonable guess would place the oldest material from the loam at about the beginning of the Christian era—give or take a half a millennium. Thus, an attempt to date the Bull Brook complex resolves itself into an attempt to guess how long it took to pile up the six to twelve inches of sterile sand, or to guess how long ago the winds ceased to blow with sufficient force to sandblast the pebbles. A reasonable guess at the date of Bull Brook complex might lie somewhere between 6,000 and 10,000 B.C.

One other aspect in which we lack precise data is in regard to the distribution of the finds over the surface of the kame. The collectors are unanimous in agreeing that the implements were not spread evenly, but were clumped together in rather small areas. Within these "hot spots", as they were called, there were chips, broken implements, and all types of tools used by the early Bull Brookers. Here we should like more precise data, for this sounds as if the material remnants were concentrated in living areas, representing a house of some variety, or a favored work area. Between "hot spots" the ground was devoid of anything except an occasional stray piece. It was in such sterile spots that everyone of our test trenches was set, prior to 1954. Bill has prepared a rough plan of the site which shows the "hot spots" grouped into a roughly semicircular arrangement, suggesting a camp circle. Unfortunately, the sand did not tread into "floors" so that there is no telling whether the spots were all occupied at once, or whether they were occupied in succession. It seems most likely that they are traceable to a series of occupations, for to have them simultaneously occupied would bring together more people than ordinarily assemble among contemporary hunting peoples except in times of great abundance of food. When a number of large animals such as bison may be killed, or when flocks of migratory birds are taken in large numbers, then hunting peoples congregate. We have no bones from Bull Brook to tell us what these people ate, and without such information we are unable to say just what prey the hunters sought.

Finally, we have no very trustworthy information about fires. There are reports of burned and blackened areas that have been described as fire pits. I myself have seen only one burned area, and that I felt to be the remains of a stump that had burned out in a forest fire; fingers of charcoal led out from a central area, as roots do from a stump. Some burned areas may have been actual firepits, but firepits that were the work of later Indians. Aside from these few burned areas there was nothing to show that the early people had any fire. They could have built fires of brush or grass as many primitive people do today. Such fires cook food quickly and leave very little trace.

We are thus left with very little information about the habits of the first families of Ipswich. What is worse, we have absolutely no information about the people themselves. No sign of a burial, nor one scrap of human bone has been found. It seems most unlikely that any contemporary skeletons or identifiable pieces of animal bone will ever be found, for the sands of New England produce a notoriously acid soil, and the chances of finding
fragments of bone or bone implements in sandy soil are known to be so poor as to be negligible.

As a result, the stone implements are the only means by which we can trace the cultural connections of the Bull Brook people.

The immediate and most striking fact about them is that they are made from kinds of stone that were never used by the later Indians of Essex County. The stones have not yet been satisfactorily identified by a mineralogist, but they appear to be either varieties of chert or chert-like rocks or fine-grained igneous rocks. A local source has not yet been identified. Some flinty rocks of supposedly allied varieties are known to have been mined in the Hudson Valley, and in eastern Pennsylvania. Others appear in the Lake Champlain basin. Still other rocks that are similar in appearance occur in the Aroostook Lowland. Although it is amusing to speculate, it is probably much better to say that we do not know where the Indians obtained the material from which they made their tools.

One implement in the inventory has been recognized as a special form ever since a projectile of the same general shape was found among the fossilized ribs of an extinct species of bison near Folsom, New Mexico, about twenty years ago. The Folsom Point is characterized by a lanceolate shape with the greatest width forward of the midpoint, a slightly contracting after end, and two "ears", often needle-sharp, on either side of a concave base. A broad shallow flake has been detached from either face, beginning at the base, and running toward the tip, producing the "fluted" face that qualifies the name. Folsom Fluted Points form a separate and distinct category of fluted points, and they were used by people who hunted bison of species now extinct. Not far from Lubbock, Texas, Folsom Fluted Points had been used to kill bison. This event was dated by analyzing the burned bison bone for its content of radioactive carbon. The result showed that the bison was killed about 8,000 B.C. This is the only reliable date for any site at which Folsom Fluted Points have been found. For a number of reasons, it seems to be approximately correct.

The points that were found at Bull Brook are not Folsom Fluted Points. They belong to the category known as Clovis Fluted Points, so called because they were first identified not far from the town of Clovis, New Mexico, among bones of an extinct elephant. Since then, many finds of elephants that were killed with Clovis Fluted Points have been made. At the Blackwater Draw, between Clovis and Portales, where Clovis Fluted Points were first identified in association with elephant remains, they occur four to six feet below a stratum in which Folsom Fluted Points and bison remains have been found. No date for the Clovis Fluted Points has yet been obtained, but various people have guessed that the Clovis horizon is about 2,000 years older than the Folsom, which would place it at about 10,000 B.C. in round numbers. It is hoped that before too long a date will be derived from charcoal found with bones of a Columbian mammoth near Naco, Arizona. The mammoth was killed with points that are identical in every detail with those found at Bull Brook. So similar are the points that Dr. Emil Haury of the University of Arizona, who supervised the archaeological work, has told me that it would not be possible to distinguish the Naco Points from the Bull Brook points if the two collections were mixed together.

Superficially, the Clovis Fluted Point resembles the Folsom Fluted Point. In most instances a flute has been removed from each face. It also is lanceolate, with a concave base. There the similarity ceases. Whereas the Folsom Fluted Point is a rather delicately chipped implement, with edges trimmed by the removal of tiny chips no more than a sixteenth of an inch wide, the Clovis Fluted Point is a much heavier, coarser projectile trimmed with much bigger chips. The flute occupies a large part of the area of each face of a Folsom point, while it may remove only an insignificant part of one or both faces of a Clovis point. In general, the sides of Clovis points are parallel from base to approximately the midpoint, although they may also diverge. Some points exhibit a marked constriction just above the base. From approximately the midpoint forward, a Clovis point tapers towards the tip, while the sides of a Folsom point approach the tip in a rather sweeping curve. Clovis points have never been found with the needle-sharp ears which some Folsom forms exhibit.

It is possible to set up a series of rather rigid standards in this way which will enable a person to tell the difference between the two forms. In practice it is a waste of time, because Clovis-like forms have been found at some, but not all, Folsom sites, and by selecting implements from various sites it is possible to arrange a smooth transition from one type to the other. It seems possible that some of
the Clovis-like forms at Folsom sites are projectiles that are in process of manufacture, and are only momentarily in the Clovis form, as if to present an example in stone of the theory of recapitulation which was once so firmly adhered to by evolutionists.

Actually, it is possible to see rather marked differences between the forms of Folsom Fluted Points found at different sites. The Lindenmeier site, in Colorado, produced some beautiful examples of the longest and most delicately chipped variants. From Lipscomb and the original Folsom site came rather short, stubby forms, shaped almost like a pumpkin seed. Some forms have been fluted by the detachment of more than one flake from a side, as is true of some Clovis points, while the flute appears to have been detached from others by a single masterful blow directed at a small nipple left for the purpose on the concave edge of the base. The striking fact is that there is such similarity.

For years collectors have been gathering fluted points from states east of the Mississippi River. Only within recent years has a sensible attack been made on the problem of the origin of such forms in eastern states. By such cold-blooded and calculating methods as tabulating the provenience of fluted points by counties, the Archaeological Society of Virginia was able to discover a site on the Williamson Farm in Dinwiddie County, where Clovis Fluted Points appeared. Dr. Ben C. McCary has investigated the place, and secured from it a collection that closely parallels that from Bull Brook. By the same approach Mr. Frank Soday, of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology was led to the Shoop Site, near Enterline, Pennsylvania. Dr. John Witthoft, now Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has described the forms found at the Shoop Site, and explained in minute detail the methods by which the several classes of implements were made. He feels that there are certain fundamental differences between the technique employed at the Shoop site, and that employed by the Bull Brookers. I am not convinced that the differences are so fundamental. Certainly many of the finished forms exhibit marked similarities. A number of other sites are now known in eastern states, from the valley of the Tennessee River in the northern part of Alabama to the Great Lakes Basin, and along the Piedmont from Georgia to Pennsylvania and even into New England. Here again regional differences in form can be observed; one is so distinct that it is recognized as the Cumberland Fluted Point.

One great difference between the eastern and western sites lies in the fact that nearly every western site except the Lindenmeier site marks a "kill"—a place where one or more elephants or bison have been killed and butchered—whereas most of the eastern sites (I do not refer here to the location of stray pieces) mark the locations of
camps or workshops where there are many forms of tools in addition to projectiles. The eastern sites thus provide a large inventory of forms.

Archaeologists think they know what they are talking about when they speak of “drills”, “scrapers”, “gravers”, and so forth. Such names are based on similarities to tools that have been used in modern times by primitive men, or on the use to which a more sophisticated man thinks he could put a specific form. Thus the term “graver” is employed to designate an extremely delicate tool that would probably be broken the first time it was used for engraving bone, but which may quite possibly have been used as an awl for piercing skins that were to be sewed together. Admitting these deficiencies that we cannot correct, we can proceed to describe the tools which were used.

First of all a block of stone was prepared for use by striking irregularities from the surface and leaving a rather flat surface which is called the striking platform. When the block—now called a core—has been dressed to shape, long prismatic flakes are removed by a sharp blow on the edge of the striking platform. The resulting flake, called a blade, has a flattish surface toward the core, and may have somewhat incurvate sides, something like a gable roof that has sagged under snow. The blade is the primary form which can be modified in any way that the worker sees fit. It can be retouched from one face, producing a uniface implement, or it can be retouched from both faces in order to produce a bifaced implement such as a projectile. Aside from projectiles, all but one form of tool in the eastern Clovis complex are uniface forms, whereas later Indian tools are predominantly bifaced.

Knife-like forms were made by retouching one side to produce a very fine cutting edge. Side scrapers were made from large blades by means of a steep retouch along one or both sides. End scrapers were formed by trimming a short, broad blade to a roughly trapezoidal shape with a steep edge at one end. Needle-like points were produced on flakes of any shape, either a single point on a flake or two, three, four or even five points, to form what we call gravers. Some of the trapezoidal scrapers have spurs at one or both ends of the cutting edge, and these also are thought to have been gravers. Among rather specialized forms are narrow side-scrapers with a rather high ridged back, and bifaced implements that are thought to have been drills, with cutting edges formed at one end by striking off two chips so that the end looks not unlike the business end of a modern twist drill.

Now the remarkable part about this stone industry is that these forms in near-identity are repeated from Alabama to Ipswich, and westward as far as the Lindenmeier site in Colorado. Even the specialized forms of drills and narrow side scrapers are found. Some tools seem to have been local inventions that were used at certain sites or in certain districts, but there are not many of these. Everywhere the tools are uniface forms based on blades. Although the complete inventory is not always present at all sites, the vast majority of forms of tools is repeated. Such similarity argues for close cultural connections all across the continent eight or ten thousand years before Christ.

With the increase of knowledge of those early Americans there has come a realization that they could not have been the first. Gone is the picture of Folsom Man fending off ice cakes as he crossed Bering Strait. Instead, it now becomes clear that Folsom points were developed from Clovis points. So far there is nothing to show that Clovis points and the associated complex of tools were brought from Asia, but this may be due to lack of knowledge of the little-known stretch from the Canadian border to Bering Strait. An expedition that will take the field this summer under the leadership of Dr. Marie Wormington of Denver, and Dr. E. Mott Davis, of Lincoln, Nebraska, may bring new light on the problem when they examine certain bone beds in northern Alberta that are said to have yielded bones of extinct animals and stone tools. At present the large number of Clovis Fluted Points and associated forms known from eastern states—and as far east as St. John, New Brunswick—in comparison with the rather sparse discoveries from the western states seems to argue for origin of Clovis Fluted Points in the southeastern states. This numerical superiority may be due entirely to much more intimate knowledge and much greater exploitation of the eastern states. We are as yet in no position to speak authoritatively.

One other point remains to be made. We think that Clovis Fluted Points in the east may be ten to twelve thousand years old. So far there is no way of knowing that they are, and that their makers did not survive here until comparatively recent times—say four to five thousand years before Christ. Until we can find something that will enable us to date an eastern site we cannot be sure whether these early
hunters developed their industry in the east and moved west—beating Horace Greeley's advice by a good many thousand years—or whether they were the forerunners of the invasion of the eastern states by people who could no longer stand the great open spaces of Texas and the southwest.

A "CROWNED-54" PIPE FRAGMENT FROM ALPINE LANDING, N. J.

By Julius Lopez

(Illustrated by Stanley Wisniewski)

In July of 1951, while surveying a certain area below the rocky cliffs of the Palisades Interstate Park, on the west bank of the Hudson River, a unique pipe bowl fragment of European manufacture was found. It was discovered while testholing a narrow terrace elevated somewhat above the beach and nestled against the side of a precipice near the old Closter Landing, now known as Alpine Landing.

Made of white kaolin, the bowl, as per Figure, has a milled edge, and facing the smoker, a small, die-impressed oval framing the numeral 54 above which is a crown. In a mute way, this diminutive cameo seems to proclaim a Revolutionary ancestry, the crown implying English royalty and the numerical expression the designation of a British regiment in His Majesty's service.

As if to support this interpretation, there was in the general vicinity a network of fortifications which studded the opposite sides of the Hudson and Harlem Rivers: Forts Lee, Washington, Kingsbridge, George, and the Fort Hill redoubt. Furthermore, the object was found beneath the topsoil just five to six feet off to one side of the Alpine Trail, and not far from a stone marker which bears a tablet on which is inscribed: "Here began the Old Alpine Trail used by the British troops who first appeared in the State of New Jersey on the stormy night of November 18, 1776, in the unsuccessful effort of Cornwallis to intercept Washington on his way to Trenton." Also to be considered is that at a short distance stands the Kearny House, built ca. 1750. It is believed that in its day it was a small riverside tavern serving the river captains and their crews and the farmers who carted their produce down the steep and winding cliff road to the river boats. The building is now preserved as a historic monument. It is thought that Lord Cornwallis sought shelter and refreshment there while his men started the tedious upward climb from Closter Landing, dragging with them their heavy artillery. It was the enemy's hope to surprise, and, if possible, to capture General Washington and his men who were encamped, some at Fort Lee, and some at Hackensack. There is no documentary evidence that Cornwallis stopped at the tavern for "shelter and refreshment" but nonetheless it is referred to today as "Cornwallis Headquarters." Be it as it may, there is little doubt that the Kearny House was frequently visited during Revolutionary times. Indeed, it is said that some Hudson River shad fishermen used to tell that as lads they searched for relics beneath the floorboards of the old building, and that they unearthed "many a button from soldiers' uniforms, parts of ancient clay pipes, old coins, etc..."

As a further hint of the pipe's Revolutionary heritage, it is known that military buttons bore numbers, sometimes surmounted by a crown. On September 21, 1767, the English, following a practice started by the French five years earlier, decreed that regimental buttons should bear the numerical assignment of the troop. Many such buttons were found decades ago when Calver and Bolton sifted the middens of various military encampments in the New York City metropolis. Among other items which they retrieved were discarded or lost badges of bronze which originally were on the flaps of the leather cartridge boxes, or "ball pouches," which the English carried. These badges also embodied a numeral and crown as per the examples illustrated for the 15th and 57th regiments.

Lending still more support to the theory of a Revolutionary tie-in of the pipe bowl, it is also known that there was a 54th British Regiment of foot in the area. Its precise movements are unknown, but "54" buttons have been collected from a military hut-camp on the Dyckman Farm, from
A "CROWNED-54" PIPE FRAGMENT FROM ALPINE LANDING, N. J.

Fort Washington, and from Kingsbridge, within the enemy's "Fort No. 4." On the old Van Obliensis property, at 176th Street in northern Manhattan, another was found. It was of silver and probably belonged to an officer of the regiment.

Oddly, none of these "54" buttons are enhanced with crowns. One, as illustrated, has the number on a plain surface. On another, the number is contained in a double rope-like affair. Various patterns, however, some more ornate and heraldic than others, were used at the same time by a regiment. At least eleven English units hereabouts employed the combination of crown and number. Two are shown in Figure. Consequently, it is likely that the 54th was no exception, and that the soldiers' uniforms displayed various sorts of buttons including numerary ones having the royal crown.

As a matter of interest, it was in this same Regiment of Foot that Major John André held the commission which he had purchased on October 23, 1779. An English officer of many accomplishments, he was a flute player and poet, painter and play actor, linguist and silhouette cutter. He charmed everyone he met, especially the ladies and younger Tory belles for whose amusement he whimsically designed elaborate coiffures. He was also the 29 year old "Beloved Spy" who negotiated with Benedict Arnold for the betrayl of the West Point citadel. Subsequent to the meeting for treason, André was caught, sentenced, and hanged shortly after he pen sketched for posterity, a portrait of himself which he rendered with heroic abandon. This took place in the town of Tappan, not far from where the pipe was found.

Despite the circumstantial evidence presented in favor of a Revolutionary provenience, the research of Mr. H. G. Omwake, of Delaware City, Delaware, a pipe specialist with more than fifteen years experience behind him, discloses that it might all be purely coincidental. This is based on the fact that at one time it was very popular in Gouda, Holland, to stamp the bowls or pipe heels with both a number and a crown. According to Omwake, there were generally three types of trademarks in that country. They consisted of: 1) the initials of the makers, or of the merchants and exporters for whom the pipes were made; 2) images, or such figures as "the Milkmaid" and "the Falconer;" and 3), numerals, for the most part crowned. It was particularly true that during the first half of the eighteenth century pipemakers frequently registered a number, apparently most often with a crown as a trademark.

Omwake, who personally examined the Alpine specimen, believes it might very well be a Dutch pipe of this period since a "crowned 54" mark was registered in Gouda in 1732 in the name of Jan Valchaart, who became a "master" on February 26th, 1732. Later the trademark passed into the possession of Peter Stormann on October 31st, 1770. On November 7th, 1775, it became the property of Alida Versnel, widow of Jan Valkenburg, and, ultimately, was taken over by the firm of J. M. Vandewant. No makers other than those cited had the right to use the symbol. Judging by the size of the bowl, the specimen, in Omwake's words, "was of the earlier period of manufacture and probably came from the kiln of Jan Valchaart."

In America, numerous early European pipes have been found in practically all the Atlantic states, and in Alabama and Louisana as well. New York State has been particularly fertile as far as British pipes are concerned, but those of Dutch origin are rather rare. This may be because the Dutch makers seem to have had a late start. It was not until 1660 that the Gouda pipemakers were organized into a guild. By that time the industry was flourishing in England while Dutch colonial activity was dwindling. However, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, more and more pipes were brought into circulation and commerce by the Dutch, when there was an upswing in the manufacture of pipes in Holland.

Omwake believes it unlikely that the soldiers of the 54th could have ordered the pipes from Holland. The number of men making up a regiment during the Revolution would not have been sufficient to merit a special production just for them. The available literature on 17th and 18th century English and Dutch pipes does not refer to pipes manufactured on consignment for small groups of consumers. Indeed, it was not until the 19th century that some pipemakers, especially the Irish and the French, capitalized on unique themes, slogans, and personalities. However, there are references to Dutch pipes having been shipped across the English Channel, particularly to the city of Hull before the pipemaking industry became firmly established in that city. We may ask, then, is it possible that some of the foot-soldiers of the 54th Regiment purchased crowned-54s in England before sailing for our shores? Might they not have adopted them since, by a happy coincidence, the pipes'
A “CROWNED-54” PIPE FRAGMENT FROM ALPINE LANDING, N. J.

mark matched their regimental designation, down to their very buttons, as it were? If not in England, could the pipes have been acquired locally from the trade?

Some domestic sites have produced both English and Dutch pipes, for the most part as surface finds, which can be dated to the 18th century. Some are presumably coeval and imply access to pipes, by one way or another, from both countries at about the same time. However, if it is unques­tionable that the “54” pipes were produced in the kiln of Jan Valchaart, we have a dating of from 1732 to about 1770. This would make it very improbable that any of the pipes, which are fragile by nature, could have survived the subsequent years to reach anyone in the 54th regiment, either directly or indirectly from England.

The wheels of circumstantial evidence now spin in an opposite direction with more acceleration as there are still other arguments against an association with Andrés regiment. Mr. Stanley Gifford, who is also an authority on colonial pipes, and who is currently engaged in reconstructing Fort William Henry at Lake George, N. Y., told me that he had seen some numbered pipes. However, the figures had been scratched into the clay by soldiers in a mood of esprit du corps. He could not recall any specimens with an embossed number and crown.

There is further negative evidence in that Calver stated that clay pipes were common in camp middens, particularly in those the British left behind. Yet, he mentioned no numbered ones. He found that most were marked “W. G.,” followed by those initialed “T. D.” The rest, occurring in lesser frequency, had other initials, sometimes exhibited in a heart or other device.

Not much is known about W. G. pipes, and the initials T. D. appear on pipes through the War of 1812 (when they were encircled by 13 stars) to modern times. To this day there is a chance, particularly around Saint Patrick’s Day, of occasionally finding a T. D.5

One last consideration is that the Palisades Interstate region was at one time heavily settled by the Dutch. On the terraces “Under the Mountain,” as the area was called, one small farm crowded another, while across the Hudson from the spot where the fragment was found, another Dutch community thrived—“Donck’s Colony,” sometimes referred to as “De Jonkheer’s.” Today this is known as Yonkers.

In summary, we seem to have a collusion of circumstantial evidence involving the only recorded Crowned-54 pipe fragment coming from an area in which Major John André, the 54th Regiment, and a vortex of Revolutionary activity were involved. As fascinating as the association may be, the pipe, based on current data, seems to be of Dutch origin and of a pre-Revolutionary period. There is only a very slim chance, if any, that the pipe may have been acquired by a foot-soldier of an English regiment. Indeed, it appears more likely that a Dutch passer-by, perhaps an old farmer, or a short winded merchant, paused along the cliff road, fumbled for his pipe, dropped it, and saw it shatter on the ground.

FOOTNOTES:
1. and 2. Extracted from data posted on the building by the Palisades Interstate Park Commission.
3. From a drawing by A. R. Cattley in History Written with Pick and Shovel.
4. These were the 21, 28, 37, 38, 42, 44, 47, 49, 50, 57, and 84th Regiments.
5. At Maspeth, L. I., some TDs were found by Stanley Wisniewski, Martin Schreiner, and the writer while exploring the ruins of a small pipe factory which we were able to date from 1870 to about 1920 from some of the bricks from the oven. According to Harry Trowbridge, of the Bronx, New York City, in March of 1954 he purchased a TD in the heart of an Irish neighborhood in that borough. The initials face the smoker. Holding the pipe in that position, the word SCOTLAND is deeply embedded on the right side of the stem; a reverse number 5 is on the heel spur. On the opposite side of the stem, there is another imprint (illegible) and another reverse 5 on this side of the spur.

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HANLEYS CATALOGUE. Ca. 1885. Pipe Manufacturers. Waterford City, Ireland.


The Beloved Spy. Caldwell.


By E. G. Huntington

The Lagoon Pond Site is being worked by local members of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, and a few other residents of the Island, both year-round and summer, who are interested in Indian culture. The site is near the head of Lagoon Pond at the eastern part of the island of Martha's Vineyard.

Lagoon Pond is an arm of the sea. In past ages it was connected with open water by a narrow winding tidal waterway known as Bass Creek. Bass Creek has since been filled in and today, Lagoon Pond is connected with Vineyard Haven Harbor by a dredged and rip-rapped channel.

There are two extensive sites of Indian occupancy on the western shore of the pond. One is near where Bass Creek formerly flowed and the other is a mile or so distant at the head of the pond. Both of these sites were probably permanent villages.

The site near the head of the pond had probably been abandoned before the coming of the whites. The lower site, however, continued as a flourishing village well after the settlement. Its native name was Nobnocket and it constituted an important sub-sachemship in the great sachemship of Tekemy. Deeds exist showing the transfer of these Indian lands to white settlers.

However, it is at the site near the head of the pond that we are conducting our excavation. And to this point no sure indication of contact with European culture has been found there. Two cut iron nails look to be and well may be intrusive.

The site is an ideal location for a permanent village. There are extensive springs of water there. In fact the present town of Oak Bluffs draws its water supply from them. The high land back of the site offers almost complete protection from winter winds. There is excellent land for agriculture at the top of the high land that shelters the site. And Lagoon Pond, of course furnished a supply of fish and shell fish.

The site itself is on a rather narrow bench or shelf of land some twenty feet above the surface of the water. This bench is cut by gullies caused by an erosion that probably occurred after the site had been abandoned. Or indeed, continued erosion may have been a cause of abandonment.

The portion of the site being excavated consists of a rough triangle of the original bench, sixty feet or so wide at its base under the high land, and cut by gullies on both its other sides, and sloping and tapering to a point that overlooks the water.

Excavation is by numbered squares each six feet on a side. It is probably too early in the operation to come to too many definite conclusions. So far only ten squares have been fully examined, but these ten squares do clearly indicate certain assumptions. The first assumption is that the site was occupied successively by at least three different cultural groups. The second assumption is that the period of time from the first occupancy to the abandonment of the site must have been well over a thousand years. Indeed, it is even possible that the site was in continuous occupation for all or most of that time as there are no clear indications of breaks between all the cultural horizons.

The above assumptions were reached, of course, by the nature of the material so far uncovered. And now for a look at some of the evidence.

The artifacts found on the lowest level—in the top of the sub-soil, and on top of the sub-soil—are of an entirely different character from those above them. They consist almost entirely of corner-
removed slate points. This is very interesting as slate is not a common artifact material on the Island. There is no native stone on the Island. All stone found here was glacier born and deposited as glacial conglomerate on a tertiary sub-strata of clay and gravel.

The late pre-historic peoples of the Island used quartz and felsite chiefly for their artifact material. Thus the artifacts found on this lowest level consist of a type and material that differs from the more commonly found Island artifacts. Another very interesting point in connection with these lowest finds is that they do not seem to be in association with shell. That is most unusual as shellfish of all kinds constituted one of the most important items in the economy of the later prehistoric peoples.

Next above the slate corner-removed artifacts come a variety of types made of a variety of materials. Among them are side-notched, eared, small-stemmed, triangular, etc. (See diagram, which illustrates some of the most commonly found types of points from the site). So far it has been impossible to distinguish between different cultural levels from this middle group of artifacts. This middle material is found from near the top of the sub-soil up to within a foot or so of the surface. Where late erosion has taken place they are nearer to the surface than that. Most of them seem to be in association with shell, but many of them are found in a peculiar brown layer of earth with little or no shell in it beneath the shell deposits and above the subsoil.

Nearest the surface the artifacts are mainly large and small triangular and small stemmed points. They are found from just below the surface to a foot or more down and in connection with much finely broken shell and bone. The most common bone seems to be deer.

Almost all the shell, with the exception of a few pockets of intact scallop, and soft-shell, and quohaug shells, is finely broken as though it had been trampled and walked over for a long period of time. To this point we have not found any midden that can be identified as such. And in that connection, a very unusual feature of the site is the almost complete lack of pottery shards either ceramic or soapstone. We have found three or four small fragments of the latter.

A number of bone artifacts have been found including one barbed dart or fish spear, a number of needles and awls, and one incised pipe stem.

Two copper beads have been found. These beads are exactly of the type described by Brereton in his "Relation" of the voyage of Gosnold to the Island in 1602. They are of very thin sheet copper in the form of a small cylinder about 3/8" in diameter. One is 5/8" long and the other a little longer. Brereton describes the use of these beads in the manufacture of broad collars, much as the later wampum was used. Both beads were found 10" below the surface and in connection with the finely broken shell.

We are keeping a careful record of all depths and materials in each square examined, and we intend to continue the excavation of the site through the winter. We hope to have much more to report regarding our undertaking in later issues of the Bulletin.

AN HISTORICAL BASIS FOR VINLAND

By E. G. Huntington

In an editorial comment in the April 1956 issue of the Bulletin, a number of interesting statements were made in regard to the Vinland story. The crux of the matter was that so many otherwise excellent scholars will "almost contemptuously" brush aside any evidence in favor of the Vinland story.

This segment of the scholarly world seems unwilling to listen to any evidence in favor of the Vinland story because it is convinced in advance that any such evidence must be false. The only possible word for such an attitude is bias.

Another attitude, equally unscientific, is a seeming unwillingness to recognize the value of speculation and imagination in setting up a basis for investigation. Of course the Vinland story is a will o' the wisp, but there are shreds of fact and truth adhering to it that make it eminently worthy of serious scientific consideration.

It was the so-called Vinland sagas, Norse prose tales of the later middle ages, that first brought to light the possibility of Norse discovery and exploration of the east coast of North America about the
AN HISTORICAL BASIS FOR VINLAND

year 1000 A.D. But the sagas are not history, and they were written long after the events described in them occurred. Actually they are traditional romances based on centuries of prior oral repetition. But the elements of truth and fact in them should not be denied. One such element is the long and involved geneologies that are characteristic of most of them. The geneologies in the sagas are accurate and sound; they had to be, or they would not have been tolerated by the people who read them or who had listened to their prior oral repetition. The early Norse were noted for their love of geneology.

The geneologies in the sagas are those of actual historical persons. That fact has been proved by modern scholarship. Leif the Fortunate, his father Eric the Red, and Bjarne Heirulfsson, and Leif's half sister Fredis, and a host of others are as certainly historical as King Alfred or William of Normandy. And because the geneologies are sound and the persons they deal with are historical it is only reasonable to assume that some of the events dealt with in the sagas also are based on fact. That still does not make them history.

But historical references to Vinland do exist, few and brief though they are. Probably the most important such historical reference is found in the Icelandic Annals. And it is in parallel accounts. It is this statement for the year 1121: Eric, Bishop of Greenland, went to seek Vinland.

Bishop Eric is historical. The cathedral town of the Greenland diocese was Gardar in the Eastern Settlement and the bishop was the shepherd of the churches in the Eastern and Western Settlements, and at Heirulfsness, and presumably also in Vinland. That postulates the existence of a Vinland colony, or at least of a settlement or settlements in Vinland.

Why did Bishop Eric go to seek Vinland? It could not have been to make a voyage of discovery or exploration. Such voyages had been made more than a century earlier. Nor, as Bishop of Greenland, is it likely that he was engaged on a trading voyage, though trade between Greenland and Vinland was probably flourishing in the year 1121. That statement is not merely supposition. We know that the trade between Greenland and Europe contained many items, notably timber, lumber, withes of grapevine and furs that Greenland did not produce.

The Greenland trade was very valuable. In addition to the articles listed above, it included walrus hides and narwhal ivory and Greenland falcons, as well as dairy products from the Greenland farms. The narwhal ivory sold in Europe as unicorn horn, and the Greenland falcon was the best bird obtainable for falconry. But there were no trees in Greenland or grapevines or furs of beaver or muskrat, and furs of those animals found their way to Europe in the Greenland trade. One can only assume that they must have come from Vinland. For Vinland as described in the sagas was a place where grapes grew in great profusion, where there was plenty of good timber, and where the natives could be induced to trade valuable furs for little strips of red cloth.

Vinland probably included the Cape Cod area and two days' sail from Vinland to the northeast lay Markland. Markland thus could only have been Nova Scotia. There is an historical account of a voyage from Greenland to Markland for timber in the year 1347. This was a routine voyage. The only reason we have an account of it is that the vessel encountered trouble and was forced to put into Iceland for repairs.

The only reasonable explanation for Bishop Eric's voyage to Vinland is that his flock needed him. And again, on that very slight but also very historical evidence, we presuppose the existence of a Vinland colony.

There is a further historical reference to Vinland. In the year 1355 King Magnus of Sweden, the then ruler of all Scandinavia, commissioned one Paul Knutson to seek Vinland. Entirely aside from whether or not the disputed Kensington Stone is a forgery, the fact that Paul Knutson was sent out to seek Vinland is historical.

The reason for the search is involved. In the year 1354 the Western Settlement in Greenland had been abandoned. Apparently it had been abandoned en masse. The steward of the Greenland cathedral who made a voyage of investigation to the Western Settlement in that year reported that the entire population had fled, abandoning houses, farms, churches and livestock. Because the climate of Greenland was becoming much colder at that time, some scholars have suggested that the people of the Western Settlement vanished because, even so early, they had adopted the culture and life of the nomadic Eskimos. Archaeological evidence shows without question that such a blending of the Eskimo and Greenland Norse cultures did indeed occur. But that blending came about considerably later and probably involved only the people of the Eastern Settlement. At any rate, King Magnus believed that the people of the Western Settlement had
abandoned Christianity and had fled either to Vinland or to “new lands to the west.” Paul Knutson was sent out to Vinland to find the apostates, and to force them to return, if not to Greenland at least to Christianity.

This apostasy is not as strange as it seems at first glance. For a time the old Norse paganism and Christianity had existed side by side in Greenland. And paganism probably always survived if only as an element of superstition on the fringes of the settlements. It probably survived to a greater degree in the Western Settlement which was on the very edge of civilization. With the failure of agriculture brought on by the changing climate, there may indeed have been a great upsurge of paganism particularly in the Western Settlement. Vinland still further removed from civilization, may always have been partly pagan and a refuge for those who would not accept Christianity. There are many hints of this in some of the sagas.

If, then, there was a Vinland colony, and the instances I have cited involving Bishop Eric and Paul Knutson are entirely historical, it must have existed for several centuries. Why did it not continue to exist? Only speculation can answer to that question. The chief reason for the failure of the Vinland colony probably lies with the coming to an end of the Greenland trade with Europe.

The Greenland trade ended because of the deterioration of the climate in Greenland and, though probably to a lesser extent, because of changed economic and social conditions in Scandinavia. With the end of the Greenland trade there was no longer a need for the colony in Vinland, and it atrophied. Intermarriage between Norse and Indian may always have taken place in Vinland, and with the end of the voyages, and the non-arrival of any new Norse blood, there was probably a complete surrender to the Indian culture. The population of the Greenland colony at its period of greatest prosperity seems never to have much exceeded two thousand people, and the white population of Vinland must have been much less than that.

Even in Greenland the absorption of the Norse into the Eskimo left no discernible somatic evidence in the population. And the possibility of somatic traces of European blood on the east coast of North America would have been even less. However, in Greenland there is archaeological evidence of the blending of the two cultures. On our east coast to this date there has been no reported evidence of any such blending.

However, there were cultural traits in the coastal Algonquins at the time of the English settlement that set them apart from the forest tribes in a number of important respects. Among those traits were an hereditary ownership of land and a quite clearly defined class-conscious, almost feudalistic, society. Such traits as those could, of course, have developed independently in the coastal Algonquins, but they could also have been the result of pre-Columbian European influence. Other traits, indicating a blending of Indian and European cultures of a long established nature, may have existed with the coming of the English settlers and have been completely unrecognized. There were no anthropologists among the Puritans or Pilgrims, and indeed, so little real scientific interest in the society and culture of the Indians as to be almost nonexistent. Then too, any evidence of an earlier blending of European and Indian cultures could have been completely obliterated in a very short while by the rapid assimilation of English colonial traits by the Indians.

Some scholars have claimed to see traces of the old Norse language in many of the place names of the coastal Algonquins. Again some scholars have seen a close relationship between many Algonquin myths and the Norse mythology of the Eddas. There is a great opportunity for real research and investigation in both of those fields.

It seems unlikely that further historical evidence in regard to the Vinland story will ever be forthcoming. But archaeological evidence of the occupation of this coast by the Greenland Norse from the 11th to the 14th centuries may well turn up. The danger is, that when and if it does turn up, it may not, because of prejudice and bias, be recognized for what it is. Any such evidence is likely to be very scattered and fragmentary, for the remains of the main settlements of the Vinland colony probably no longer exist. They must have been situated directly on the coast and the coast of southern New England is being constantly worn away and shifted by the sea. In many places the recession of the shoreline has been as much as twenty feet or more in a single year. Six centuries or so of such recession could put the site of ancient Vinland on the ocean bottom miles out beyond the present shoreline. Indeed, one fairly large island, Nauset, which some of the early settlers of Cape Cod used as pasture for sheep and cattle, has completely vanished even in historical times.

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EDWARD BROOKS

Ned Brooks has passed on. To many of our older members, who were closely associated with Ned in the formative years of our Society, the news comes as a shock and as a distinct sense of loss. He was our first Secretary-Treasurer, serving over four years in that capacity. Organizational meetings were held in his home in Brookline; and, under his direction, the Society’s headquarters were located for a time in rooms of the old Museum of Natural History in Boston. He early carried on field work at Sandy Neck in Barnstable, in Westfield, Mass., in Vergennes, Vt.; and was director for several seasons of the first officially sponsored Society dig on Nantucket Island. His continued enthusiasm and varied accomplishments in our field were instrumental in first interesting many of our present members in archaeological pursuits. Later, he was associated with the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City, and in research work for the Vermont Historical Society. His death occurred in Albany, New York, January 27, 1957.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

As previously noted, the lead article of this issue originally appeared in a publication of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. As a general policy, we will not hesitate to reprint important material from credited sources when pertinent to this area, and of educational value to our members.

Many of our newer members undoubtedly wish to carry on intelligent field work in their localities, but lack available information on proper procedures. We will attempt to remedy this situation in forthcoming issues of the Bulletin through a continuing review of all steps from the initial laying out of a site to publication of the results. We hope to include some late methods and techniques which will add to the knowledge of those already skilled in field procedure.

The first seventeen volumes of the Bulletin have been cross-indexed, and await funds for publication. Many of the back numbers are now out of print, but a list of those available is being tabulated. Starting with Volume XVIII, the index of each volume will be printed to the rear of the Number 4 issue.

We note with regret the passing in January of George Heye, founder and for many years director of the Museum of the American Indian in New York City. Under his guidance the Museum, founded in 1916, and located in upper Manhattan, grew to contain nearly 3,000,000 specimens of the various cultures of the Western hemisphere. It is presently reputed to be the largest museum in the world exclusively devoted to American Indian material. Mr. Heye was not only an avid collector, but also took an active part in many archaeological expeditions. One of the more notable was the excavation of the Hawikuh pueblo of the Zuni Indians in New Mexico, the first to be unearthed of the seven cities described by the Spanish explorer Coronado. In 1931, an expedition he sponsored reached the headwaters of the Orinoco River in South America and named for him the mountain on which it rises.

We do not often encounter as complete a resume of the search for human origins as that portrayed in Herbert Wendt’s “In Search of Adam,” a recent Book-of-the-Month Club selection. Through a maze of early contradictory beliefs, gradually coalescing into accepted truths, Wendt exhaustively covers the field of paleontological research from Linnaeus to the recently uncovered African Prometheus. This volume has a place in every archaeological library.