# MASSACHUSETTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, BULLETIN

state archaeologist—there is none at present . . ."
4) ". . . is one of those northwestern states where very little professional archaeology has been conducted."

SUMMARY

While limited information prohibited the development of a pattern of cultural diffusion for the atlatl, several clear patterns did emerge from the survey of atlatl weights in the United States. While the atlatl, itself, might have made its first United States appearance in the Southwest, the atlatl weight appears to have been used first in the eastern half of the nation; possibly in North Carolina. Two basic atlatl weights—yesterday's bannerstones—are recognized: the perforated—primarily in the Eastern United States—and the unperforated principally found in the western half of the country. Weights are very likely found in every state but Hawaii, with a paucity of specimens in the western United States.

Peripheral information included the propositions that more field work and research is required in order to learn the evolution of types among all of the atlatl weight forms. Some few archaeologists questioned the notion of the use of weights on spear-throwers, and several states are doing little or nothing to rescue prehistory's evidence from the ravages of modern construction or the over-zealous amateur.

One would hope that further results from the field and the library shelf would give the atlatl weight a place of identification and ready cognizance similar to that held by that other fine lithic artifact, the projectile point. For it would seem that the atlatl weight is as worthy a subject of study as the point and as fascinating an artifact.

> Middleburg, Pennsylvania May 5, 1973



# TWO INDIAN BURIALS IN NORTH MIDDLEBORO

WILLIAM S. FOWLER

Across the Taunton River from the Seaver farm lies the Taylor farm in North Middleboro. Here in 1951 were discovered two intriguing Indian burials of colonial days, in which the grave goods seem to have a story to tell. As will be gleaned from the burial descriptions that follow, they are obviously Indian, and include numerous grave goods, some of which were derived from the whites. At the time of exhuming, the grave furnishings seemed so unusual that it was decided to display the larger of the two burials as a part of a diorama in the Bronson Museum, where it may be seen today.

Location of the graves came about as a result of a prior discovery of an adult male burial found nearby. A woodchuck had conveniently dug up fragments of human bones, which lay about the entrance to his hole. These incited test digging by the late William H. Taylor, who discovered the burial lying 3 or 4 feet in the ground. Society members were notified, and under the direction of Maurice Robbins the work of exhuming was then undertaken. While the grave goods of this interment were of interest, they contained nothing to indicate close association with the two graves described in this report, which were found later.

After the excitement had somewhat abated, Taylor decided to plow the area surrounding the exhumed male grave for a considerable distance, extending through his apple orchard. While nothing of note turned up, a belief persisted that where there was one grave there should be others. Proceeding on this theory the area was laid out in grids, and a systematic exploration of it was undertaken by Society members. Long-handled hoes were used to remove the loam, and then to carefully scrape the subsoil in search for the brownish discolored oval area that would mark the presence of a grave shaft. Before long the outlines of a grave were discovered, and the exhuming of it soon was under way.

This was an adult burial about the same depth as the first, but with several distinctive characteristics that tended to separate it from the former. Surrounding the walls of the grave shaft appeared the decomposed remains of some sort of woven mats, which indicated special attention had been given to the one being buried. The skeletal remains were in such a poor state of preservation that identification of the flexed body, whether female or male, was impossible; even when submitted to a physical anthropologist for a qualified

analysis. However, they were sufficiently in tact, with exception of the skull, to permit removal for museum display. Despite this, the grave furnishings—description of which follows—seem to indicate that the burial may have been that of a woman, who apparently was a tribal member held in sufficient esteem to warrant the profusion of offerings found placed about the skeletal remains.

This grave was the larger of the two burials of this report, and contained several kinds of artifacts. Of 2 aboriginal ceramic pots found in the grave, the larger one measures about 5" across its top. Here, 4 prominent unmarked outflaring castellations are in evidence. Directly below them appears a most unusual 3 banded neck. The large rounded bands, which extrude, display an embellishment not found in native pottery of this area of New England. The full globular body of the pot is reminiscent of late Ceramic times. This, together with the colonial articles of the interment, place this burial in contact days of the 1600's (Fig. 9,#1).

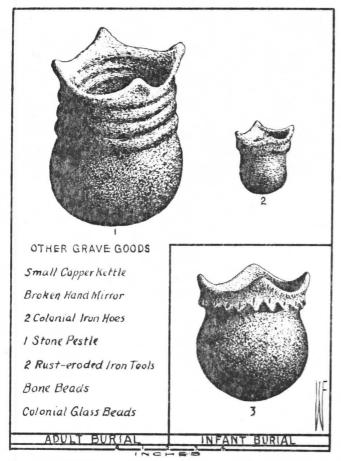


Fig. 9. THREE BURIAL POTS, from an adult and infant burial on the Taylor farm in North Middleboro.

The smaller pot from this adult grave is tiny, only about 2" across its 4 castellated top. The castellations are relatively high and well-defined, and a pronounced band joins their tips about the pot's edge. This is decorated by fine impressed hatching. Directly below, a

plain undercut collar appears over a full globular body (Fig. 9,#2). This unusually small pot is a type of burial vial sometimes found in graves, which may have held some special potion, food, or magical concoction to insure a successful life in the next world. Both pots are made of relatively thick brownish-gray ware, smooth inside and out, with fine crushed mineral temper.

In order of importance, the next grave good to be mentioned is a small colonial copper kettle, no more than about 6" across its top; its handle is missing. Beside this lay a broken hand mirror, with about a 4" fragment of a metal handle. Nearby were 2 colonial iron hoes badly rusted, but otherwise well preserved. One has a 3" blade some 7" wide, while the other has a 6" long blade shaped something like an adz. Both are presumed to have served as hoes. Then there appeared a native well-made stone pestle about 10" long, ground smooth all over. Lying beside this were 2 rust decomposed objects that may have been colonial knives of some kind. Spread about near the head were a great many small sized colored glass beads, and many bone beads of native manufacture. Not as a deliberately placed grave offering, but coming doubtless from a cape that may have covered the corpse were 3 brown, roundheaded buttons. This completes description of the various objects found with the adult burial.

In April of the following year the writer assisted in the further excavation of the site, where up to then no more burials had been discovered. Luck favored him, when he selected a few squares to dig that lay only about 20 feet removed from the place where the adult burial had been exhumed. After removing the loam with a long-handled hoe from one square without finding signs of disturbance in the subsoil, he extended his search into the adjoining square. Suddenly he noticed a brownish disturbance in the yellow subsoil, which seemed to be extensive. And upon further loam removal the oval outlines of what looked like the top level of a grave shaft appeared. As compared to the adult grave this darkened area seemed to represent a relatively smaller one.

As removal was made of the discolored dirt-fill from the grave, the disintegrated remains of woven mats, like those found in the adult grave, were detected lining the walls of the shaft. At a depth of about 3 feet, similar to that of the other grave, the skeletal remains of an infant appeared in a poor state of preservation. At one end, probably the head, potsherds were uncovered, apparently the remains of a small pot. In all, there were 41 sherds recovered, which subsequently were found to fit together contiguously to form one vessel. After restoration had been completed the resultant small pot proved to be as unique as the two other pots from the adult burial, all differing from known pottery styles attributed to native potters of this New England area.

This infant burial pot measures about 4" across its top, which has 4 prominent outflaring castellations. A row of small impressed jabs surrounds the outside rim, while at the collar's base are pinched-out triangular lobes, with a single short vertical incised line appearing on each; 5 lobes occur bewteen every two castellations. The ware is brownish-gray in color with finely crushed mineral temper, smooth both sides (Fig. 9,#3). In this respect the pot is like the two pots from the adult grave, and has the appearance of having been made under similar conditions. Also, small colored glass beads were recovered from among the skeletal remains, which resembled those taken from the adult burial. Such similarities existing bewteen the two, including that of the woven mats lining both grave shafts, gives rise to the belief that they may have been closely related in some

Excavation of the area continued and a large section of the site was carefully searched, but without a scrap of evidence of further burials. Now, more than ever, a relationship bewteen the two interments appeared probable, and the site was finally closed with this impression remaining in the minds of many.

### ANALYSIS OF THE POTTERY

At this point, to leave the problem unsolved as to the story the two burials may have to tell would serve no good purpose, nor advance the study of archaeology. Therefore, it seems desirable to examine the grave recoveries more carefully in an effort to establish their meaning. This becomes partly possible through a typological analysis of the pottery involved, which has certain unique traits that compare favorably with pottery from another section of New England. It appears to equate with pottery known as Shantok, first found at Fort Shantok in southern Connecticut, presumed to have been made by the Pequots. These Indians had two stockaded forts not too far removed from the mouth of the Thames River, from one of which in 1637 they were driven by a merciless attack of the whites and their Mohegan allies.

However, before discussing the historic aspects of the burials, it seems important to consider ceramic Shantok traits, with which the three burial pots of this report may be related. Information dealing with this subject is derived from W. R. Young, as found in a publication of the Springfield Museum of Science. Young says that Shantok pottery is tan to gray in color with grays predominating; is fairly hard and well fired; and both interior and exterior surfaces are smooth. Vessels are elongate-globular with round bottoms. All vessels have collars usually with 4 castellations, and decorations include impression, punctation, modeling, and extrusion. In general, these traits seem to fit closely those of the three burial pots, all of which have hard, well-fired ware.

Examination of the larger of the two pots from the adult grave shows traits similar to those Young lists for Shantok style (Subtype C): "Around the neck of the vessel below the collar are raised bands or rings, usually four in number . . . The bands are formed by extrusion." Beside these similarities, the pot is elongate-globular, a Shantok trait previously mentioned by Young.

The pot from the infant burial has traits, which seem to equate nicely with those Young reports for Shantok style (Subtype B): ". . . the neck below the collar is encircled by triangular lugs [lobes], each usually decorated with a single vertical impressed line . . ." Also, this pot has the round bottom, as do the other two, a Shantok trait listed by Young.

So here are described pottery traits from the homeland of the Pequots in southern Connecticut that are suspiciously like those of the three burial pots from the Taylor farm. With this presumed pottery relationship in mind, might it not be desirable to go one step further, and try to envision the pottery ownership that may have existed. This will be dealt with in the conclusion.

#### CONCLUSION

One theory that attempts to explain presence of the adult burial suggests that there is a striking resemblance bewteen its grave goods and those paid for Indian land, which includes that of the burial area. An Indian deed of 1657, known as the Titicut purchase and covering the Titicut section of Taunton, lists certain goods given in payment by a Mrs. Elizabeth Poole to Chickataubut, who appears as the grantor. Payment consisted of the following: 2 iron hoes, 2 copper kettles, a kettle of beans, a jacknife, and 2 great coats.

At first glance this may seem to be a likely association, especially in view of the burial's 2 iron hoes, a copper kettle, and the 2 rust-eroded iron tools, which might have been knives. But if this is so, where are the other two copper kettles, speculating that the burial's small kettle was the one that held the beans? And one might further question the presence among the grave goods of the broken hand mirror and the large quantity of small glass beads of colonial origin, not mentioned in the purchase price; that is if the burial and Titicut purchase actually are related. As far as the beans and great coats are concerned, they of necessity would have completely disintegrated no doubt, which might explain their absence.

However, whatever similarity is found between the goods of the deed and those in the grave, this material-matching seems less convincing when consideration is given to the probability that the interment may have been that of a woman. For, it would seem more logical that a man would have been the recipient of the

purchase payment, since the deed states it was Chickataubut who received the goods from Mrs. Poole. Also, would it seem probable that any such material payment for land would have reverted to one person, whether man or woman, to be cached away in a grave out of reach of other tribal members. And further, in what context should we try to explain presence of the burial pottery, occurring as it did in styles not found among the native pots of this area? And how should we account for the nearby infant grave, similarly lined with woven mats, and having the appearance of being closely related through its burial pot of Shantok provenience like those of the adult grave?

Against this land purchase explanation that attempts to associate the adult burial with the Titicut purchase, and in so doing, ignores the infant burial, an archaeological explanation is offered. This will give the reader a chance to make a choice between the two. The following reasoning is based on the premise that the 3 pots involved in the discussion have been shown in all probability to be Shantok type pottery of southern Connecticut, presumed to have had a Pequot source. Looking for a reliable confirmation of this pottery analysis, the writer submitted illustrations of the 2 larger pots to Professor Irving Rouse of Yale University. In his reply, Rouse stated that they appeared to be Shantok, especially the pot from the infant burial (Exhibit #3). Add to this the fact that no pottery style from this central New England area equates even remotely with either of these pots—the tiny vial seems too small to serve for comparative purposes, although its traits in general are also Shantok, as has been shown-and their Shantok origin appears all the more convincing.

Searching history to learn what events of the 1600's took place in southern Connecticut between the Indians and colonists, De Forest was found to give a vivid account of the Pequot war and what followed. While the date of interment of the burials is not known, it might well have been some time subsequent to a certain episode that took place, involving the defeated Pequots and their dispersal as captives of war.

In 1637 Capt. Mason with a colonial force, aided by Mohegan allies, burned out the Pequots with great loss of life to the enemy. However, some escaped and fled into the woods, where, in a swamp near Fairfield, Connecticut, a group of survivors was surrounded. Of this group—as derived from the Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649—De Forest relates: ". . . the remainder of the men . . . were massacred in cold blood . . . [of the] eighty women and children . . . thirty were given to the Narragansetts, three to the Massachusetts Indians, and the remainder sent to the Bay as slaves." This reference to the "Bay" doubtless refers to the Bay Colony of Massachusetts, indicating that the remaining

captives would have become slaves of the whites.

Relating this historic incident to the burial evidence, and using but little imagination, a possible connection might be concluded not too far from the truth. Pertinent to this possibility, it seems important to note the custom among Indian tribes in those early times, wherein captured women customarily married into the tribe of their captors and so became full-fledged members, thereby relinquishing all connections with the tribe of their birth. With these facts in mind the concluding postulation is offered, based upon evidence from the two Taylor burials.

First, as previously mentioned the adult grave is believed to be that of a woman, on account of certain of its grave goods normally the property of women: stone pestle, 2 iron hoes, broken hand mirror, and the two small pots of female provenience—women are known to have been the planters and the potters. Of less significance are the 3 buttons from some sort of a cape, possible a female garment.

Second, if the infant burial was related to the adult grave, as its nearness, type of pottery, and its woven mat-surrounded grave shaft would appear to indicate, then it is possible that the infant may have been the child of the interred woman.

Third, with this a possibility a natural deduction might result that the infant burial pot had the same source as that of the other 2 pots. And if this is so, then the make of pottery would in all probability have been of a similar type, doubtless made by the same potter, who might well have been the woman of the adult burial.

Fourth, with this seemingly related evidence and the likelihood formerly presented that the type of pottery involved is Shantok of southern Connecticut, then two possibilities might follow. Either the pots were imports from there, or the woman, who made them, came from this southern region of New England on the Sound, known to have been the tribal home of the Pequots. Of these two possibilities the latter seems more probable, as Shantok style pottery is unlike that attributed to the Massachusetts Indians of this area, and seldom if ever is found here. In fact, this instance is the first known to the writer of the presence here of authenticated Shantok pottery.

After consideration is given to this chain of reasoning, does it not seem probable that the adult interment may have been a captured Pequot squaw—might even have been one of those Pequot women from the swamp ambush given to the Massachusetts Indians. She would then have become the wife of a Wampanoag—to judge from the region where the burials were found—with full tribal status. And by the time of death she would have become a respected member of the tribe. In fact, because of her richly

furnished grave with prized articles obtained in one way or another from the whites and her cherished pottery, made as she had been trained from the time of her childhood, she may have been the wife of an important tribal leader.

With the infant grave presumed to have relationship, might it not be probable, as previously suggested, that the infant was her child to whom death came simultaneously with that of its mother. Just what occurred will, of course, never be known, but it might

be opined that death came to both in childbirth, although other causes could be conceived. However, it seems likely that no cause would have consisted of an act of violence from within the society because of the presence of the generous grave offerings, indicating esteem and concern for the departed by grieving survivors.

Bronson Museum, November 11, 1971



# THE PURCELL SITE: EVIDENCE OF A MASSACRE ON CAPE COD

FRANK SCHAMBACH AND HOWARD L. BAILET

## INTRODUCTION

This is a belated report on a salvage project at a small cemetery and camp site in West Yarmouth, Massachusetts. This site is of interest because it seems to testify to the methodical extermination of the adult females and younger children of a little band of summertime foragers and shellfish gatherers on the Cape Cod shore in early historic times. Also, three of the six skeletons recovered there are among the best preserved specimens we know of from coastal Massachusetts, so it seems desirable to put them on record in a regional journal.

The site is on an inconspicuous knoll some two hundred yards north of James Bay and Nantucket Sound. This is an exposed and windy location so it was probably suitable for warm weather occupation only. A spring located off the edge of the knoll about 20 yards southeast of the site was probably the chief attraction of this particular spot.

#### THE SITE

The Purcell site came to light in March 1966 when Mr. Edmund Purcell (76 Pine Cone Drive, West Yarmouth) struck portions of two human skeletons while he was digging a new cesspool in his backyard. He notified the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, where we were then doing graduate work, and we decided to investigate.

Habitation refuse was very light, consisting of scattered fragments of oyster, quahog, soft clam and scallop shell and some fire cracked rock lying just beneath the original humus line, which in turn was buried under 10 inches of trucked in top soil. We found no artifacts amongst this debris. Our excavations and test pits (Fig. 10) and subsequent excavations by Purcell, who enlarged our excavations substantially in hopes of finding additional graves, show that the midden was quite small, covering only about 200 square feet. All the indications are that this was a temporary camp occupied by a small group of people for a few days, possibly over one or two seasons.

## **FEATURES AND BURIALS**

There were two small hearths, visible as roughly circular patches of heat reddened sand 12 to 14" in diameter (Fig. 10). These appeared just beneath the original humus line and were apparently related to the midden.

There were two pits (Fig. 10) that probably served as earth ovens for roasting or steaming shell fish. Pit 1 had been intruded by Burial 2 and was further disturbed by Purcell's cesspool hole so that we only saw enough of it to confirm that it had been a pit. A single grit and fiber tempered sherd with a trailed design came from some loosened soil next to this feature; it was probably from the pit fill (Fig. 11,H). Pit 2, uncovered and excavated by us, was a shallow basin shaped hole 21" in diameter and 11" deep that had been dug down from the midden zone. It was packed with refuse shell consisting mainly of soft clams; there were also a few quahog shells, a single knobbed whelk and a few splinters of deer bone but there were no artifacts.