

## Coastal Pre-History – Ecological Questions and Issues

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“History and especially prehistory is not given to us – we must earn it by diligent, imaginative, respectful, and honest inquiry into the remains available to us”. Dincauze 1990.

The intent here is to frame questions and outline observations from my own reading on Indian activities before and through the periods of European settlement that are pertinent to major issues in ecological and conservation interpretation and practice. Our ultimate goal is to interpret the structure and dynamics of the landscape and environment and use this to inform current management practices in conservation. Thus, interpreting the direct and indirect effects of humans on both is critical. However, it is clearly necessary and interesting to understand more broadly the nature of and changes in human cultural and subsistence practices over this period. Although the material below is loosely organized by topic there is no particular hierarchy or flow to this organization.

In many ways the basic issue comes down to what Dina Dincauze identified as the **Basic overarching question** in her 1980 paper – what was the land tenure, resource utilization, population structure and population size of Indian groups and how did this change. What I would add is how did these translate into direct (e.g., forest clearing, burning) and indirect (e.g., hunting or land-use impacts on vegetation that result in increases or reductions in particular wildlife species) drivers of landscape conditions and changes?

How did enviro shape people + people in turn shape the enviro + then adapt to this?

### Context – Some ecological and conservation interpretations of Indian impacts

The reason that we are interested in Indian activities is that people have clearly always been important drivers of landscape conditions and changes. However, the nature of these impacts and the scale and intensity at which Indians managed their landscape is highly debated and has changed markedly in the last four decades. These interpretations are important because many individuals and groups use the pre-European period as a baseline or target for current management or as a reference against which they interpret modern conditions.

Here is a sample of some examples of this.

#### 1. State of Connecticut Division of Forestry Information Sign (direct transcription)

##### *Native American Use of Prescribed Fire*

Native Americans burned extensive portions of the forest every 1 to 3 years in order to make the forest habitable. The grassy understory which followed the fires provided improved forage for game animals such as deer and turkey. Travel became easier and the increased visibility aided in defense. Forests with thick woody understories, so prevalent today, were limited “to swamps and areas temporarily uninhabited by Native Americans”.

The Connecticut Division of Forestry is utilizing controlled fires at this site to replicate the effect that the Native American fires had on the forest. The goal is to restore the forest to a semblance of that of the pre-colonial era. Repeated controlled fires will be used to replace the woody understory with a herbaceous one similar to that found when the Europeans first settled New England.

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## 2. Interpretation and Management of Sand Plain Ecosystems

<http://www.umass.edu/nrc/nebarrensfuels/index.html>

(Patterson and Crary – UMass and National Park Service)

“Lightning-caused fires are rare on Cape Cod, but even before Europeans arrived in the 17th century, Native American Indians used fire for a variety of purposes including clearing away underbrush, promote berry production for their own use and to increase food for wildlife. After the Pilgrims arrived wildfires have been widespread on the outer Cape until the last half of the 20th century have been more successful.” (sic)

“Prior to acquisition by the National Park Service in 1961, the Lombard/Paradise area had been logged and grazed, but not cultivated. Over the last 100 years the forest has experienced gypsy moth defoliation every 20-30 years, most recently in the early-mid 1980's.

Decades of fire suppression altered historic fire cycles and allowed wildland fuels to accumulate, again raising the threat of wildfires which could threaten cottages within the Seashore boundaries.”

“In 1986, the National Park Service in cooperation with the University of Massachusetts/Amherst initiated applied research on the effectiveness of varying season and frequency of treatments on forest composition, fuel loading, and fire behavior...”

**Montague Sand Plain** – “The primary purpose of the site is to protect and preserve an outstanding example of a xeric (dry) outwash pitch pine-scrub oak barren natural community, its associated biota and its ecological processes.

Paleoecological evidence strongly suggests fire was a common occurrence on the Montague Plains from 500 to at least 2,000 years before European settlement. Throughout North America, prehistoric Native Americans used fire as a landscape management tool to increase browse and mast for game species, drive game, increase production in certain food-bearing plants, ease travel through the wilderness by clearing

underbrush, communicate among groups, facilitate effective defense of their communities and territories, and, once agriculture was adopted, to clear and fertilize crop lands. Fires have occurred in every month of the year on the Plains, but are most frequent in April and May. This pattern is consistent with the fact that the lowest average relative humidities in the region occur in April and May, that leaf-out of deciduous species on the Plains has not occurred leading to very low fuel moisture conditions, and that this period corresponds with the Massachusetts legal open burning season.”

**3. Denevan (1992) *The pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492***

Describing New England, the Midwest and the southeast - “Agricultural clearing and burning had converted much of the forest into successional (fallow) ground and into semi-permanent grassy openings (meadows, barrens, plains, glades, savannas, and prairies)”.

## **Some Basic Questions Raised in my Mind from a Reading of the Archaeological, Historical and Ecological Literature**

### **What was the population size and distribution at various spatial scales?**

Are the basic estimates of Cook, Whitney etc. worth using? Do we believe the existing numbers and differences within our region? e.g., for MV, ACK, E LI and the Cape?

Lots of numbers to pick from but some I'm not sure that the range isn't pretty consistent. Within the coastal area there seems to be some consistent agreement regarding regional variations in the relative densities of people, e.g., lower on the Cape, much higher on MV and ACK.

James Mooney: 5 NE states – 22,100; LI and NY E of Hudson – 12,000  
Cook – family 4.6 people; village 100-250, etc.

Gookin 72,000 pre-epidemic; Snow adds 8000 for the Potumtucks and 13,000 for LI and E of Hudson.

Willoughby (1935) – 24,000  
Russell (1980) – 75,000  
Cronon (1982) 70 – 100,000

Decline due to disease was 55% (Snow 1980) to 75% (Cook 1973).

Bragdon - 1650 estimates that Indian population had dropped to 10% and European population of NE was 18,500

Starna – Pequots declined from 13,000 before contact to 3000 in 1636 due to 1633 small pox killing 55-75%. (1616-1619 disease didn't extend W or S of Narragansett Bay).

Snow and Lamphear (1988) – estimates of population decline from disease. 1616 – yellow fever, trichinosis, bubonic plague

Nausets 12 before epidemics; possibly 2100 on entire Cape (DD 10.28.04)

Wampanoags – SE Mass from Cape base to East above Plymouth and W to E shore of Narragansett Bay – 4-5000 people before devastating impacts of 1617-19 disease.

ACK 2-3000 people at Contact (DD 1.26.05)

## **More importantly – how were these people distributed across the landscape?**

Many of the more recent (last couple of decades) archaeological studies and some of the ethnohistoric materials suggest that groups were fairly mobile and plastic before European contact, moving and varying in size and composition seasonally, exhibiting great ability to disperse rapidly from what were really temporary encampments, and varying in size from small family groups to “villages” of up to 200 people. The permanence or ongoing re-use of particular sites, the size of groups, and the changing subsistence base are obviously all of great interest as they would largely determine the types and intensities of ecological impacts on the landscape. For example, the depletion of wood resources, the clearing of forest for horticulture and settlement purposes, hunting and other forms of gathering, etc.

Various materials.

Brendremer (1993) lexicon: task-specific camp (10-100 m<sup>2</sup>), temporary camp (100-500 m<sup>2</sup>), seasonal camp (750-2000 m<sup>2</sup>), village (3 – 10,000 m<sup>2</sup>); each differs in size, artifacts, duration, seasonal timing, and range of activities.

Numerous archaeological studies find evidence for house structures: wigwams (14-25' diameter with post holes 3-7" diameter (DD 7.02.04); Shinnecock Hill, LI – 2 structures 15x20' 3' deep and 10x15' and 2' deep with center fire places (DD 7.02.04); MV – 17' diameter house rings with a ridge of earth (DD 12.24.04) and random to haphazard small post holes suggesting repeated use by temporary housing. Lucy Vincent 130 post molds, 31 pits (Chilton; DD12.24.04). ACK – evidence of large main posts (DD 1.26.05) Herrecater site – 14 pits and 26 post holes. Milford CT 100' diameter shelter with maize and 150 burials, many of which are children (DD 5.14.04; Postcontact?). Few reports of long houses, i.e., very large structures or very large post holes.

Major sites on MV (Head of Lagoon Pd, Shores of Menemsha and Nashaquitsa Ponds apparently exhibit uninterrupted native occupation over 1000s of years. (DD 12.24.04). In general, almost every pond, watercourse and estuary on the island show evidence of people over 1000s of years.

Size of shell middens is strong indication of repeated use – Old Lyme – heap extends 800 feet along shore and ranges from 8 to 100 feet wide.

Pequots - Dispersed and shifting distribution of 10-20 house small villages (Starna 1990)

But - Conditional sedentism (Bragdon 1996) with seasonal mobility. Summer near coast, winter in more concentrated populations inlands. Spring/fall dispersed small groups.

**What tools were available for manipulating the land, vegetation or water and what motivation would natives have had to undertake this manipulation?**

While many conservationists believe that large areas may have been cleared by natives it is not always clear exactly why or how they would do this. The Patterson and State of CT examples cited above provide many possible motivations, but it is not at all clear that all are valid. E.g., in the apparent absence of significant inter-group hostilities the clearing for defense seems weak. For mobile groups some of the others seem questionable also. Critically addressing this with the archaeological and historical materials at hand (rather than citing secondary sources like Cronon etc.) seems like a useful and important activity.

It also seems important to expand the consideration of the ecological impacts of people far beyond just the simple question of whether they cleared areas and burned forests. Since they survived on a complex subsistence base and patterns that effectively utilized the full array of habitats and ecological zones available there impact, though subtle extended well beyond certain direct effects. Hunting, plant (fruit, nut, grass, grain) harvesting, shellfish collection and fishing, encouragement/cultivation of particular useful plants (and animals), wood and stone collection, etc.

We have the early descriptions by John Smith and others of Indians cutting trees and burning areas to clear them, planting among the dead trees, etc. but certainly no descriptions of Indians actively clearing anything large. One could imagine that progressive use of wood, clearing for small fields, and burning could eventually have produced large openings but we don't have much evidence that this happened, let alone would have been desirable from a native perspective. Bragdon (1996) estimates 1500 acres of land cleared for horticulture along the coast per large community (?). Not sure where she pulled this from.

Less obvious tools/practices – e.g., planting or favoring of nut trees (Bragdon 1996).

Russell (1983) - Day (1953) cautioned that burning only occurred in sites inhabited by Indians. Few first hand accounts of fire. Most of these take place in grass and weeds.

Salwen (1973) – deer possibly comprise 90% of the meat consumed in S CT. Apparent tremendous emphasis on white tail deer. Humans probably the major predator of deer. (Important conservation and ecological message for today). Cited by DD for MV, ACK, Narragansett Bay, NY, etc.

Related to all of this – how rapidly did they adopt European tools and materials? The literature is all over the place on this – ranging from statements that iron tools (points, knives, hatchets, etc.) were extensively used by the time of initial settlement

*correct*

(Long Island - Strong 1977) to estimates that this may not have really begun until the mid 17<sup>th</sup> C.

### **Was horticulture based on permanent field and short fallow as opposed to true slash and burn?**

I am not sure that this is a critical question but it is interesting one that Doolittle has been raising for years and just wrote an interesting review on using good ethnohistorical sources. This subject demands a certain rigor in terminology – e.g., many ecologists and conservationists use the term “slash and burn” casually to indicate any burning in a fallow system of agriculture rather than in the restrictive sense of burning in resprouting woody vegetation.

Doolittle (1992, 2004) - no evidence of true milpa-style slash and burn agriculture. Trees and woody vegetation completely removed from fields and fields were maintained for lengthy periods. Burning and hoeing occurred in preparation for planting, but this involved removing grassy and weedy vegetation, not resprouting trees, vines and shrubs as in Central America today. He cites Wm Wood – fields in crops for 10 years and Roger Williams – Indian term for “fields worn out”. Fertility was presumably maintained by intercropping and rotating with beans.

Champlain 1605 at Boston Bay “there were also several fields entirely uncultivated, the land being allowed to remain fallow. When they wished to plant it, they set fire to the weeds, and then work it over with their wooden spades”.

Patterson and Sassmann (1988) – describe a shifting slash and burn agriculture. They describe fire most advantageous to a stationary agricultural land use (also Cronon 1982). [This type of interpretation, if true, is one reason that it is important to know whether permanent or semi-permanent villages occurred in association with horticulture. This may just be a casual use of “slash and burn”]. Patterson and Sassaman (1988) - Maize agriculture more important along coast than inland or along rivers. [I don't see that other archaeologists still believe this].

This, of course raises the entire question of the importance of horticulture and maize.

Arrival of maize to New England was a non-event (Dincauze 1990, Chilton 1999). Appearance of maize does not equal reliance on farming (Luedtke 1988). When the English destroyed native cornfields apparently they anticipated that this would cripple the Indians – it didn't due to broad spectrum of foods, proving that maize was not a critical staple (Strong 1997).

Broad spectrum hunting fishing, gathering with supplemental horticulture.  
(Carlson et al. 1992, Dincauze 1990, Chilton 1999, 2000, Strong 1997)

Striking in the reports from Deena – although there are precious few reports of maize finds (and these usually involve single or just a few maize kernels or a cob), many

of the reports and interpretation suggest that horticulture was supplemental or important. Why is there this disjunct between archaeological finds and interpretation? (All of the various reasons that evidence of horticulture might be lacking, overlooked, or destroyed?).

W side Menemsha Pd – cornfield with 50 hills and very black soil with bones and shells, presumed by Guernsey to be aboriginal – but was this prehistoric? (DD 12.24.04)

**Is it reasonable to interpret much of what we read from historical descriptions as representing changing subsistence, settlement and cultural practices arising from the many impacts of contact that occurred over a prolonged period before settlement?**

Does this explanation reconcile many of the differences between the historical document record and the archaeological record?

While many people do not go as far as Ceci in ascribing the practices described historically to contact there does seem to be a tension between the notion that many native cultural practices were enduring through contact and the historical period and the thought that there was tremendous social upheaval as a result of disease, trading and economic opportunities, and conflict resulting from European presence. Many authors seem to suggest that the following kinds of changes occurred as a result of progressive influence of European goods, trade, conflict, etc.: development of a more formal tribal or large group organization (Strong 1997); increased sedentism and year-round villages (Thorbahn 1988, Ceci 1980, Strong 1997, Chilton 1999); increase in maize horticulture both for trading and subsistence (Ceci 1980, Chilton 1999); increased trade (Ceci 1980, Chilton 1999); increased hostilities among native groups; development of fortified villages located in defensible sites (Strong 1997); increased risk of disease with more concentrated and larger populations (and obvious exposure to new diseases through contact with Europeans, especially European children); concentration of villages at the coast and in harbors and bays used by Europeans (Strong 1997); increase in centralized (individual leader) power (Ceci 1980, Strong 1997); increased group and village sizes (Ceci 1980, Dincauze 1990); a progressive decline in the availability of native wild foods due to European presence (Strong 1997); and realignment of existing native group dynamics (Pagoulatos 1988, Dincauze 1990, Bragdon 1996, Strong 1997, Chilton 2000 – this remains a major question). These are obviously interconnected in complex ways.

#### Relevant Bits and Pieces

Some people describe no evidence for permanent villages before contact (Strong 1997). In others minds historical documents are consistent with an absence of a nucleated pattern of settlement; the term “town” used loosely (Luedtke 1988).

Defeat of Pequots 1636-1638 left a power vacuum (Strong 1997).

Increased  
settlement  
villages



McBride 1990 – Pre-contact sites show little evidence of being selected or constructed for defense. After contact the development of fortified villages on hilltops occurred. Sites like Fort Hill and Mystic Fort were also different from Precontact sites due to the large number of wigwams (70 vs <30 in nonfortified sites; DD 5.14.04) Roger Williams describes the Pequots establishing new cornfields on LI and possibly Fisher's Island in preparation for war and the anticipation of CT fields being destroyed. On Long Island Fort Massapeag (mid 17<sup>th</sup> C) and Fort Corchaug (1635-40, 1660-65) appear to be clearly associated with European Contact.

Bragdon (1996) has a good discussion of the different origins, geographical coverage and perspectives of the various European writers at the time of settlement. She and Brendemer (1993) interpret the increase in political centralization as occurring before European contact due to population increase, increase in reliance on maize, increased influence of Hopewellian culture and the gradual filtering in of European trade goods from 1500 onwards.

### **Notes on Bias in Ethnohistorical Materials**

Reasons for European bias in their writing and reporting – (1) explorers and settlers couldn't read the landscape and cultural activities as the practices were all foreign and the much wilder state of nature was completely unfamiliar to them (Dincauze 1990, Strong 1997); (2) propaganda, bragging, and specific agendas for reports back home (Russell 1988, Strong 1997), (3) explicit instructions to report back on economic potential including soil fertility, timber, etc., led to exaggeration or a single-minded focus that overemphasize the actual importance of particular features or activities. E.g., reports may have given undue focus on maize agriculture due to the European interest in documenting the perceived fertility of the region. This, in turn led to the assumption that farming was a central subsistence activity (Bragdon 1996), (4) climate/environmental (as well as cultural) change coincided with European exploration and settlement (Dincauze 1990), (5) Explorers and settlers needed to justify the taking of land and mistreatment of natives (Strong 1997).

Pagoulatos (1988) – Roger Williams is a traditional source of great insight into native customs but his observations date to late 1630s after native systems were already drastically changes by epidemics, wampum, fur trade, and hostilities.

Dincauze (1990) – Don't accept English and Dutch narratives on horticulture, the reliance of the population on maize, or the hostilities among native groups as representative of earlier times. Resist the temptation to read the archaeological record in terms of the historical records as there are few historical accounts and they contain extreme biases.

### **Arguments for Late Woodland Cultural Shift Independent of Contact**

Numerous studies suggest that there were changes in population size and distribution and subsistence patterns in the Late Woodland period and that these represent

adaptations to environmental changes or influences of outside (native) cultures through increased trade, etc. [All of this is made problematical by the fact that Contact seems to be defined solely by the presence of European goods. In the absence of such materials, sites are deemed “pre-Contact”. And even when there is a mixture of materials some studies apparently ascribe that to “mixing”. Some authors (e.g., Loparto et al. 1987 see a continuity of sites and practices from LW to CP, emphasize that there is little material change across this horizon, and so downplay the whole thing]. Basically the Contact Period appears to remain as poorly understood in our region and across SNE.

Dunford (in Little 1988, as summarized by DD 2003), describes a decline in shellfish production from A.D. 1000-1300 that he ascribes to overuse and increased runoff of freshwater. This is followed by increased intensification of agriculture around A.D. 1500 (evidence?) representing a fundamental shift to a dispersed single-family “farmstead pattern” (his term) along estuaries. This might be what Champlain documented: scattered wigwams with corn, beans, squash, tobacco, fallow land, burning of weeds, etc. Or perhaps what Champlain documented were actually temporary and easily disbanded. Or he may have documented something more permanent but triggered by direct and indirect effects on contact (see contact timeline at end).

Other studies suggest that a shift in shellfish use on Cape Cod from year-round to primarily winter and early spring may represent an adaptation to horticultural activity during the summer (but little evidence? MacManamon 1984 a,b; DD 10.28.04)

Other explanations (from DD 2003) for increased number of LW sites (and population): (1) long-term influence of the development of pottery (beginning about 3000 BP), led to increased use of gruel (seeds, nuts) for weaning, which in turn allowed earlier weaning and an increase in fecundity; or (2) A.D. 1000 climate amelioration including a longer growing season and warmer temperatures resulted in increased productivity, which in turn allowed more sedentary lifestyle and a transition to increased horticulture. With Little Ice Age deterioration in climate horticulture might have intensified to cope.

### **Does the coast represent a distinct cultural region?**

With access to the unique maritime resources and given the distinctive environment and vegetation of the coastal region it is easy to believe that there might be a suite of unique adaptations, cultural practices and ecologically important activities characteristic of coastal peoples. (In fact this is difficult to deny). But archaeologists seem to differ widely on this subject, from Ritchie’s (1969) declaration that there is no such thing as a discrete or uniform coastal culture, to the old coastal/inland dichotomy, to Bragdon’s (1996) tripartite interpretation (coast, upland, river) to Brendremer’s (1993) even more fine-grained sub-regional differentiation. Chilton (2000) – finds the tripartite model refreshing but still too coarse grained. Presumably there was a continuum in activity across southern New England, but can we or should we see our coastal region as standing out? If so, how, and what difference does this make ecologically?

Related to this – how extensive was trade, interaction, movement and sharing of materials across eastern North America and up and down the coast? A coastal location would clearly appear to facilitate both trade and more extensive occurrence of interactions with foreign groups (ultimately including the very earliest contacts with Europeans). Did extensive trade among Indian groups facilitate the long distance passage of European materials down the coast? For example, when European explorers documented Indians off of Maine wearing Spanish clothes, using a Basque-like boat, and speaking with some European words how much of this was derived from direct contact and how much through trade?

Do the coastal people stand out because of their earlier and much stronger exposure to European influences? Isn't there the possibility that they may have begun changing under the influence of European encounters (direct and indirect) many hundreds of years before inland groups? Is this important?

**If the coast is distinctive how much intraregional variation was there?**

According to Chilton (1999, cited in DD 2003) New England archaeologists argue that there may be more variation within the subregions of New England than there are between them. Strong (1997), Starna (1990) and others identify the Eastern Long Island groups as closely tied to those in CT, Rhode Island, and even the Cape and Islands and less closely related to the Western Long Island and NY-NJ groups. E.g., Starna identifies the Pequots as extending from E Long Island and New London area north to the Thames and Connecticut Rivers to the border of Rhode Island. What is the nature of these distinctions and how much variation do we see within our region? Are these differences of use (e.g., some of the smaller islands may not have supported year-round settlement so may have experienced different impacts, etc.) or are they intraregional cultural differences?

DD (7.02.04) – overall coastal NY is quite similar to other coastal New England areas. Adaptation to estuaries, use of semi-permanent dispersed settlements, and diverse subsistence base that involved little evidence of maize.

DD (12.24.04) – MV similar pattern of temporal changes in population size to SNE, except relatively more Woodland sites.

Do we need to look at Maine or the NY-Canadian long house groups before we see really different patterns?

Variation in Disease – early impact (1617-19) East of Narragansett Bay on mainland; Narragansett Bay to W hit later as was MV and ACK. Latter due to relatively late settlement – MV 1642; ACK - 1659.

**Possible Boxes to include somewhere within our text.**

**Box 1 - Reconstructing Pre-historical Activity.**

In general I think that it might be interesting to include a short description, as a separate box, outlining methodology in a graspable way for each section.

Outline of the approaches used in this study emphasizing the value of complementing research archaeology (data recovery excavations) with information from site examinations, intensive surveys, and ethnohistorical materials. Intensive surveys provide information on areas with few or no materials as well as the sites with rich material. Provide a broader base for developing site models and landscape distribution of activity and impacts.

For example – Buzzard’s Bay area. Relatively few site exams or data recoveries and so it has often been interpreted as a poorly settled region. But the large amount of material obtained from avocational collections indicates that it is an important core area of native settlement. Rich network of rivers and streams.

**Box 2 – History of European Contact with North America before “Settlement”**

From different sources cited at back that can be bolstered and verified.

A.D. 1000 – 1300 Norse to Newfoundland, Labrador, and possibly much wider. Norse Greenlanders continued to obtain timber from the Labrador coast until ca. 1347 (Brasser 1978).

1497 Cabot to Newfoundland – claimed it for England

1500, 1501, 1502 Gaspar Corte Reals trips to N NA (Newfoundland?); kidnapped 57 Indians and transported them to Portugal; described Indians as having a sword and earrings from Cabot

1500s (mid) - Basque fishing/whaling camps in Labrador; Red Hook, one of ten semi-permanent camps, held up to 900 people for the summers.

1520 - Spanish slave hunter raids South Carolina; 150 Indians shipped to the W Indies

1524 Verrazano into NY harbor, Narragansett Bay, Block Island. May have spent as much as 15 days in Newport Harbor.

1525 Spanish (Estevan Gomes) kidnapped 58 Indians near Newport RI; sold as slaves in Spain

By 1530 - Extensive summer fishing off NA coast Labrador to Nova Scotia at least; involved the English, Bretons, Normans, Basques, Portuguese

Ca. 1540 European emphasis switches from fish to fur and fish

1550 - 30 French ships to NA annually

1578 - 50 English, 150 French, 100 Spanish fisheries spread down to the New England coast

< 1600 Dutch camps established on Long Island

1602 Bartholomew Gosnold (Brereton) to Elizabeth Islands; describes Indians in Spanish coat, Basque boat and speaking Spanish and French words. 32 people including 12 or more planning to stay and settle. On coastal Maine (Cape Ann?) met 8 savages "in a Biscay shallop, with sail and oars...an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper". One was "apparalleled with a waistcoat and breeches of black serge, made after our sea fashion, hoes and shoes on his feet; all the rest (saving one that had a pair of breeches of blue cloth) were naked. They appeared to have dealt with "some Basques of St. John de Luc, and to understand much more than we". Named Cape Cod on their 15<sup>th</sup> day. Took in a young Indian armed with a bow and arrow and plates of copper hanging in his ears. They built a storehouse on Cuttyhunk but all left with a load of sassafras.

1603 (and 1606) Martin Pring spends 6 weeks at Plymouth harvesting sassafras. He arrived carrying Nahanda, the Pemaquid sagamore who had been captured earlier by Weymouth and transported to England. Pring's second trip was with Thomas Hanhan

1604 French fur trading post established at Sainte Croix, Maine. (French colony at Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia) 300 miles from Plymouth. Grist mill constructed in 1606)

>1605 – most voyages brought Indians along as guides and interpreters (Vaughan 1965)

1604 (1605, 1606) Champlain to Plymouth, Gloucester, Chatham, Nauset

1605 DeMonts visit to Cape Cod (Explorations and settlements. Appendix B)

1607 Maine colony at Sagadahoc (Kennebec) – George Popham; 120 English settlers and 2 of Weymouth's Indians; built "Fort Popham", houses, stockade and a storehouse that burned down with all of its supplies. The settlement failed as it was a poor site in a severe winter, they lacked supplies and were attacked by Indians leaving 13 dead, and their sponsor Sir John Popham died back in England. The first Indians they encountered spoke some French. Popham first landed on Monhegan Island carrying one of the five Wawanoc Indians captured by George Weymouth in 1605. This Indian quickly disappeared.

1607 Captain Savalet (France) reported to have already made 42 trips to Nova Scotia.

- 1608 Captain Edward Harlow captured natives around Martha's Vineyard
- 1609 Hudson's first contact with Algonquians at Sandy Hook, NJ; brief visit to the Cape (Salwen 1978), then up Hudson almost to Albany; Dutch described as operating trade as far east as Narragansett Bay.
- 1611 Cpts Harlow and Hobson to Cape and Islands (Davistown Museum www)
- 1612 Dutch trading post established near Albany
- 1613 Jesuit priests arrived to St. Savior (Mount Desert) as part of missions from Port Royal to the savages
- 1613 Champlain describes Isle of Sable having oxen and cows that Portugese brought "60 years earlier"
- 1614 Trading post established in the Connecticut River Valley
- 1614 John Smith Cape Cod to Penobscot Bay (1616 – Cape Blanc Map). Smith noted evidence of the French being there 6 weeks earlier (Davistown www)
- 1614 Squanto and 26 other natives kidnapped at Patuxet (Plymouth) by Capt. Thomas Huntwith John Smith; taken to Spain, London, Canada
- 1619 Capt Thos. Dermer describes vacant plantations after plague. Dermer dropped Squanto in Nahant and made peace with remaining Plymouth Indians.
- 1620 Pemaquid Chief Samoset greets Pilgrims with "welcome, Englishmen" (Davistown www. This is frequently cited – is it true?)

**Davistown Museum www – Ancient Pemaquid**

<http://www.davistownmuseum.org/TDMnativeAm.htm>

**Possible Early Visitors to Monhegan Island**

Joao Alvarez Fagundes (1520), Gomez (1525), Verrazano (1524), Diego Malanado (1540), Andre Therel (1556), Richard Whithorne (1575), M. Anthonia Parkhurst (1578), Simon Fernando (1577), Steven Ballinger (1580), Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles (1582), Sir Francis Drake (1586), Richard Strong (1593), Henry Hudson (1609), Samuel Annian (1610), Capt. Williams (1610-11), Ed Harlow (1611)

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Notes for Changes + Archaeo

8-26-10

2001

Cantwell + Wall

Clay cooking + storage pots - cook starchy seed plants - produce weaning gruels that allow earlier weaning + ↑ pop'n

Coastal development - 4000 - mud flat development

LA - steatite; E+MW - clay pots ↑ pop'n LW - tethard/farming

LW - large storage + trash pits 6x6'; careful burials

Dincauze '90

3-2K BP ↓ pop'n - unknown cause; ↓ shellfish? snow 2000 ↓ oysters? T°

47-2300 Richest archaeological period; nuts v. imp; hickory + acorn; ↓ mobility

↑ T°, warmer winters, ↑ pop'n, trade, storage pits, ↑ social, ceremonies

3000 - ↑ trade + exchange to W 1000 - amelioration, warmer winters; maize dietary suppl.

Keegan + Kusaw '97

LA - great pop'n ↑; ↑ meat foods; 2.5K - soapstone

Munoz et al. 2010

Corr - key cultural transitions, human pop'n + climate-driven changes in tivr ecosystems

B, 11.6, 8.2, 5.4, 3 - insolation, ice sheet extent, ocean-atmos circ + processes, E below

Temp, mag precip climate → veg → ecosystem services

Some abrupt some not E-M A M-L LA-EW E-M A-L rapid pop'n gr. LA+LW

M → L maize - only one not T°-Veg linked

Wild food dependence - altered resource base + site habitability; carrying capacity

W - ↑ fire - human or winter precip, dry summer ↑ chv + Pi, ↓ O + H;

A → W pop'n decline grad hot cooling + winter precip w/ deep snow

Uncorr - LW ↑ pop'n - maize adoption

Pop'n Mooney NE - 22,100 Cook - village 100-250

Gookin - 72,000 Willoughby 1935 - 24,000 Russell 1980 70,000

Disease decline 55% (Snow 1980), 75% (Cook 1973); 90% by 1650 (Bragdon)

W/Eur pop'n 18,500

Brendemeer 1993 - village 3-10,000 m²; seasonal camp (750-2000 m²)

temporary camp (100-500 m²), task-specific camp (10-100 m²)

Starna 1990 Pequts dispersed + shifty distribution of 10-20 houses - small vills

Brasdon Conditional sedentism

Day 1953 - burning only in Ind. occupied sites. few first hand acts of fire - most in grass + weeds

Patterson + Sess - fire most advantageous for stabilizing agricultural landscape

Strong - burning cornfields didn't cripple Ind as Eng suspected (Strong 1993)

Broad spectrum resource util - hunt, fish, gather w/ suppl hort

Carlson et al. '92, Dinc. '90; Chilton '99, 00; Shy '97

Develop. of more formal tribal or large group org, ↑ trade, hostilities  
centralized power

Political - develop more formal tribal + large group org; increased hostilities;  
realize native group dynamics; increase centralized (indir. leader) power

Economic - increased trade, increased maize for trade + subsist; progressive decline  
native foods

Settlement - increased sedent, grow rowd vills; develop fortified villages in  
defensible sites; conc. of villages at coast + in harbors + bays  
used by few;

Social - increased group + villy size; increased risk of disease

Roger Wms - great results - but drastically changed - epi, warfare, for trade, hostilities

Dinc - don't accept Eng + Dutch pd; or host violence or hostilities  
as replicable

## Archaeology vs history

Different structures, biases, weaknesses

Archaeo - <sup>more</sup> democratic in early period as household, site based; daily life.

But site based; less landscape; tools, products - not process - social + physical; inferential; organic materials bones etc.

History - biased towards actors - larger people, those with language + assertive; not those retiring  
Interactive with observers - so influenced

Brief - duration - individual effort + entire journey

Archaeo - repetition, change, duration; multiple sample periods

Notes to include in August 13, 2010 draft (Sundevall)

Rischna - W side lagoon - 200' md

Meris + Quitas - almost uniformly  
evidence of aborig  
6-18" ool

Guernsey 19' diam house; Quitas Rd shell md 100 x 2-4'; GH 1400

Interior - no ool

LVincut - special place 1000 yrs <sup>2/3</sup> lost since 18<sup>th</sup> C



Braxton "with the least = parts he maketh five presently"

Squib - open 1780



Pre-adopted had maize + crops, easy adaptation; pre-adopted towards  
trade + us. → 'new material'

Shellfish - predictable, round, low risk; shell, sturgeon, eel, lobster



Beans - AMS dth late 13<sup>th</sup> C



After 1605 - most voyages brought Inds

Pine floorboards + wainscot - 2-3' wide 6-16 x 4-8'

Little 1981 Act - freed be, walrus, pine, cedar, lupine, cherry, willow

Outwash Plains - no evidence forest

Storage pits - 6 x 6'

Great ↑ LA pop'n, meat foods

5 Nations on b bank to 1600s



Engelbrecht '03 Iroquois - even had wild foods more imp - deer meat + wild plant

farming never replaced hunt/gathering; Eur trade goods - seen c. 1625; <sup>advised</sup> from <sup>to learn</sup> Stk or Barro

Late 1600s - veg, trade w/ Inds

100 yr - between arrival of goods + contact

Barro Act Wis - 10-10' pit 3 x 10'

Drift with "Moshup"



Tuck - reversal - left clay pots back to waven, cedar, birch bark - bulky, frag, diff  
to burn

Cult. hybrid - not Ag; crops between fish + Inds; Some Jr Rd - Pessoms R

MicMac rel homo 2000 → just before contact



Ag so many advantages would be seized on - secure, comfort - but h. 14<sup>th</sup> C, uncertainty



Must spp > buffer 1 x 1 m pit 22 bu ⇒ 300 lbs



Creolized identities 2008 Lowy

hist sources - all Eur perspective for Eur consume; noble, royal; competition;  
bias, time, location; no Native voice

Art → etho → archaeo    tempo to take on as h; democratization

Explore Eur motivation

Edit European contact table

Simple table on major periods?

Stable bows ~3200 BP • Maize + Beans ~ AD 1250-1300

→ excellence on water

No simple progressive model; not tightly constrained or resource dependent  
exposed to much material culture; <sup>not nec to original use</sup> adopted selectively + applied creatively

Specific episodes - <sup>oak</sup> hemlock decline / LIA - MWP /

Impact - pervasive but subtle; style adaptive

Pop'n small, technology limited + no animals

Conservationists/historians/Ecologists - big impacts Archaeo - small

10,000 yrs! ~ No change

→ Scavenger changes - actors with flexible toolkit adapt

No dichotomy Native - Non-Native blur + gradient

Contrast - Maya, Inca, Hopi, Iroquois, Anasazi

Moose - rare due to climate, landscape + forests, or hunt?

Periods - expansion + contraction Ubelalar ~250,000

Pop'n - Mooney 22,100; Cook - family 4.6; village 100-250

Goodein 72,000 - pre-epidemic; Snow adds 8000 for Potlucht

Willoughby 1935 - 24,000; Russell - 75,000; Cronon - 70-100,000

Disease - decline 55% (Snow); 75% (Cook); 90% (Bryce)

ADK 2-3000 Contact (D)

→ Contracting area - Cronon - around villages <sup>by Indians</sup> Day - only in 2.5% occupied  
few first hand accounts

→ Salween - up to 90% deer - must consume

→ Eur Impact - tribe + large group org, ↑ disease, concern people at coast  
+ harbors, ↑ centralized power

→ Forts - > 70 wigwags Fort Hill, Mystic

As much variation w/in regions as before NF



Marshall →  
W+W Book

## Organization

Archaeological interpretation of pre-European

Consequent interpretation of Nature

Natural pattern - space + time; role of climate

Natural disturbance processes - incl. hurricanes +

1635 quotes, reconstructions

European period - overview of regional dynamics +

vegetation change - disturbance processes

Consequences for vegetation + for wildlife, plants etc.

Atlantic Salmon - Vignette of a Species

Conservation Lessons + Opportunities

W+W vision

Translation into Mgt - Wilderness, Cultural - Ag, Habitat

+ Resources

Global Change Future

Legacies

Bra-

Mon began Is.

H Hudson 1609

Samuel Annins 1610

Capt Williams 1610-11

Ecl Harlow 1611

Richard Strong 1593

Sir Bernhard Drake 1586

Sir Francis Drake

Steven Ballinger 1580

Andrie Theval 1556

Richard Whitborne 1575

1611 Capt Harlow + Hobson Cape + MV

1614 Hobson w/ Epenaw Capt in 1911 to MV

1619 Dermer dropped Squanto

Champlain 1604, 1605

Martin Prins 1603, 1606

Gascoed 1602 - 1st's account coastline Micmac traders

Robert Gilbert 1607-08

John Smith 1614

Gascoed May 14 1602 - NE near Casco Bay; Savage Rock - Cape Needles -

Indians in Basque shells

Cultahant - 3 wks builds fortified house

Left June 17 - around Gas Head. No-Mans- fowl + anchored

Pring June 2 1603 - went into Gulf (Mass Bay) that Gascoed missed  
Plymouth + Sacoefor.

Wm Bradford "They found his [Squanto] place to be 40. mile from here, the ~~sole~~ goal,  
and the people not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late  
great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute three years before  
the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them dyed,  
they not being able to burie ~~the~~ one another; their skulls and  
bones were found in many places lying still above the ground,  
where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectacle  
to behold."

Vse

Look at Mulholland + Donta  
MV

oona  
Kranzau  
Saffler's

7-14-10

>> SNE-NY

Coastal MA, RI, CT, NY

> 2000 project areas + sites

thru 2005

MHC - Brona Simon State Archaeologist; Cult Res Mgt reports

NPS surveys

develop

Biblio (E+M)

Region holds together well - difficult to separate

Prevail's view - Dineen 1990, Snow 1980, Brona + Brona 1998

Paleo 12-10 tundra + parkland; hunting, woodworking, food processing; small  
bands, seasonal warding ~ 25,000 pop

EA 10-8 - 1st by projectile point style - drills, shrapnels, hammerstones, arrow stones  
bifacial celts/adzes; ↑ woodworking + nut processing; contrabands - ~~seasonal~~  
seasonal warding; defined territories; less-stable lithics - ↑ local material

MA 8-6 Decid forest + still coastal sea level; territories; central-based warding;  
winter interior, spring midw. fish, summer-freshwater; ↑ special purpose sites  
celts gouges, ground axes; knives + scrapers all cts; local material  
for canoe-making, fish, food processing

LA 6-3  
LA - small, numerous encampments; broad river; ↑ fish + ↑ acorn nuts  
Mack Forest; pop. fluctuation - sites + richness; ↑ stability

Trans Ar - 35-2500; diagnostic pts; stock bowls; central-based warding

E+M 3-2, 2-1 - combined; stabilized sea level; resource-rich estuaries  
base camps; w/ special purpose summer sites - coastal shellfish harvest,  
winter camps - hunting - small streams + ponds

larger sites may have been used year round

Advanced pottery - defined Woodland - storage + cooking easier + more efficient  
↑ outside trade - Ohio Adena + lithics - N, S, W

LW 1000-450, ↑ larger site freq, kinds of estuaries; multi resource

Contact 1500-1650: main villages - semi-perm, rounded + veg 12 grasses

seasonal to family farmsteads + fields, ↑ wampum, but little other

Consistent points - wooded + part of sheltering  
 + located for resources +  
 for environ.

12-28-10

DD Region holds together well CC → LZ

V low P+EA; ↑ MA to peak LA; ↓ E+MW; ↑ LW - even higher in LW than material

Contact 1500-3500

Men, Squib, Quitsa, Lagoon - continuous year-round occupancy  
 "villages" G, B+D, H, R.

2000 CC+I look like do, coast out 0.5 → mile

Guernsey - Men + Quitsa - uninterrupted; soil black w/ debris - shells, bones, charcoal

house rings **Quote** artifacts - shells, pottery frags, stable pot rim + pt

3 cemeteries 1 w/ 50; 1 10-15; 1 30 - apparent pre-hist + post contact as one fatal

W Men - precont. shell middle + SD hill corals - presumed precontact v black soil

Guernsey + Hooten 1912-13 - eroded + excav. materials 2 burials Pease's Pt E shore Men. Bay

Doos Eyre + Johnson R.S. Peabody Fdn, Andover  
 2 sites Chilmark/GH 1930s

At time - 22 shell heaps around Men + Squib Pds explored 2 before destroyed by erosion

1 Hornblower Shell Heap - SE Squib Pd - would have been wooded; hilly - protection

from winds + shell heaps - Oyster, scallop, quahog + clam - from Pd, brooks, sea

birds, sea mammals LA → LW post MA Post-holes

scrapers, hammerston, net sinkers, awls, knives, gouges, choppers, peath, har

pipes - food press, tool marks, woodwork, fish + post hole

2 Squib Cliff Shell eroding - v. sim. artifact roughly contempor

Forest adapted hunting strategy - "surrounded on north, west + east sides by what would have been heavily forested highlands that provide shelter from the northwest winds"

① Horn II Ritchie - N shore amph in heavily wooded; 5 strata - corr to WR to open w/ sea shell fish

+ spring herring or alewife. molds 2-2" 7-8" deep Modern comp + diff structure

2270 - LA "small group - adjusting to coast"; then 2150 - 110 yr possibly; then M+LW

then LW - all suggest most or all of yr 1 char corn

② Johnson N shore depression LA projectiles → EW deer, oyster → E+W → LW - clear, shell fish

~ continuous

③ Howland - E Menam - faces Neast - over forested + protection - many post molds ~ random

V. few sites > 500m from water; vast majority w/in 200m

Buzz Bay MA-11 LA-29 EW-15 MW-20 LW-23 contact 4-5500 people

1950s Gale Hullaston  
 Duke's Co Hist Soc.  
 Norton Site V.H  
 MA → Contact

Quote

1st chrono - cult  
 for SE NE + middle  
 & kept to moving

Notes

10-12-10

MN + EC

Late Archaic - Nuts, nutting stones, mortar + pestle  
<sup>shoreline sites</sup>

Burial ceremonialism - ↑ pop'n

Followed by resource stress

Community-wide archaeo surveys - Chilmark, WT's, Oak Bluffs, Edg

Database Historic Maps - U of KS - Library Congress

Aquinnah - Oral Histories - Linda Coombs

Deena - Notes

Orient to use many ecological zones - coast, river, terrestrial

W - less mobile than A; still seasonally mobile; winter use shell fish

Outer Cape estuary - LW wide range botanical + faunal, not maize dependent  
 nuts, chenopod

Pop'n ↑ - better weaning foods; polky better than soapstone + wood; ↑ female  
 fertility, ↓ birth spacing; climate amelioration 1000 AD

Contact - same site as earlier + semi-seed though hard

Buzz Bay - inland using coast short-term

- Salisbury 1993 1524 Verr 15 days w/ Inds Narr Bay then Abenakis Casco  
<sup>pleasant vs confrontational</sup>
- Morgan 1999 Pre-Col architecture - Lower Miss, Fla, Gh Vally, Tenn, Apps + Pi-dal  
<sup>in ENA</sup> No mention NE
- Foster + Cowan 1998 Gordon Day - For Ecologist; grew up Barre VT; NAPA Navat Expt Station - Bartlett CT  
<sup>Dartmouth Res Assoc Authors</sup>
- Sturtevant + Quinn 1989 1566 - First Eskimos kidnaped to Europe woman + child Broad St  
 By 1560s >1000 Basque annually 6 mos. 15-20 ships Straits of Belle Isle  
<sup>Giza</sup>
- Geary 1598 → returned homeward, and arrived in England. "desirous to bring some taken from thurs of his  
 being there" Lot 1597  
 Frobisher Baffin 4 captives; 1 born 1576 "Now with this new pry... the Captain Frobisher  
<sup>looking for Ore</sup>

chilmark  
 whollard et al. '98 well + excessive drained near water; MW 1st large shell middens  
 LW hort CtB; more perm settl.; not due to <sup>hwt gath</sup> corn;

MM et al. 1979 S coast sites - furir - sampling + less development; Pds need beaching to improve shell fish  
 Watcha + Long

Herb + Charov '00 MW to SNE ↑ Seiden, shellfish, pop'n, track; LW larger middens  
 Chappy - substantial yr round pop'n; village - multi-fam + special purpose camps + work area  
 limited access to site Plains - 1 site near Little Pd

DD ↑ native conflict - doc by explorers  
 NY - Stew ls - Estuarine develop + stabilize rHK

Daristown Mus 1560 > 30 boats St Malo + Cancal

Morison 1578 50 Eng 150 Fr + Basque 100 Spanish in Nfld  
 1586 300 boats

Brossee '78

DD > 2500 sites MA, RI, CT, NY Region holds together

MM 1979 Relate pop'n density + cult develop to vegetation; <sup>site</sup> diversity + density of veg

Guernsey Menem + Quitsa Pds "almost uninterrupted evidence of aboriginal occupation" /  
 soil almost black w/ decaying debris Vinwt farm to 1 ft  
 2 house rings 17' diam ridge of earth 2' x 6" /  
 1650 "Younger Mayhew" made with small poles like an arbor covered with mats, and their  
 fire in the midst, over which they leave a place for smoke to go out it"  
 GH wigwams to 1817  
 Pds id by green grass shell md Quitsa 100 x 2-4' GH '4' ac 18"  
 Unfinished Indian canal Oyster + Watcha - both formerly connected to sea  
 / about before settl., spring, protected, good Ag + fish

Huntington Lagoon Pd 2 extensive sites - head of Pd + near Bass Cr

Damerit 1991

Gulf ME - some corn cult.  
 Assump - oak Ag avail would spread to where environ suited  
 LIA ↑ variability 1730-1829 Std Dev frost free 31 days 1880-1979 - 16 days  
 ↑ risk consecutive failures - crops  
 Planting - not just biophysical; cultural - decision  
 Dietary diversification + use sites to limit damage  
 Ind turn to maize only after disease + ↓ pop'n, far back

Kooper McBride 2010

"living with the land" not "living on the land"  
 Patterns of continuity Prehist → contact → 18th C know, chew, some wild plant use cont.

Bernstein 2006

LT continuity technology, raw material use, settl + subsist  
 vs Δ - big game x broad economic x Ag broad, persistent patterns  
 Paleo - may have been ecology diverse - small game + plants + fish Not so revolutionary  
 Ag intensive - from comparison w/ log + ethno hist; trop plants - 1.1% diurnal impact  
 cont long eat traditions - broad spectrum new resources added to ever expanding list  
 Lithic - remark lithic variation 6000 yrs

Strong 1997

II

Artifacts, huge Δ w/ contact - tribal system dual in response Eur pressure, opps,  
 more consolidated, more power under individual, vs no emergent leader  
 LI - ext trade NJ + PA Corn etc. little impact w/ Eur - destroyed native resource  
 Eur - destroyed corn - no impact  
 1525 - Spanish kidnap 5B near Newport → Spain as slaves  
 Before Eur settl - traditional stone industry nearly abnd → mtl; utilit, # trips, trade efficiency  
 Hudson 1609 Sandy Hook NJ Dutch Manhattan Post 1612 1614 Albany United Netherlands

Ritchie 1967

S rds less attractive - exposed, sea mounds 2-3" x 7-8" deep  
 tall forest seen comp, structural cliff 1500, 1501, 1502 - Cortez Reels



Patt + SASS Shifty settl, slash + burn, mosaic fields + forests, meadows + parklike large open areas in major valleys  
 Fire most advantageous to stationary LV Ag  
 charcoal - intensive LV

Carlson et al. '92 seasonally mobile w/ dispersed popns; low sex ratio → looked

Bragdon 1996 Interreg network of trade; 1st writings + pics from time of conquest  
 Mobile + more egalitarian  
 Coast - conditional settler based on marine; ↑ polit centraliz before Eur contact as ↑ popn  
 Maize overblown as Eur seek to assess fert.

Brewer 1993 Chenopod - most abundant seed Maize ↑ indep. of Eur.

Denevan 1992 NE, MidW + S "Agricultural clearings and burnings had converted much of the forest into successional (fallow) ground that into semi-open grassy openings (meadows, barrens, plains, glades, savannas + prairie)"

Dunn 1993 1614 Squaw led w/ 26 others

Vaughan 1965 After 1605 most brought Inds back as slaves

Pagoulatos '85 R Wars - traditional source info but late 1600s - epi, wampum, hv

Dincauze 1990 Resist attempt to read the arch record in terms of historical Don't accept Eng's Dutch description of reliance on hort as representative major realign polit, eco, relig.

Dunford + O'Brien Early Cape houses pine floorbds + wainscoting 2-3' W Barren Charact 16" sq x 48'

Russell '83 few 1st hand fire, most grass; Do, - only where Inds. inhabit

DD "evidence along almost every pond, watercourse, bay and coast line of native occupation of MA for thousands of years" X

Ritonic - forest to marine-adapted as increased familiarity (!)

Deer + Marsh Beavers Proj - no cast material near pond  
Vineyard Acres Golf Div - 235 ac. interior - no arch. sig. resources

Impacts - fish, shellfish, deer, saplings, firewood, clay

Disease - differential 1617-19 - up to 100% Plymouth <sup>Narr-missed early epi</sup> none Narr 1633 smallpox

Buzz Bay MA-11 LA-29 EW-15 MW-20 LW-23 Contact 4-5500

CTR extensive tidal marshes ~2000 BP Shift toward major R in CT after LA

Eur contact forts Fort Hill + Mystic Fort BI - Fort Island fort hist. village

Vast wilderness interspersed w/ conc. settlement

BI - Winthrop + Endicott oak brushwood - no timber 2 plantations 60 wigwams 200 ac com

ACK - single family + work areas; more marginal sites thru time, late disease as 1655 settlement

LW - ↑ pop'n + more nucleated - waterways

Cape - some highest diversities - W - larger release, more sealw, longer intus. use

Wellfleet - Indian Neck Ossuary - no trauma, wide range people, healthy, low disease, low disease

Wm Pynchon Acft Book - 13 mo names - son John handwriting 1645 to know; in in river all gone; catch fish  
and bears eatable/whw Ind corn eatable; ye middle harvest + Ind corn; white frost on grass + <sup>sun burn</sup> <sup>middle work</sup>  
When they set out corn; When women weed their corn; Whwthy hill Indian corn; Whw squashes ripen

Pocumtuck fort + burned

Wilbur 1996 "Long before the first white settlers came to NE shores intertribal wars were tearing apart the very fabric of Algonquian life"

Ceci 1990 17thc  
Star Wood 1828 natural state - used hist sources to project backward; Mooney used Wood - ref is 2nd highest  
diversity after Mexico. Each work reinforces last, Post contact assumed stable/static w/ powerful chiefs  
present for cultures

Wampum 1570-80 <sup>Iroquois League</sup> sudden + conspicuous appearance w/ Dutch - white-knobbed whelk + channelled whelk  
exchange, rank, currency  
purple Mercenaria Linnii need metal tools as 3.2 mm diam

Marz storage but no evidence of dependence vs Hudson - large, numerous storage  
Hudson - natives "had no house" "always carry with them all their goods, as well as their food"  
Long house - "fixed places of abode + dwellings built with beams in the form of an oven... sufficient  
for several families" vs "temp hubs or shanties" "small more or less tents"

Deer skin transformation half-gath to estab more sedentary settlement in coastal zone area forming village plan

Inexp goods Eur → Coastal NY wampum → Inland live Eur

Ceci 1770

Beaver + other non-local on Hudson by 1607 Overhunt for Eur - beaver, otter, martin, musk, musk, deer, biennial + bitter velutina, coccinea, rubra more abundant C. gleabra, tomentosa, ovalis, ovata  
Acorns - annual + edible: alba, prinus, macrocarpa, bicolor, stellata

↑ time on coast to trade No forts prehistory follow Eur model

Prehist - all camps postmounds - no pattern arrange

Shellfish - calorically unsustainable Indians needed corn from Inds by ~~1660~~ 1660s earlier brought in

Corn - manure, land clearance, storage, defense, liming, weeding, weeding, weeding  
DeRosters "a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding + earthing-up or it does not thrive"

Verr. 1524 - Copper sheets from prior, unkn. explorers

1528 - Estevan Gomes Fla to NY to coast; 1529 Diego Ribero Fla to LaB; showed Louis area, Hudson

1527 Eng boats explored coast "often times putting their row on land to search the shore of the water" Hakluyt map

1529 P. Caignon - 800 km S of Cape Breton to Norumbega led direc. by Giovanni de Verr.

1540 - Fr trading post on upper Hudson Spanish settle of Albany 1550

Mercator map 1569 - Block Is + Hudson as part Norumbega; no CC Cape Breton, Nfld, St L

1570 - Jean Cassin - World map - suggest Coast NY thoroughly explored Fr mariner

1589 - Hakluyt map - trail coast to St L via Hudson + Champ Valleys

1598 Dutch N Hudson settle

VA Co. Chart 1606-08 remark complete SA + Librala Eng will

1602 - Goswold - Ind brought furs to trade beaver, martin, otter, lynx, black fox, rabbit, deer, seal

1604-07 Lescaresof chronicle Fr colonies METAS - NY+RI Inds acct - make beads

Hudson R - people overwinter 1612-13 or 1598-1601 4 groups - 4 trips each 3 yrs

1613-14 Hudson + 2 Dutch Co back - 10,000 furs New Nethland Co 1614 overwinter

Block 1614 - Cart figurative - Detailed Cape + MV

1615 - Manhattan Fort - trade trinkets, goods, clothes, axe, adze, hatchet, kettle, fish hook

1609-24 ↑ exchange fur + wampum yr-round occupation - market place

1524-1624 growth + intensification of trade - Coastal NY brought sig Ind.

Block up CT - not new v. fur 1632 - Dutch 15,000 skins 20 mi up track house Ply + MA - up 1-3 mi abn

EC Pine Hill - small overlap with some seasonal encamp - despite one of largest LW occupation

ceramics - more diverse than brog - mobile, fluid social bdry

Almgren Site 4700 ↑ beech-rich N.Hill; more productive habitat - some Mult hemlock ↓

Ash-Sidell butternut = oilnuts 64% fat 25% protein vs Roach 22% / 6%

Snow 80 1605 Weymouth ME - 5 + 2 canoes Naharde - returned w Prince to ME 1606  
Skidwams w/ Gilbert + Popham 1607 Assacomit + Manick - ME w/ Chelona  
1606 but later b, Spanish as slaves

Salwen 1970 clear 90%

Paleo → LA discontinuity

Rapid Veg Δ - rapid archaeo Mast Forest = LA 6-3.7

"our understand of prehist climate + the environ the help produce is poor"

brog inserted into Mohawk 2-4 KBP

Discuss NY - backdrop, source, more info

X "Taken together, it all suggests that in the period aborig NE was marginal with manifestations of prehist in the E"

Hort - soldw had 2 day

"There is no quest about importance of hort in the late Paleo period of SNE"

Village sites destroyed by Eur

but no culture Corn-Ridge

X  
→  
For NE

"the last site out of prehistory appear to have been a period of generally peaceful growth + prosperity"

X "We have yet to carry out the research that will tell us whether or not these events are prime reasons in the shift of settl + subsist"

Caci "the model for the 'Life Woodland', which includes a village way of life and maize ag is inappropriate for Coastal NY" "Evolution + the onset of maize cult in the area world seem best correlated with the intensification of wampum production, brought about by European"

Hart 1997 No indigenous domestic taxa in Neast Maize S Ont 1570 BP Beans 700 BP NY  
Kins ↑ westerly flow 1000-1200 rel. warm dry; 1250-1700 ↓ 1°, poss ↑ popn, comp for sites, warfare  
Ohio ↑ rel. on maize after 1000 1050-70%; 1225- 80%; large palisaded sites; large storage  
hickory - bark, best in water, skin nuts + oil esp C. ovata - small

CPI large storage - maize, nuts, beans, Chewpod, Sunflower  
Hart SCNY longhouse excav ↑ 100+ pits 830 BP maize Upper Hrd 3 of Algon Mahikaw non-forti beans 400 yrs later

Largo Nuts - crack + boil; shell to bottom; meat + oil rise; oil - hair

Cassidy + Webb Marze - Milford CT 1240-1260 AD  
Bernstein LI, Fishers, BI - no sig raisins or consump maize before 1524 - all maize sites - much other material

Vimp start LA - nuts hickory 46/52; oak 18/52; Jugl 8/52; Corylus 7/52; chest 0/52  
specialized features storing + processing nut No chust? thin shell - Ford 1993

Chewpod - v. imp, large processing interior river  
Millewaia - rel. stable economy or coast - divers. resources not interrupted thru Woodl  
long-estab p. Htm

George + Dewu Chewpod MW - change morph, domest before corn < 3000 BP  
CT - Chewpod used + stored; not nec. domest.; floodplain hypth;

Browd McBr + Dewar LW ↑ soc + tech complexity, ↑ sedent, ↑ site complexity, ↑ economic + non-local material  
Fish + shellfish predictable, low risk tho or deer nuts

Farmsteads of hist may have replaced warm-weather semi-perm villages mobile from  
Coast - rich marine resources capable of sustaining large pop'n  
conclit seed  
technical mobility, foraging here

EC Bennett 1955 - Maize 65% - but subsisted food Thos 1979 - Pynchon data - transition  
Cites WC on mob  
high density individual + community dispersal + mob  
invisible village = high mobility dispersal w/in household

Mobility - strategy to maintain enviro diversity + sociopolit fluidity

foraging horticulturalists, tethered  
mobility, conditional sedentism ✓

View from 1500

— flimsy  
Wigwam, hunt/gather; deer abundant

Most forest; oak, hickory, chestnut

Broad spectrum

Semi-domesticates - sump weed; many plants

Benefits of maize

Maize - ~~clear~~ <sup>potential thru residue - there for 1000 yrs</sup> ~~exist~~ supplement; available but rejected  
risky; intensive work; commitment - expect

not sufficient to  
metabolism assured  
burden

Mobile farmer - too strong more at coast where  
seed  
maize buds

Amino acids

Clams over corn

20 plants

100 nuts

low molluscs  
fish

corn - new resource  
to add to  
list

Coastal adaptation

More abundant + reliable resources

Sedentism without agriculture

Substantial with population without villages

Fish, shellfish, hunting, oak, hickory

MV detail — Drift whaler

Evidence along almost every

Repeated use - Sq, Nash

None on interior

Still wigwam + flexible Varr 1524

Human health

Dependence on coastal ponds - dynamics with these  
historic efforts to connect + to sea - prehistoric -  
unknown

Major site regions - club Lagoon Rd, Tashiroo,  
— Menemah  
Squib, EGP, KB, Spanglenickit, Chap.

Forst efficient economic system iv ✓

LT Record

Continuity and Persistence

LA - richness

Changes thru Holocene - Periods

Technology - tools + weapons

Soapstone, ceramics

Possible - signif. adapt.

sed-watm

Pop'n

burial traditions

Coast + MV in particular - huge dynamic

shoreline, islands, storms,

oak decline

→  
Pop'n change

Coastal Adaptation

1. Q the gradual emergence idea - Paleo people  
equally adaptable; coast came to them;

2. Q the stabilization of coastlines thinking  
Where did this come from?

Sites lost; peatlands off the coast; diff  
habitats

Changing locations over time - Læs Vinawt,

Ponds + Lagoons; wetlands forming the turns to  
ponds



## Historical transformation

Two facts → Historical accounts ≠ Archaeological reconstructions  
→ Contact - transformed Indian culture

Need to recognize that contact is a process not an event. Multi-faceted, indirect + direct; physical + biological + social components.

Meeting + various exchanges of physical goods

~~Each~~

- political + economic

Cultural - exchange of knowledge, influence on practice, adaptation of practices, incorporation

Biological - disease, organisms - plants, animals, genes

Began in many cases long before direct contact  
movement of goods, spread of rumor

Many people who never encountered Europeans  
influenced by them - disease, copper + metal

Extent + temporal depth greater than commonly  
recognized - <sup>fishermen</sup> trading posts, movement of Indians  
to Europe + back, multiple exchanges - positive +  
negative; goods - direct, pillage.

Common <sup>knowledge</sup> that Pilgrims stole from Indian stores,  
but Indians pilfered from

See evidence - Goswold 1602 - shallop  
Squanto 1614



Tribal system developed

Rivalries + frictions - trading, diff Eur groups ✓

+ promoted b, Eur.

Eur presence overwhelming but natives pre-adapted for rapid change.

- trade + exchange - well established, reduced friction, facilitate survival in lean times; Eur anxious to trade - needed food, wanted furs + goods
- possessed basic tools - corn, beans, squash to support pop'n + sedentism; familiar w/ sedentism
- adaptable - including facility to easily relocate to resources + opportunity; new materials

So could rapidly shift - pop'n centers, subsistence, + would be prone to do so

So contact - period of rapid transition -

Historical accounts - dipping in and sampling behaviors + practices along a trajectory of change. All the normal reasons to be suspect - bias, misunderstanding, seasonality, sampling error, boosterism, lack of democracy

But also actual change - Hershberg  
principal - observer changes the observations + the subject

Maize - big impression on Eur - looking for Ag potential, something they recognized, needed for



## So - consequences for landscape

Landscape forested; inhabited and broken in places - repeated use and reuse, esp. sedentism can greatly alter place - fertilize, remove wood, deforest or thin; fires escape + could be purposeful - fire strikers.

### Trails

But integrated into landscape - low concentration, low density, taking from land, using land but not actively shaping + managing; not farming not scaling to acres; no need for large open areas.

Rapidly regrowing vegetation - constant maintenance  
Open condition - natural - oak + pine with ericaceous understorey. Not multiple layers; beech more prevalent - very open.

Overwhelming natural processes; Inds not managing for oak, slowing changes ↓ moist, less useful taxa  
More seeds possible

— Little, Ritchie, Dunwick (But Pelt + Sess)  
Archaeologists - assume forested  
Paleo confirms this

What this means for conservation - management not rooted in prehistory. Major changes - historical...

7-22-10

## Continuity + Modest Change

i. In the face of substantial change in geomorphology, climate and vegetation, including major reconfigurations of land area, coastline, groundwater, and resources (wildlife, wetlands and mast) and abrupt shifts in dominant tree species human culture changed slowly and modestly. Few abrupt changes

Hunting-critical  
subsistence  
settlement  
raw materials  
technology

trade + exchange - buffer  
politics, climate, resources  
housing - flexible

weed-collection  
horticulture  
Diverse plants

fire strikers

excellent on water

(steatite bowls + pottery ~3200 BP; maize and beans ~AD1250-1300; particular points in LA) in technology, subsistence or settlement patterns. Long continuity as hunter-gatherer-foragers, in use of simple and flexible shelters, in seasonally mobile to semi-permanent habitation in small family groups.

ii. Modest regional variation with strongest differences coastal adaptations - transportation, fishing, collecting, scavenging.

Profound transformations  
but  
broad persistent  
patterns

Broad spectrum resource use

Remark little &amp; lithics No simple progressive model

Exposed to much material  
culture; practices  
adapted - to own use, not  
nec. original use

Great flexibility and adaptability - highly adaptive to changing conditions + opportunities; not tightly constrained or resource dependent.

Particular events/opportunities - mast inland 6000 BP  
favorable climate thru + Medieval Warm period;  
slowing of sea level rise - wetlands + stability

But huge impact of the  
unseen contact

Shattering of, Contact Myth — Witnessed contact

1620 - Not contact. Pilgrims not first encounter, not exploratory. Based on > century of knowledge of ENA coast, extensive fishing, whaling, trade + exchange. etc.

Rejection of agricultural myth. Farmers in village + tied to land. Nucleated with corn, beans, squash as cultural identity + long-standing staple.

Undercutting widespread and frequent burning, land management on broad scale, farmers of the land.

KE - "with"

Indians lived in not on the land. Whether consciously ecological or not, tread was light, style was adaptive, impact was pervasive but subtle. Very difficult to see - e.g. beaver, moose, etc. in modern times hard to see

- technology - limited
- no domestic animals
- fire - major tool but constrained
- pop'n small

No discernible impact.

Archaeologists assume forested, rel. little impact  
Ecologists/historians - major

slow + progressive adaptation to the coast - always coastal  
 Coast came to the site  
 Not people adapting to the coast

In order to understand Native people in the land and their influence  
 Throw out much learned from school teachers, iconic images, tourist brochures, histories and conservation organizations  
 Most hasn't caught up with modern archaeol. Archaeol itself too shaped by history ethnohistory

Mindset by history ethnohistory  
 our view of progress not nec. others  
 More general - Ag dependent + in fixed villages, some forts

Selectionism = Ag whereas intenc Ag requires sedentism; sedentism implies - accessible food + resources dependably + within reach; settlement location

Structure of time large # periods implies large # of changes period - artificial → breaks; progression + evolution

Evolutionary, progressivism thinking regional uniformity

Δ tools → culture not nec ecological shift or impacts in terms of resource base

Eur explorers - overemphasize Ag as their preconception, also what they desired to see + exploit; what they wanted + needed

- LA - stabilization Sealevel - resources, estuaries, shellfish  
Not clear where this originated (which geomorphologist? what evidence on penultimate, shellfish etc.?)

[Only sample accumulation areas] - or areas buried e.g. by ants

- Managed their lands - fire, Ag, orchards, wood thinning  
 Frequent burning + widespread, farmers of the land LA = Forest Climes

Mitch 1979

For succ + human pop'n Δ	Small pop'n	10-9 immature before forest
Grad ↑ pop'n as forest matures	Peak 4KBP	diversity + diversity
of veg relate to pop'n	as all floral spp = trees	
Have ↓ div to climax	↑ pop'n as ↑ resource divers.	Inverse to divers

- Play changes when the scene changes; actors with flexible toolkit adapted to the changing scene - land config, vegetation, wildlife + resources  
contact = noun, verb, variable process + ongoing process - not one event, not always
- Contact = 1620 - shallow + trousers; English; many predecessors direct, not same people each time or season or context
- Dichotomy - Native / Non-Native  
wood - but not immense villages; weirs, houses, fuel, drives
- Impact pervasive / but subtle, highly adaptive; not fixed or focused, concentrated  
 altered wildlife, plants, local composition in or with land; not on it or through it; chronic over 10K, therefore imperceptible;
- Invisible - for many reasons + contrast - other Native peoples - Maya, Inca, Anasazi, Hopi, even Iroquois + esp. with ancient Europe + beyond  
 Hunt + gather - dispersed + small pop'n; not agricultural; limited technology applied to collecting + storage resources; no domestic animals;
- Box on fire

## Indians - Why do we care?

- imp insights into human culture - distinct from colonists
- successful - 10,000 yrs in face of huge shifts - no collapse  
adaptation  
hunter-gatherer lifestyle successful for human history
- integral factor in landscape - another factor like climate, hurricanes; part of dynamic - how changing; and - did it change in ways that influenced land
- important benchmark for conservation - both the state of the landscape and the practices they used. Was moose rare due to climate or due to native hunting? Were deer populations kept in check by large carnivores or by human carnivores? Were rare spp today rare then? Was veg structured by nature or people?

\* through legacies, legends + physical survival - comprise ongoing + imp. part of landscape

Rapid climate change - up to  $7^{\circ}\text{C}$  over v. short time - rapid melt,  
rapid  $\uparrow$  sea level, ice buoyant so unstable; severe on plants +  
animals

Rapid collapse major parts of ice sheet

Heinrich events - ice breakup events, ice into ocean w/ rock debris

## Shattering of Contact Myth

### Early Contact Eur Influence on Indians

Sturtevant  
+  
Quinn 1989

entered

↓ N Coast St L, Straights Belu 166 Aug 1566  
1567 - 1st Eskimoos from Terra Nova to Europe (Netherlands) - kidnapped from  
Labrador by French sailors; Woodcut on 3 broadsides - 20yr woman + 7yr girl  
Woman + girl in parka, skin boots

Basque - Spanish some French 1540-80s; by 1560s more than 1000 Basque  
annually in 15-20 ships for 6 mos. rel. few refs to natives

looking for ore  
Frobisher 1576+77 - Eskimoos on Baffin - found box of nails in Eskimo tent  
"the Captain desirous to bring some token from thence, of his being there"  
"Now with this new prey... returned homeward, and arrived in England."

Lost 5 men. Held natives as hostages, never found his men - brought 1(4) back - died

entered

Salisbury '93

1524 - Verrazano 15 days in Narragansett Bay w/ natives; then Casco + Abenaki

pre-adapt to take advantage of opportunity, to use non-native materials; to reorient activities  
Eur; survival - exchange + trade

Jaffee '99

entered

Trade/exchange - critical importance to Ind - ritual exchange, localized + regional trade

pre-adapted for contact, trade; but shift from reciprocity + gift, ceremony to  
economic relationship; linked Ind to Eur economy

Wampum - ceremony, symbol + prestige → medium of exchange

Commercialized Ind cult practices - e.g. trapping - not related to need  
divorced activity from direct needs

2001

Castwell + Well

entered

Hudson - NY Harbor 1609

Fort Orange - Albany

1624 - Dutch West India Co - fur-trade operation

Trading rapidly shifted inland as coastal furs used up wampum/furs/trade  
inexplicitly linked coastal Inds many wampum - exchanged w/ Dutch for trade goods

Dutch trade to N comm for furs - furs to Eur.

17 epidemics affected Munsee 50-91% mortality - personal + demographic tragedies

often rebuild community with elders, family members or traditional leaders

entered

Strong '97

McBride - BI fort - post-contact - response to conflict



Vaugh 1965 - Capt Geo Weymouth 7-18-1605 returned from Plymouth w/ 5 Indians  
<sup>kidnapped</sup>

<sup>entered</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh 1587 returned from Roanoke with two Ind

After 1605 - most brought Ind as guides

1606 Henry Challons - took 2 Ind to catch NVA Col. takes in W Indies by Spar

John Popham sent M Pring + T. Hanham explore ME took Ind <sup>staged in AW</sup> Takenoda

1607 ME colony Sagadahoc = Ft St George

1608 Capt Edw Harlow captured several on coast + MV

1610 Thos Hunt seized 24 sold - Melego

1616-17 2 1/2 Ind died Penobscot R → Narr Bay "divine providence made way for  
the quiet + peaceable settlement of the English in those nations"

Strong 1997 1500s - Port kidnapped 50 Beothuks to Port as slaves

<sup>entered</sup> 1502 - Eng Nfld - 3 as proof of landfall

1525 - Spaw kidnap 58 in Narr Bay → Spain as slaves

Basque - 10 whaling port 1000 men each summer

Dutch may have had best camps on LI before 1600

Champlain - CC Inds - Eng clothes + specks Fr + Basque

J Smith - Ches Bay - Inds w/ hatchets, cloth, Eur goods

Before Eur with switch to metal

↑ trade + networks; conc people near ports; larger pop's under individ  
sachems; transformed loose alliances of small groups into tribes + confed

Alcohol - Henry Hudson

1609 Hudson - Nfld → Penob Bay → CC trade w/ Ind → Ches + Del Bays

Sandy Hook NJ - 1st contact Algonquias NY Bay attacked by Ind

1616 Adria Block - little record wintered 1614+16 on Manhattan

By 1640 Eur emphasis shifts from furs to fur

MV

Cont.  
Guernsey  
entered

Oyster Pd + Watche Pd - tradition - both once connected to sea before storms closed OP - still Oysters; Incl cutty aboard. canal to connect  
House rings + shell mounds 19' diam  
Quitsa Pd - once shell mounds 100' x 2-4'  
GH - shell bed 184ac 6-18" deep

entered  
198  
Mulholland et al.

GH; 2 Maize sites Peterson - Chit; Horn II - GH 1160 AD

DDuranteau  
entered

Region holds together;  
MV "evridwa along almost every pond, watercourse, bay + coast line of native group of MV for thousands of yrs"  
Repeated use: Squib, Nash, Men, Lagoon; huge middens  
Interior 235ac. Golf. no arch. sig resources; none near Little Pd  
Sea Level 1.2 mm/yr to 3500 BP + 85 mm sea; CTR ext tidal marsh  
at 1500-2000 BP as stabilized - tidal flats, salt marsh, coast  
3-2500 2500

Grad shift forest adapt habitats to coastal  
Verr 1524 "They change their habitations from place to place as circum. of situation and season may require; and there is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at hand"

RWms - vast wilderness interspersed w/ settled  
BI - oak brushwood overgrown; no good timber  
Wellft - Incl Neck Ossuay - range of people; healthy; no trauma; low carries (not grow cereal); low infant rate + disease

2000  
Herbster / Orr  
entered

Best sites - wellft regions - EGP, KBy, Chopp. Plains - on low site around Little Pd  
Nunnepos = fresh water - EGP? Ed's site visit

		MV	4 pre-h sites incl. Mashackat - top of core 4 sites on W bluff
2000	Herbster/Cherav	Greatest potential - Wetland margin	EGP, Kaf Bay, Sengelkontarket, Pd, Chap Is
		MW - ↑ shell trade, sedw, pop'n	Limited access to ponds - undocumented
		Nunnepeg - Fresh Pd - Prob EGP	Little Pd - 1 large site
WF	Goodin '47	Send Lagoon Pd - trad. site - id. Joseph Chase Allen	V. Gazette 8-19-26 ideal site
	entered	Large burying ground to E of S end Lagoon - huge middws + gravestones	
		W side Lagoon - coral undisturbed - Natural site - great springs - Weaktaqu,	
		N-dense woods Oskeshkuppe; SW level fertile ground to Duark - poss.	
		largest village on island.	
		1st NE Arch HV-180yrs	
MacQuarrie 1999	entered	Lucy Vincent - EC most imp site 30 yrs; special place on landscape 1000 <sup>+</sup> yrs	
		12' erosion/yr 2/3 lost since 18 <sup>th</sup> C most 500-1000	
		1995 - human remains - Roudy Javelin - workings w/ EC teeth	
Bungey 2009		Chilmark - 3 beaches - LV, Squib, Men; 5-10' / yr	
		B/g Inspect - if 500 ft here ~ 50 yrs	
		As the enigmatic historic records flesh out the skeletal facts of arch"	
Ritchie 1965	entered	MV - No prof arch. sites. "Populated from the mainland"	adopted
		No interp of changing landscape context - old sites have interior culture - Arch found	
		Discontinuous use of sites - pond openings, shell fish	
		High canopy (Brevton) Cheever "wonderful plague"	their mite" of
		Verr 1/2p quote "this is easily done as they have only to take with them their mite" of	"require"
		"change their habitation as circum. of situation + seasons"	
		Pilgrim - parched acorns - double mat, wood bowl, earth pot, baskets - full acorns	
		Brevton "with the least spark he maketh a fire presently"	
		Horn II - amphi; found; herring/skewer 1860 open; Herr Cr. Men → Sumb young	salt
		2-4" post molds; deer; bay scallop - mobile + deeper water; hard reefs; guthos - bottom	long + soft - burrow; Oyster euryhaline - toler
		Offshore - cod extensive off Nomen's	
		Poor under. climate + sea level - ↓ 16' No Squib/Men	

"abodes seem to have been flimsy, dwellings of mat- or bark covered poles of indeterminate size + shape"

Prett Site - Howard Ave Tis Ben Luc Pd sheltered by large trees primeval forest

1/4 mi to lagoon 40 post marks "flimsy houses"

Overhauled easily obtained hard shell fish → deeper waters

Cunning Lagoon W side Lagoon - 200' SLL mud; minor intermittency of h.b. beds

every level deer - young + old "discontinue conservation practices"

"No sig. Aes subs. pollen 750 yrs"

Heath Hrs, Turly sawdust floors

MV - basic framework NE CC pt of departure

Paleo - by some cool moist boat

9000 - Pine low popn progressive adaptation to marine enviro

6 O-P-OH xerothermic, ↑ meat caloric - deer, turly

Graph Δ about shell hard

"Group newly arrived at coast" - took while to learn shell fish

LW - "Corn + Callifera in part of food"

Rise of farms major demogr Δ but mg Δ

Perennial residue over normal intel cycle of subsistence - as abundant <sup>shell</sup>

S Shore Ponds - less attractive than N shown as open to sea

Huntington 1957 entered Lagoon Pd - connected orig via Bass Creek to sea - 2 br sites  
- No Eur enviro - springs; arrow bench 20' above head of pond + near Bass Creek

Guernsey 1916 entered LVB - 30' cliff; 4 1/2' + 2 3/4' pit Men → Nash Pds → "almost uninterrupted evidence of aborig occupation" black soil in many places due to decaying debris fields; corn hills, bone, shell; house rings 17' diam ridge of earth 6"

1650 young Mykew houses "made w/ small poles like an arbor covered w/ mats of their fire in the middle, over which they leave a place for smoke to get out of"

Peace Pt - 2 braced pits + huts can rd by grass - retain moist

## Ag Myth → Conservation

Capece 2001  
TTOR  
entered

Route - 1000s yrs Wampanoag - drastic changes; large-scale burns,  
hunting, Ag; mosaic; savannas

Chilton 2010  
entered

Beans ~ AD 1300  
Mosaic farmers; maize prev after 1250 AD; 550BP Tehuacan Valley; not all accepted;

Chenopod, knotweed, sumpweed; no evidence domestication

Storage bowls + storage pits 3500BB - LA; highest pop'n to that pt

Hollings IL 2000BP; Lower GrL AD500; NY AD600; S out/NY AD1000 dietary

Most NE dates 1300-1600 Ingalls NH 1015-1159 Maybe S + L + CTR + S

"No evidence for sedentary yr-round farming vill in NE" "no evidence for intensive  
maize hort until after Eur colon" But yr-round habit in protected harbors

beginning LA - yr-round accessibility marine + terr resources

Maize ↑ - cult A, LIA/MWP

Lith 2010  
entered

1290-1390 - used saltwater shell middens; limestone etc on alluvial plains <sup>maize</sup> <sup>↑</sup> because

ACK 1659 27 Punitaw families 1500-2500 Inds

Pre-adapted for Ag - sed lifestyle; familiar w/ crops + domesticates;

inclined towards trade + exchange; adaptation of new materials into

life + culture; grouping to a straddler, ↑ pop'n + other activities like

trapping + trading, less on other food prep.

ent Discauze '90 - resist temp to read arch record in terms of hist record  
few of latter + extreme bias; No understudy, transformed conditions,  
major social, political, etc. relevant

### Ag Myth

Bernstein 1993

Arch evidence for prehist Ag - virtually absent from Narr E.

ent

Vale 1999

Myth - humanized landscape; pristine - fund. characteristics of veg

ent

DD - Dunford

1500 - Ag intensified - single household = favored w/ hort fields, pits, shell  
archaeo visibility low - as 1 family

ent

DD

Policy 3000 BP - allowed fruit, seeds, nuts, wares

Bruddenmer '92

Altho maize arrives LW in NE little apparent A subsist until 16c

ent

High degree cultural + enviro continuity contact → precontact

cut poles, clear land, fish-communal  
Men - deer fall/early wks; women - plants, crops, shelters, mats, butcher, cloths, chicks

no fort. villages  
Little evidence - pre-contact warren - not defensible locations, no traps

shellfish - predictable + low risk flow, shell, sturgeon, eel, lobster - not archaeo

pit w/ lining - 35 sunflower + 150 chenopod + maize hundreds - 14°C

nuts - hickory most common; beech - bark → bread

Chenopod, polygonum, portulaca, rumex, Andropogon <sup>gerardii</sup> - lined pits

Ag - ↑ risky rapid dispersal slow adoption maize

More cult inland

Sidell 2002

Amphicarpa, Amb trifida, Polygonum, Chen, Desmodium, Helianth, Elymus, Hordeum  
Solanum amar.

ent

Beech - seldom found

2002

full blown regional trans. Most profound A to occur among Natives  
Ag - ext adopt; 21c evnt most of Neat, some of largest Δs; few/dwse sites

Petersen/Lowrie

ent

so hard to find, buried, disturbed

Petersen + Cowi

maize-beans-squash regional trans formation  
AD 1000-1300 extensive adoption of corn + subsistence farming; some of largest Δs social

Few, large, dwse so diff to find; buried, disturbed

"The most profound changes to ever occur among Natives in the Northeast prior

ent 1992 Donnan NE, McCreast + S " Ag clearing ~~land~~ burning had converted much of the forest into succ (fallow) soil + into semi-perm grassy open (meadows, bays, plains, slacks, scrub, ~~prairie~~)

to the arrival of Euro. <sup>were</sup> - arrival

ent Hart + Means 2002. Conc people - enough hands for all tasks - Ag → nucleation  
W L Eric - no nucl. by 1200  
S Ont nucl village by 8<sup>th</sup> c Longhouse 13<sup>th</sup>; COHR Basin - varies 900 → 1150-1200  
upper  
L OH RB - Freq by 1000 nucl. vill 1000-1200  
NE - Oldest maize 1100BP lower Hudson R Lower CTR 1060 BP - Seldon Neck  
Coastal - Highland Site CT - 835BP Freq 13<sup>th</sup> c AD large amts 15-16<sup>th</sup> c  
No nucleated village - v. late prehistory or Eur contact most after 14<sup>th</sup> c  
5300 liters soil - flotation → 19 maize  
Bean disk project SI AMS disk - not arch visible until after late 12<sup>th</sup> c  
250 yrs before maize bean intercrops w/ squash - clear. by Eur settlers  
AMS - completely Δ history of beans + interc M-b-S systems

ent Carlson 1992 <sup>entri.</sup> Broad spectrum - hunt, fish, gather; seasonally mobile settle patt; pop'n dispersed w/ few major settle w/ contact 16<sup>th</sup> c - transatl contacts; disease?

1638 letter RWms to d w/ native 4 major 16<sup>th</sup> c epi to Narr.

ent Deorittle '92 Not true StB Champ 1605 BosBay - "there was also ... burned weeds"

Bragdon 96 - Eur eyes deceived; land overused; orig - mobile + egalitarian

ent Maize - big impression on Eur - told to judge fertile assumed central subsistent

St Lawrence 12-18<sup>th</sup> c Eur goods - Lob + Ground?

London

ent Dunn '93 Squab 1614 kidnap. Capt Tho w/ d Smith + 26 native → Spain → Ag → NFO → Algonk w/ d Derner

ent Vaughan 1965 - After 1605 most voyags brought Indians to NE US side

Starna 1990

entered

-2-

Thomas Morton 1637

"But contrary wise in short time after, the hand of God fell heavily upon them [Indians], with such a mortall stroke, that they died in heapes, as they lay in their houses and the living; [sic] that were able to shift for themselves would runne away, & let them dy, and let there Carcases ly above the ground without buriall. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left alive, to tell what became of the rest, the livinge being (as it seemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crows, Kites, and vermin to prey upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severel places of their habitations, made such a spectacle after my comming into those partes, that as I travailed in that Forest, nere the Massachusetts, it seemed to mee a new found Golgotha.

vacuum in leadership + competition due to Lr



Little 1981 - treed at Euro; beech, wo, hick, pine, cedar, tulip, cherry willow

OK Outwash Plains - no evidence of forest

1659 Mather "to take wood for use of him"

Extensive quotes

Beech Woods

Freemov - WP nr

Bernstein 1993

Verrazano 1522

Bernabo 1977 + Thorburn + Co 1988 expand open fields ~1000  
~1200 BP

OK:

Dunwiddie - Oak + some P, Be, Ma, Hi, Myrica

OK 1780 12-16K sheep PP reintro 1847

Some forest clearance ~1000 BP ↑ corn, beew, s1

Grass, v major factor expand + maintain open, treeless landscape

Patt + Sass Burn - mosaic of forests, fields in various succession; shifting settl +

OK slash + burn; opened large areas in major valleys;

## State of Land on Contact

- Ritchie '69  
ent  
Brewster "climax forest of offshore Is of MA in precolonial time preserved a diff and sticky speckle from th modern cutover woodlots + shrub uplds"
- <sup>97</sup>  
Dunford + O'Brien  
ent  
Early Cape Pine floorboards + wainscotings 2-3' wide; Oak 16" x 48'; cedar felns
- Day 1953  
ent  
Village site 2-1500s. systematic firewood cutting; cornfields 2-6 mi <sup>river</sup> along  
fruit orchards 150 trees; plant nut trees  
Fire - port-like extensive treeless + brushless ex
- Bragdon 196  
ent  
Eur - deceived by land - native hort + hort - less obvious impact - unfused  
NA Ag had huge impact on Eur - told to evaluate fertility - so ag stand led to assump Ag control subsistive
- Treskov 1992  
ent  
Verrazano 1524 - BI forested + well populated; deer - gone by 1800  
1633 ethno descriptions - traditional practices or emerging traditions  
Quartz cobble industry
- Butzer 1992  
ent  
Sale 1990 - people in harmony w/ nature; refrained from delib. alter. stems  
*idyllic ecological equilib*
- Denevan '92  
ent  
NE, MidW, SE <sup>clearing +</sup> Agricultural burnings had converted much of the forest into successional (fallow) growth and into semi-permanent grazing openings (meadows, barrens, plains, glades, savannas and prairies)
- <sup>188</sup>  
Patterson / Sassaman  
ent  
humans > 95% fire - shifting settlement, slash/burn; fields in succ stages, corn imp  
fire - most advantageous to stationary land use generalized burny not local site

Continuity + Modest Change - No Simple Progressive Model

✓ Engelbrecht '03 Iroquois - 5 nations - only traceable to 17th C; uncertain time depth; change pop'n distrib, politic, ethnic

Curtwell + Wall '01 Q inevitability or desirability of progress

Strang 1997 "Forest efficient" economic system  
Quote - such effic use of environ - no rush to adopt hort cul with plant domestication introduced  
Little dramatic change - little need to alter hunt/gath - long period experim'ts  
When ~~the~~ Eng destroyed fields - Ind ok from forests

Chilton '99 DDinevari quote - No dramatic Δ w/ maize - settl distribution or size  
Problem with dichotomous models  
"mobile farmers", "foraging horticulturalists", "tethered mobility"  
"conditional sedentism"

Wood + Josselyn - fish, shells, berries, meat, beans, corn, ground nuts, chest, acorns, beech, hazel, hony

Joss - "towns th have none" always move  
EC - Mass Alg - much greater pottery diversification Iroquois - due to small groups + high mobility? May locatn thru or

Don't look for data to conform to models - typo-test

Denevan '92 Decline occurs w/ Euro cul vs, in a sense flourish as Inds pre-adapted + evolved to new mode that fit w/ Eur, the collapsed

DDinevari '90 No evidence that wild plant use declined w/ maize

Little 1988 1000 AD Hort ↑ w/ few oth shifts; ↑ pop'n + sedentism

sedentary, hierarch, trade + territorially = range w/ local  
- don't require maize

Bragdon 1996 - Modern cultures - stable social group, not villey - widespread  
pattern S coast - no site cont'd more 1300 AD  
broad subsist base

Inland - wetlands

Hickory + acorn v. imp

Braddeley 1993 Economy stable 2000 yrs before contact - diverse wild plant + animal

Ceci 1980 Shift - local Archaic to more complex settled pattern + social org  
w contact; larger sites; yr row; w/ maize

Snow 1978 Late prehistoric - subsistence econ - diversified pattern of hunt, fishing,  
shellfish, plant coll + AG Deer most imp

2:

- broad spectrum resource utilization

Bernstein 2006. Continuity in Arch record - familiar pattern subsistence, settlement,  
raw materials, sim technol - 1000s of yrs

Change emphasized - Paleo large mamm; Arch - broad econ base; W-Maize &  
virt No evidence - possibly ecos diverse, not impoverished

Broad persistent patterns large, small, plants, fish so Arch not so revolutionary

Plant domest - late, little discern impact, esp Tropical plants

> 20 plants, > 100 vert > doze molluscs Corn - new resource to food list

No Woodland Economic Transformation

Lithic Industry - remarkable lack of variation over 6000 yrs

Reject that acc'ts + application Inyoan to AG

AG not only settled life

Kasper + McB 2010 - High degree cont pre-contact → lithic Livs w/ local

LW broad coexist many groups sust plant cult; wild plants dominant

"The new forest had produced a bounty of nuts. The squaw was quick to prize the meat of the walnut - and the oil that could be extracted. Acorns could be ground into meal for winter storage. Radish seeds, berries and bone marrow could be pulverized into a mash and used to fatten elk!"

LA - Stone bowls - unique to NE (Northwest? Eskimo?)  
- wood-w  
Fine craftsmanship - distinctive - bowls, plates, cups

Bow + arrow - possibly LA - 500 BC or earlier

Adena culture - pottery

Sizable villages with cleared fields

Links change to cool + moist to agriculture - thick humus + good soils

Groundnuts - *Apios tuberosa*

Jerusalem artichoke - *Helianthus tuberosa*

Hickory - crushed + mixed w/ water - oil to surface + preserved

Acorns - white-shelled + ground, boiled w/ acorns to remove bitter

Fundamental ecological distinction with Cronon

33 - Natural ecosystem arranged almost randomly - with continuity dependent on this disorder

Humans systematized this - imposed order, even if mosaic pattern around villages + seasonal

DRF - natural landscape - highly ordered + structured - geomorph, soils, topog; scales; natural disturbance - regional to landscape  
Beaver

Humans - reinforced this - Indians to colonists to Manifest

DRF - Gradients vs strong + sharp distinctions

## Early Contact Impacts

- DBinc 1730 Eur Biazas - failure to understand people; changed conditions - separate 16<sup>th</sup> + 17<sup>th</sup> C people from early; disease; realize political, economic, religious  
early extensive Ind trade - NA + PA-LI  
Huge social change; tribal system developed; conc near port; Eur settl destroyed rich source of wild foods so ↑ maize, b, sq
- Strong 1997 LI 13 tribes - tribal system developed in response to P from Eur - resist + accommodate  
Daniel Denton 1670 "... a Divine hand makes way for [the English] by removing or cutting off the Indians by wars one with the other or by some various mortal disease". "Extinction Myth" gods will  
Cano - tulip / sycamore Eur reports: didn't understand landscape, own agents  
Eng thought destroying cano would decimate Indians; didn't justify taking land.
- 1988 Snow + Lamphear large Ind pop's not dense enough to spawn own diseases; no domestic animals  
1616 - 3 Fever, trichonosis, bubonic plague 1633 small pox - first to move Ind  
1616-19 + 1633-39 ↓ NA pop's 86%  
1630s - children brought disease
- Starna '90 Ind in transition shifting towards more complex adaptive system  
10-20 houses in area;  
Not disease free - Tuberc, syphilis, dysentery, viral influenza, Pneum, ricketts  
Amer leishmaniasis, roundworms, salmonella parasites Gen. healthy
- 2000 Chilton et al. Archaeologist cite historians about fire, landscapes, wildlife
- Ubelaker '92  $\Sigma = 50,000$
- Brend '93 smallpox, malaria, yellow fever, measles, chicken pox, whooping cough, scarlet fever, diphtheria, plasmodium, typhoid fever, poliomyelitis, cholera, oncocerciasis, trachoma, trichinosis  
→ tapeworms

E.S. Chilton Office 7-23-2010

Donca He 1997 Wamsnappet Pd 9000 yr timeline veg, climate

Good ✓ Cheraw 1996 Gay Head Wampanoag Cultural Systems 18th C

McBride + Cheraw 1996 GHW - Community Structure + LU Patterns

MV Archaeol - Glover + McBride

Cheraw - Pease + Pease 1870 GH Map showing Common Lands Partition  
Dukes Co Reg of Deeds

✓ Chilton 2005 Farming + Social complexity in the Northeast

✓ C + Doucettes - 2+

Chilmark Master Plan 1985 — No text only maps

Maps Des Barres 1776 - Squib Pet - open ; TGP open

Chilmark Pet - connects

Map of shoreline erosion

Squib, GH, MV Morcia

Lots of Maps Clifford Key - Surf. Geol; Thrust plates

Historic Resources Map

Shellfish + Fish Resources

Veg Cover

✓ Dincanzi Paleoenvironmental reconstruction in the Northeast. the art  
of multidisc. science. Foundations of Northeast Archaeol

✓ A capsule prehistory of SNE - Book Chapter



Dean Snow et al. In Mohawk County. 1996

Mohawks - <sup>one of</sup> 5 → 6 nations in Iroquois confederacy. - upstate NY

↳ Emost Mohawk R Vally W of Alban

most numerous in early 17<sup>th</sup> c

Developed in 1980 - large project SUNY - U Albany + Oneonta

Need to understand personal perspectives - Jesuits interested in  
conversation, English officers <sup>political, military</sup> in territory, Dutch - merchants

Mohawk Vally - major corridor Atlantic Coast to interior  
primary conduit contact Dutch, thru Eng w/ Mohawks + Irog

Stretched E-W like imaginary longhouse

Much movement

barber surgeon - from Fort Orange to inland for trade ↓  
negotiate new prices  
Von Bogart - earliest detailed description - 1635

Saw 4 villages in process of moving - 7740 people; new ones  
only 2830 earlier record of interior W of Hudson  
daily journal, remarkable chronical - wish + compels

1624 Dutch W Indian Co. trading post - Fort Orange - followed  
short-lived Fort Nassau

1634 VB - describes loss to smallpox

saw one castle - no palisades - 16 houses 50-80 steps

saw 120 beaver pelts at beaver meet

another on hill 32 houses 80-100 steps to

4th - 55 houses some 100 steps

Houses full of grain + beans 3 rows of palisad

French brig timber axes, French shirts, co-les, razors

entered

Loren 2008 Table 2.1 Add to existing table

- 1441 Port. travel to W Africa reestabl. slave trade
- 1450 Printing press invention spurs wide distrib. of Nav. tables, maps, <sup>navigation</sup>
- 1450 Iroquois 5 Nation Confederation founded
- 1492 CC San Salvador, Cuba, Hispaniola
- 1493 CC 2nd voyage - PRico, Jamaica
- 1497 Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) - Nfld + Lab. Britain claims  
all lands as Cabot to NE before F+D
- 1500-01 <sup>Gaspé</sup> Corte-Real explores Nfld - 57 captives
- 1518 Spanish priest Bartolomé de las Casas - advocates indigenous rights  
to avoid supports import Africans as slave labor in the W. ATL slave  
trade starts
- 1524 It. Giovanni de Verré lands near Carolina - records coast to Nfld  
- charged by King Francis I France - search for Asia via  
Georgia → Cape Fear
- 1526 King Alfonso of Kongo writes to Port King John asks to end  
kidnapping = people
- 1534-42 Hernando de Soto Entredo makes way thro Indian SE
- 1534- France I charged Cartier to probe Straits Belle Isle in Nfld  
reported by Basque Fishermen 1534, 1535, 1541-42  
Algonks - Micmacs + Innus seemed to Cartier familiar  
w/ trad. practices w/ non-natives - Beg of Chekar  
people held furs up on sticks
- 1540s - French sailors intermittent contact w/ Abenaki + mid ATL Ind
- 1604 - Trade post Quebec
- 1604-05 " " + settlement at de Monts on St Croix <sup>ME-NB</sup>  
<sub>both</sub>
- 1605 Port Royal settlement
- Micmac traders adopted shallop traded Lab → Mass as middlemen
- 1609 - H Ind Straits Is, Man + H Riv

Over-

1570s - > 350 Basses, Port + fr. ships off Nfld Banks annually

1607 Jamestown

1585 Roanoke

1587 Roanoke Is. w/16 men, etc. lost

## Acorns

McShea/Healy	Manna from heaven ; 96 vert spp consume ; many habitat suitability models Acorns - function BA + weather; pollen limitation Fat storage critical; high E (lower than Douglas) Preds decline in low years
Abrams	Clark + Royall paper : Be-Ma → WP-O 1400s many ↑ charcoal, ↑ O; not all; diff separate T <sub>0</sub> , fire, oak; Inds ↑ fire + cache
Dey	quilt-like pattern - prairie → inland; variability fire critical ↓ fire w/ human disease; peak w/ settlers 10-30% SVE forest left
Dey	Oak regw prob ↑ on rich site; fire peak after Eur invasion light competition 2-5%; saturation 30-50%; ht + diam growth 50-70% shade tolerance max Ps 5-10% taproot → deep water drought tol - large root system; low transp; can maintain E at low leaf moisture low acorn yr - insects + mammals consume all xeric sites - advance regen can accumulate; sprts - individ root systems can get v. large root reserves ↓ w/ defoliation ↑ sprouting to 5-20 cm
Oaks	Multi agents, predisposition, post disturbance; ↓ acorns Spring defoliator - remove foliage after big expenditure CHDs; ↓ root health
Koenig & Knops	Masting - intermittent P of large seed crops; not bimodal; much individ variation, rel synchron w/in pop'n; pollen P + dispersal limitation General synchrony w/in group of oaks, asynchrony between; facilitates generalist predators "normal" masting, not strict; seq. variability Predator saturation + defoliation
Kirkpatrick/Perkins	highly digestible, high E, low protein; staple, stuff of life; store well, no nutrient value over time - lower fiber + higher N; similar protein, fat, ash Chestnut - more reliable production - June flowers RD ≥ 50% fall-spring deer + turkey diet - 14-23% Ys 3-9% RD RO - higher tannin + fat; low, crude protein 5-8%; leached Tannins - phenolics, precipitable protein, cause Neg N balance up to 50% spring diet NH - equiv to 40% corn critical spring recovery Turkey 15-55% ME - 72 acorns; deer - optimal for fat deposition + winter survival

Dispersal - scatter hoard - Jan  $\geq 1$  km Squirrel

Eat more WO, cache RO eat WO embryos

Feldhammer - Deer will take large to sound acorns

Vaughan - Bear #1 preference up to 13-76% CA 24-66% PA

May provide bulk of calories; fall bulk up

Turkey high spr. to fat

Smith + Stapanian - hick/walnut high protein often only part eaten

RO - high lipid

Van Lear + Brosi - thick bark, dormant buds well below soil surface

## Martha's Vineyard Archaeology

New England-wide map

To illustrate gradients in population and suggest variation in subsistence; broadly – different resources North to South; upland to valley to coast.

Relate to climate and vegetation and topography (vallis)

Introduce concept of invisibility of people.

Background questions and interests – Why should we care?

(1) Rich culture. Fascinating interplay people and nature

(2) Culture continues today – relate past to present.

(3) Shaped the land – vegetation and wildlife. Cannot understand nature (?) past without true globally understanding people. Subsistence management, resource (??) so need to understand –

Population – size and distribution, annual pattern, subsistence patterns. What tools; what foods?

What manipulation of land cultural understanding essential for understanding of nature.

Critical: Unlike Neolithic and iron age man or even some SA groups – no domesticated animals other than dogs. Active, deliberate management versus opportunities.

Question: Agriculture, sedentary or seasonal, sea, wetlands, uplands and when

Three broad periods

Pre-contact; significant changes – culture, population, etc. and cultural exchange but largely driven by physical environment, slow change; cultural variation and influences not hugely different.

First period – interpret long-term record in terms of changing land configuration and changing climate and vegetation.

Necessary change in geography and substance pattern with change in vegetation and climate.

Oak decline?

Show periods with timeline of config change maps and climate and vegetation.

Show moraine versus outwash in these.

Integrate some maps with Deena's data to show how incomplete the coverage is for various periods. Dots of sites versus region for 10, 8, etc.

Create island vegetation map?

Could do same for vegetation map, create island vegetation map? Expand vegetation types across landforms.

First period – very slow change; significant overall transitions with major changes in implements, fauna.

Factors driving change: climate/vegetation – e.g. 5000 BP Hypoth cultural exchange – materials from outside including the arrival of maize. Hard evidence glosses the cultural influence and exchange.

Horticulture – supplement – little evidence for reliance, major dependence or associated changes in lifestyle – large population increase; permanent settlements; fortified villages: large fields.

Ecological consequences – dispersed activity and seasonal movement, relatively small population; no permanent settlements and structures; no intensive Ag; so no need for large clearance; no extensive horticulture and large cornfields.

No domesticated grazing animals (food or work) so no need for large grasslands; no animals to alter woodlands and reinforce human activity and keep areas open or alter vegetation; also no power outside of human activity to work on the land; only humans. Open lands – require ongoing work and effort.

Even influences thinking on fire.

Little need for land clearance and direct human needs. If used – for modification of landscape to favor particular foods and resources – plants and animals; deer and browse, mast foods, etc.

Weeds, weedy spp.

LT – reinforce oak dominance, berries and open foods.

So impress on land is light = subtle.

Seasonal sites – openings for shelters.

Trails

Plant collection – alter rel. abundance

Plant introductions and plantings – mast trees?

Management? Selective removal, planting – e.g. trees – understory?

Hunting – selective removal – food other products; any estimates? Removal of competitors, predators.



Critical - humans major predator of many animals. Insights for the rest of New England, people major determinant of wildlife – no mammal predators.

#2 Contact – Period of huge transition; rapid change cultural, biophysical, resources, physical access, also climatic; conflict – Native-European, Native-Native.

Hemlock Decline/Oak Decline questions

How did this alter – climate, environment, vegetation, and how did humans respond? Multiple impacts. And did people play any role in this? Periods of transition – represent opportunity for new behaviors; provides challenges; provide new range of spp. abundance and distribution.

Climate – warmer, longer season, milder winters and climate droughts and stress; change in freshwater abundance; drop in groundwater interacting with sea level rise, stream flow; influence on spp. abundance.

Freshwater impacts – Stream flow changes, lake level changes – lead to spp. changes; alternating wetlands.

Wetland formation – availability of new resources – plants and wildlife. New habitat, big change in spp. abundance. Whole new resource -- terrestrial.

Ponds/lakes – not much value relative to wetlands. Wetlands new in region – semi-permanent but dynamic.

Upland Vegetation

Shift Hemlock not Martha's Vineyard – oak, pine, etc.

More favorable for wildlife; food for e.g. deer and turkey and people; plus more game for humans.

Shift Oak – beech – less clear, mast for mast, but much less undergrowth. People didn't manage against beech – difficult to burn (litter)? Suggest not able to manage with fire? Beech more inimical to people?

But also – long transition – succession. Young forest to mature forest conditions – 250 years? More open land? Weeds and open land plants due to temperature and drought, thinner forests? People could have (but didn't?) Prolong this?

Opportunity for Natives to manipulate the land - in transition plus more vulnerable.

What kind of wildlife response?

Interaction - climate change x sea level.

Does this effectively, interior to coastal, represent a substantial change for Indians? Does the island life lend to a substantial change on a 100 mi<sup>2</sup> island? Do they become more coastal dependant? Do they interact less? More?

Major question – Indian periods

- Island response
- 5K response
- Horticulture?

But two substantial changes occurring simultaneously. Island x 5K?

Contact - Timeline? Pilgrims, Mayhew, Christiantown, King Phillip's War – Lengthy period.

Norse, Gosnold, Champlain, others – without records through Mayhew – arbitrary.

Colonial dominance – integration, assimilation, minority role.

Context – Coastal Region – exchange, interaction, shared environments. Need coastal region through time.

Sea level. Once was all unified and geared toward a very different coast.

Use that and Martha's Vineyard coast change to describe periods.

Banks map – Period 2 Poe. No (??) Also Champaign or Brereton (?)

Historic maps- Christiantown, Cheppy, (??) and description.

### Contact

Darvinstown  
Museum  
ME

Coastal ME - Penaquid region, Possible Spanish or Basque seasonal traders + fishermen early-mid 16th c

Polyglot pre 1620 community - inter tribal warfare 1607-1617; thus pandemic  
Eng Str + trade after 1550      Competition + fur trade Nicotian

Ethnohistory of NA communities - radically altered <sup>before</sup> by 1600

Spies 2001 - maize mid-15th c; Indian corn - component of basic economy central coastal ME

John Cabot 1497 - discovered N America - Sponsored Henry VIII

Sebastian Cabot 1509 - " Hudson R.,

Verrazano - imp cartography ME + Gomez 1525

Cartier St Lawrence River 1534

Vest Fisheries - St Lawrence + coast Nfld, Labrador.

#### Secrecy of voyages:

Bristol fishermen fishermen - no records

Horizon 1560 > 30 boats from Saint Hds + Cancal  
1578 50 Eng, 150 Fruch + Breton, 100 Spanish in  
Nfld

Chevet - 300 boats 1586 No records

1607 Fort Popham - Mouth of Kennebec

Muscogus Island (Louds Is.) - home of Samoyet - Wampanoac Indians  
greeted Pilgrims at Plymouth 1621

May ME fishy communities 1607 →

Gosnold 1602 / Weymouth 1605 - Indians spoke broken Eng + Basque <sup>shellap</sup>  
Eng

VSE

Champlain 1604, 1605

Martin Pring 1603, 1606

Gosnold 1602 - likes accounted coastline Micmac traders

Releigh Gilbert 1607-08

John Smith 1614

Gosnold May 14 1602 - ME near Casco Bay; Savage Rock - Cape Neddick

Indians in Basque Shallop

Cultybant - 3 wks builds fortified house

Left June 17 - around Gas Head - No-Mans-fowl + anchored

Pring June 2 1603 - went into Gulf (Mass Bay) that Gosnold missed

Plymouth + sassafras

Wm Bradford "They found his [Squanto] place to be 40. mile from here, the soyle good, and the people not many, being dead and abundance wasted in the late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute three yeares before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them dyed, they not being able to burie ~~the~~ one another; their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above the ground, where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectacle to behold."

↙ external  
↘ MV Bk  
Citation

Anonymous. Undated.

Wampanoag Way -

undated

An Aquinnah Cultural Trail. A Map and brochure produced by Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah), Aquinnah, MA

3000 people at encounter in 1500s

Wamp - several tribes incl. Aquinnah + Mashpee CC

Now - 901 members 300 on MV

477 ac ancestral land - much set aside for common use/bowls

Celebrations - Cranberry Day, Legends of Moshup Pageant

Self-gov't, language taught originally in Moshup's cellar hole on cliffs - now Boyer's fill

Cranberry Day - most imp holiday - was held in Lobsterville where bogs found; cranberries → New Bedford

2nd Tues Oct - lunch around open fire

W Tribe - Beverly Wright chair

Berta Welch Pres. Ag Cult Ctr

Indian District designated Nashoquitac Pd to Cliffs - 3 tribal <sup>overseers</sup>

1870 District → town of Gay Head - Mass Gen Ct - despite great objections - ID common lands taken by state + divided into private parcels. Some common land

3 town-elected selectmen - tribal members

1987 - after two petitions - federal act. of tribe - partial

1998 - town name officially changed - by state leg. <sup>restitution for mequitas</sup>

Govern - Tribal Council - chair, vice, sec, treas, 7 members - all del

Chief + Medicine Men - traditional members of TC - life time

27 affordable housing units - 3 stores + shellfish hatchery

Events - MV, Mashpee + Plimoth Plantation

Moshup Trail - 1958

Henry Cooke - 19th chg - Meenish to

1890 - Pavilion on GH see site

Scrub Pd to scrub

Wetu = wigwam - dome-shaped made of cedar saplings  
set in ground, built together, fastened w/ vines + inner bark  
rope covered w/ bark or reed mats

Fallow - yearly meets to decide when to plant + when to turn  
livestock

N, S + E Pastures - common pastures

Middl, South + Old East - grazing + divided by wells m<sup>2</sup>

Hog Pasture, Middl Pasture, Filly Pasture - (best feed for  
livestock)

N Past - cranberry bogs - wiped out 1938

Menomish - old part of Agumish - if Men Creek marched

Wastocoms Rock + Middl Line - sep Wamp from Myshew property

Middl Line - straight line Wask → Mv Pd

Now - sep Chil + W Tis

Wamp - among first Harvard scholars - Caleb Cheeshahteumuck

grad 1665 + Joel ~~the~~ Hiacoomes (Hiacoomes) - killed in ACP

shipwreck before grad - Father <sup>was</sup> Hiacoome - 1st native

convert 1643 - helped Thos Myshew convert others

went on to be pastor

Sachem Pabkehpunnassoo - Chippy objected - nearly killed

by lightning bolt so converted

Katame = maiden - walked into sea w/ lover - other tribe

Christiatom - 1659 - 155 mi set aside for converts;

Alleys - tribally owned

&gt;2500 sites

DD 2009

Wellsfleet  
Indian Neck Ossuary CC - all ages + sexes - reflects entire pop'nremarkably healthy "little evidence of disease-related pathology + no unusual evidence of trauma" low incid. caries; hrd wear + chipped - not <sup>sever</sup> badFew diffe over time; site re-use; remarkable continuity of site use over time  
stable human adaptation over 1000s of yrs SWE + NY Coast

More sedwt than expect in LA, Less LW

LA + LW - same wide activities

Geog variation - more plants LI Sed; more fish NY, ACK, BI; more shell NY <sup>By New</sup>

No ↑ sedwt w/ maize

No use periods

McMahon CC - dispersed patterns of wigwams + cornfields - N Salt Pd,  
Coast Guard Beach, S Salt Pd

DD

Pop ↑ better weaning nuts, cheepod, <sup>pottery</sup> soapstone + wood ↑ female fert + specin  
clim-k amelioration pop'n ↑ 500 BP

Ritche - less attractive - exposed to sea

more perm sites - not due corn; few S coastal sites - not breached

Pop'n trend  
MW ↑ Sedwt, shellfish, LW larger middws

No large multicom sites in interior - short term

predictive models - drainage not soil texture

Kettle pits - low sensitivity

sandy soils on terraces, knolls, fields "wherever well drained, elevated + level soils are located in proximity to existing wetlands or poorly drained depressions"

Paleo - 1 fluted / 4 unfluted pts - local collectors; EA - few pts - Aq, VH, DB

MA - >25 sites; Aq, Men Pd, C/WT line; shell middw, Lagoon, Norton, TGP <sup>Earliest</sup>

LA may more; pop'n ↑; ↑ generalized use; swamps, streams; tidal; 3 distinct cult'wals; MW - 2113

small shell cap; +10 MV Pts, Norton shell midd; expedient tools All coastal pds

7 interior find spots

EW - fewer sites; poss ↓ pop'n but confusion as artifacts continue



CRM Chilmark - Glt

Governor Site - 72 pts; 21 features; 6 post molds, 3 shell midds - close above Men. Pd

E Pashin site - adj. w/ sim artifacts, midds MA, LA, LW

Squib Ridge 5000yr

Herring Co - LA ->

Adjoining Allw from LA-LW - Mill Br esters Chilmark Pd

Lucy Vincent Beach - 130 post molds, 31 pits, 2 burials; some similarities to Squib cliff

WTishung - all avocational  
less excavation as less developed + less work; <sup>Cell</sup> Tower + account - nothing

17 precontact around Top + Mill Br; Tisaguum Pt, Blackash Rd - inds moved to Xiantown

Best site - when Tisaguum + Mill Br esters 2nd E with Town Cove - both possible poles, def LA-LW

T/OB - 6 Tachmoo, Lagoon, Vlt, Serge Pt + Duarte

Huntington - Lagoon + Bass Co - Lag Head - LA -> LW

Ritchie - Vincent 300 yds - W of Bass Co. - deer, health hen, turkey

Pratt - dunes forest protection - mounds no pottery

Cunningham - 2 16' circ structures

E - 235 ac. V across Golf Develop. Project - no sites - interior

Littl Pt. Derr + Meint - 2 2500' areas - nothing

Quote - discussion - eels, pond, bog etc. + 2nd Q - almost every area has evidence

12-29-10 (2)

Woodlark - ceramic vessels, hort, new pts, ↑ coastal use, mag shell middles

EW - 18 sites

MW - more common sites; ↑ sedw, ↑ pop'n, social complex, ↑ regional trade, prolific ceramics

LW large complex villages elsewhere - NE model - extended family groups  
Large shell middens

1642 - M<sub>2</sub>LW 1500-2000

Horablower Harry + Ralph - Summer resid, avocational excavations

W side MW Pd - family property Squib Ridge

H+C 2000

Chap + Kat 8000 yrs

MV more prehist resources than any other section SNE + Denis Ind late

1652 Thos Daggett + Wm Weeks Whole Culture for the year

1653 voted that drift whisks would be "cut out freely, four men at a time, and four at another and so every whole, beginning at east end of town"

Drift whisk industry flourished in 17th + early 18th c.

"Cultural deposits have been identified in virtually every portion of Chappa"

Felix Neck MA → LW

# Pre-Historic Human History

## Map of sites and regional divisions

Mulholland et al.  
1998  
Chilmark

unusually high freq of prehistoric sites

well or excessive drainage near water - highly suitable; < 300m FW or 75m coast

MW 2000-1000; LW 1000-400 ybp LW incl. larger villages

Tisbury Gr Pd in E + W part of town; sampling bias along coast

MW - large semi-perm to yr round settl. 1st large shell middens; local cultigens <sup>95 sites Cape + Is.</sup>

LW - hort corn + beans; occ. imp but widespread; more evid of perm settlement

or used most of yr; not due to corn but ↑ pop'n, conflict; hunt/getb/fish <sup>144 sites C+I</sup>

Eur contacts - 15<sup>th</sup> C It, Port, Fr explorers

MV - 4 sachemships - Chapp, Gay, Nunne, Takem Nan - 2

semi-sedwary horticulturists - late sprb to culum along coast in dispersed group

Gosnold 1602 - Brexton indicates evidence of previous Eur contact - goods + furs

1500 (Ritchie) to 3500 (Cook) pop'n ↓ 1616-17 w/ plague or hep

Harlock area - Parrot Mill Br - no sites Prospect Hill / Roars Br - 1

1959  
Mulholland et al.  
WTisbury

Brackish cover - periodic incursion across barrier beach - impairs shellfish

5 sites near 7 Gate

↙ high potential in WT

Few sites on coves E of Tisbury Gr Pd; Long Cove + Witches need breaching

perhaps seldom breached - so not healthy shellfish + no alkali

Probably many more sites than record - as little development

Herbst et al.  
2000  
Edg

highest sensitivity - wetland margins - Great Pd, Kdamc Bay, Chap Is.

Woodland - most prevalent sites, esp near large salt ponds on S coast

MW t/o SNE - ↑ sedentism, pop'n, shellfish, trade; LW larger shell middens, extended

family groups; coastal sites - found thru development/erosion; interior - plow

Nunnepeg = "fresh pond" prob. Edg Gr Pd - perhaps few hundred people

Herbster + Chew

Chappy - Substantial yr round pop'n, small special purpose camps + work areas to large village-like multi-family habitatio.

Great Pd 4 sites but underdocumented as limited access; ponds rich + fingers between heavily used

Kotame - 4 sites on bluffs

Plains - one large site around Little Pd

MAS area + Edg Center rich + important

# Notes for EC Chapter

3-24-05

Strog 1997

Social changes w/in and among Native groups underwent huge changes with contact - so much that is described may be artifact.

Tribal system developed + changed w/ contact in response to pressure

from Eur, opportunities etc., resist accomodate; construct near ports  
Eur arbitrarily imposed names

inter group alliances + more pop'n  
under individ leader  
loose groups → confed

Ceci - sedentary + hort on LI only after Eur; contraction of hunt + gather.

lack of structure, no emergent leaders

Mortuary customs change late 1500s

LI - extensive trade network to NS + PA

hort - corn, beans, squash - little impact on LI until Eur settle, destroyed rich source of native foods etc.; no massive A

Eur observation - take w/ caution

- little understanding of landscape or culture
- own agenda for reports
- need to justify taking of land
- gain profit or attention by bragging

No LI evidence of villages w/ 600 people no fortified villages 20-200 wigwam 10-15'  
long house 20x60'  
few in LI

Champlain - one of few veridical based on 1st-hand knowledge

corn fields, long houses + wigwams - poss not literal

LI - small amt corn - suppl ment

When Eng destroyed corn - thought it would decimate Indians - didn't

Cabot - Nfld 1497; 1500 - Portugese kidnap 50; Eng 1502 -

Verrazano - NY harbor 4-17-1524 Narr Bay 1524

1525 - Narr Bay - Spanish kidnap 58 - near Newport → Spai - slaves

Basque - mid 1500s 900 in summer at Red Hook, one of 10 ports

Dutch - may have had Camp on LI before 1600

George Weymouth - 5 Ind → Englad

Before Eur settle - traditional stone industry nearly abandoned  
nearly all metal - arrowheads, knives, h-tobels - utility of goods, number of Eur trips + contacts + efficacy of trade

Hudson 1609 - Hudson 1st contact w/ Algonquians, Sandy Hook, NJ  
NY Bay, Albany

Dutch estab post - lower Manhattan 1615

Block - 1616 1st acc. map of LI

1614 Albany - United New Netherland Co.

By 1540 Eur emphasis had switched from fish to fur

Defeat of Pequod's 1636-38 left power vacuum

LI - 1st epidemic - 1633

Snow + Lanphear  
1988

Josselyn 1663 - 1630s pop'n from 30,000 to 300 disease

1616 - MA Yellow fever, trichinosis or bubonic plague

→ 1633 smallpox - first to move inland

→ Pop'n estimates of decline

Doolittle 2004

No archaeal evidence or ethnographic parallels for slash + burn, shifting cult  
or swidden; many refs to slash, burn + shift - not together

Perm cult - no stumps etc. slash + burn only w/ axes

Champ 1606 - Gloucester - slash, burn + plant; fallow

abandoned fields refs - due to disease

Winthrop - resty fields

Wm Wood - fields in crops for 10 yrs R Wms - Indian term for field without

Aband fields log to reforest, developed into grass not sprts, large fields, <sup>stump</sup> no

Floodplains - not uplands; only into uplands when forced by Eur.

Treskov 1992

~4000 BP - slowing of sea level rise - allowed estuaries + salt marshes to develop

BI - Verrazano - forested + well populated 1st island

1636 John Endicott to reverse Oldham murder - destroyed 60 wigwams  
+ 200 ac. corn

Chilton '99

LW - radical  $\Delta$  lifestyle - large semi-perm villages, maize hort, extensive  
trade network all visible

maize - non event  $\rightarrow$  intensive use, range of opinion

Coast - intensive maize only with or just before contact;  $\uparrow$  w/ trade  
basic SNE pop'n unit = village few 100s

Luedtke 1988

appearance of maize  $\neq$  reliance on farming

historical docs consistent w/ no nucleated pattern - "town" used loosely

Russell

1603 Martin Pring 6 wks in Plymouth loading sasaparilla.

Pease + Beans w/ natives.  $\leq$  1 ac gardens w/ vegs, tobacco.

1604 Champlain Plymouth, Chatham, Nauset - Nauset 500-600

1614 John Smith Cape Cod  $\rightarrow$  Penobscot Bay 40 villages

1619 Capt Thomas Dermer vacant plantations

Winthrop cult fields - Middletown, Wethersfield, Hatfield, Enfield, Windsor  
Suffield, Agawam, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, White Deer,  
Northfield, Vernon, Newbury,

Block 500-600

Russell 60,000 MA, RI, CT, NH

75 total

Ritcher 1965

S shore Fds less attractive than N shore as open to sea  
flimsy dwelling mounds 2-3" 7-8" deep  
tall forest - v. diff. structurally than today - sim comp.  
deer + shell fish

1500, 1501, 1502 contact w/ Corte Reals

no specific, discrete or uniform. Coastal Culture

Pett + Sass

95% fire - human lightning fires rare

corn ag rel. more imp along coast

burning → mosaic of forests + fields in succ. stages

shifting patterns of settlement + subsistence

hunting areas modified by fire

some meadows + parklike due to fire - cleared +  
opened major areas in river valleys

Fire - most advantageous to stationary land user (Croson)  
agriculturalists

~~gone~~ charcoal is SE coast - prob. intensive LV practices

Carlson et al. 1992

broad spectrum hunt, fish, gather; seasonally mobile settl pattern

popns dispersed w/ few large settl until contact

16thc many transient contacts - could have brought disease

1616-19 90% mort in SNE; most localized

1585-Carter

Roger Wms 1638 letter to J Winthrop - 4 epidemics in  
16thc to Narragansett

Cook 1976

Exclude ME (v. diff) + VT (little info + few people CTE to Champ)

James Mooney - 5 states - 22,000; LI + NY E of Hudson + S Albany - 12,000

Box on his calc. - family 4.6, village 100-250, wigwam, long house etc.



Doolittle 1992

Not tree slash + burn; milps - Champ 1605 Boston Bay "there were also several fields entirely uncultivated, the land being allowed to remain fallow. When they wished to plant it, they set fire to the weeds, and then work it over with their wooden spades". Weeds not trees cleared; Champ - plant among stumps then remove. complete clearings, long cult + large fields  
intercrop + rotate w/ beans can compensate for manure

Thorbahn 1988

semiperm w/ hort few villages, many sites

Villages

1. diff to find 2. destroyed by Eur 3. didn't exist - no agric-based economy until 17th c  
Ceci 1980 Villages - post-contact

Bragdon 1996

Tripartite model of settl interconnected by interregional network of trade  
1st writing + pictures - from time of great Δ - ↑ pop'n conc.; Ceci trading response

Docs + Archaeo data - differ

before contact - more mobile + egalitarian

Pequot War 1636-39 dnf

Early 17th c - info more ethno + Euro, less archaeol. - pop'n losses - confusion w/ ethnic boundaries, succession, politics, economics v. diff to do good ethno

Winslow 1595-1655: most complete + one of earliest descriptions; sympathetic but

Analysis of early writers

Different writers cover different people Box?

Eur eyes deceived - native hort, fish, hunt - less obvious impact - land viewed as <sup>underused</sup>

Gookin pre-epi 72K (Snow acids 8000 Pocumtuck: 13000-25K w/ WotAur)

1650 - 10% w/ highest conc on MV, Narr, coastal CT, RI

ecp social pattern

1640 - 18,500 Euro.

→ N, River w/ hort, Coast - 3 distinct ecol. regions

Q - ① reliance on maize hort ② nature of settl ③ level of sociopolitical integration

Coast - linked, small-scale sedentary societies w/ complex sociopolit integration developing prior to widespread reliance on maize; conditional sedentism based on marine + estuarine

simple chieftains cycling thru periods of greater/lesser complexity 500-1000; increase in political centralization before Eur contact due to pop'n increase, ↑ reliance maize, wampum trade dev, ↑ infl of Hopewellian style + grad filtering in of Eur trade goods since (1000) 1500

Brady cont

Ethnohist model - seasonal mobility - summer scat near coast + winters in conc. comm inland spring fall - fish + hunt small groups

X

NA maize ag - huge impact on Eur as all told to evaluate fertility led to assume that farming a central subsistence activity

Thorbahn - only mid + low CRV - evi. for village based subsist

Will the Eastham

B - stable social groups < 200 occupied estuaries much of yr - not vill; Boston, Cape, Mass B.,

ACK - lithic - no evi substant use

fully committed to hort by 1300

1st Round w/ perm maize - Morgan Site, Rocky Hill (1170-1370); Meadow Rd site

Farmington R; Bark Wigwam site; Springfield VT; buida Farm, Palms + Agawam

Maize at 40 SNE sites

arrival = non-event

> 1300 AD - dispersed individ farmsteads + widespread maize ~~evi.~~ doc. by Champlain

use children to guard fields; worms, weed, animals, fish feed

St Lawrence area - 12th + 13th C Eur goods - Greenland + Labrador?

landscape - visible signs of social + cultural mgt; burn, nut plant

coast - naturalized impacts systematic + extensive - pop'n dens + ecological interp

coast - 1500 ac cleared for farms + hunt per comm.

Brendremer '93

regional patterns - sites → regional system

site type (McBride '84, '92): task-specific camp (10-100 m<sup>2</sup>); temp camp (100-500 m<sup>2</sup>)

seasonal camp (750-2000 m<sup>2</sup>), village (3-10,000 m<sup>2</sup>) - artifacts, seasonal activity

large political alliances - post contact; lithic evi of pre-contact warfare

pop'n - Willoughby 1935 - 24,000; Russell 1980 - 75,000; Cronon 70-100,000

decline 55% (Snow 1980), 75% (Cook 1973) ~ stable economies for 2000 yrs before contact

Lower CRV salt marshes + estuaries ~ 2500 BP

Chenopod - most abundant seed

Beans - 8 sites Cucurb - 3

↑ maize independ of Eur

Maize prehist

13 CT, 12 coastal + E NY, 9 MA  
2 N NY, 2 VT, 2 NH, 1 ME

Denevan '92 NE, Midwest + S "Agricultural clearing and burning had converted much of the forest into successional (fallow) ground and into semi-permanent grassy openings (meadows, barrens, plains, glades, savannas and prairies)"

Starna '90 Pequots - E LI + New London N to CT + Thames R watershed to border RI  
10-20 house small vill dispersed + shifting no large intal site  
1616-19 disease not W of Narr so not to Peg after war 1000  
1633 small pox 55-95% smart 13,000 before contact 1636 ~ 3000  
Morton 1637 plague quot

McBride '90 Mash Peg - only hilltop forts - all other sites undefensible  
Roger Wms - Pegs estab new corn fields on LI + poss fishers in prep for war +  
anticip of other fields destruct by Euro

Dunn '93 1614 Squanto kidnaped at Patuxet (Plymouth) by Capt Thos of Smith's fleet  
w/26 other natives → Spain → ? → Eng; Lived near London → Nfld  
back to Plymouth Eng w/ Thos Dermer

Chilton '00 revolutionery effect of Eur Society on Native Soc - not resolved  
KB Tripartite Model - refreshing after dichotomous Coast/In but still too coery <sup>srcs</sup>

Chilton et al '00 cite Cronon + Whitney on NA impact - circularity  
No evid yr round hort villeg in W MA

Vaughan 1965 - After 1605 most voyages brought Indians to NE as guide:  
1602 - Bart Goenold Breerton 1605 James Rosier - complete acct  
1607 ME colon at Sagadahoc George Popham  
1608 Capt Edward Harlow - captured natives around MV  
1614 Thos Hunt - 24 Indu

Pagoulatos '88 R Wms - traditional source of info but 1630s - system already drastically changed by epi, wampum + fur trade

Bernstein 1993 Narr B.g. - sig. disturb of pre-contact landscape  
↑ Amber etc. ~1100 BP <sup>Bernabo</sup> ↓ harbor Thorbahn + Cor 1985 ↑ open fields

Dincauze '80 Need to know LW/contact - land tenure, utilization, pop'n structure + size

'90 LW "Farmer's Period" 1000-250 BP  
- LA-5.5-3

4700-2300 BP richest arch period; nuts, hickory etc.; ↓ mobility, ↑ pop'n  
larger pop'n + communities; more localized; ↑ trade

1000 amelior climate; warmer winters + longer grow season

crops - dietary suppl - no dramatic Δ

Eur settl - coincide w/ deterior climate. Don't accept Eng + Dutch narratives on hort + reliance as representative of earlier times or hostilities

Resist attempt to read archaeol record in terms of hist record - few of latter + extreme biases

- lack of understanding
- transform in social + enviro conds - disease
- major realignment of political, economic, religious realms

"History and especially prehistory is not given to us - we must earn it by diligent, imaginative, respectful and honest inquiry into the remains available to us"

Little '88 Dunford - sealevel rise stabilized ~3800 BP - allowed barrier beaches, estuaries + embayments to develop

1997

Dunford + O'Brien

Black, deep mold soils - Wm Bradford; good soils disappear Indians grew 10K sheep Barnstable Co late 1600s

Early Cape housing - pine floorboards + wainscoting 2-3' wide  
W Barns church Oct 16<sup>59</sup> x 48'

1998

Mulholland et al.

Wampanoags - E Algonquians - ~21-24,000 1650 - ↓ 10%

Breton/Gosnold - Eur contact: Eur goods + furs trading evidence

MV pop'n 1500 (Ritchie) to 3500 (Cook)

Ceci '80

response LI to contact - larger sites, ↑ # seasons or yr round, forts, wampum, sites for trade + wampum (whetstone + hard clam)

Emily

Russell '83

DeJ 1953 - cautioned - only burnings in places inhabited by Indians

Roger Wms - only mentions accidental fires

Johnson - thick woods @ Plymouth; some burnings - "in open areas"

Wood + Morton - inconsistent; only near settl

few 1<sup>st</sup> hand accts fire; mostly in brass

Salwen '78

deer pass 90% of mammal meat SCI

Hudson - brief visit to Cape 1609

1614 - John Smith

Brasser '78

Norse Greenlanders cont to acquire timber from Labrador coast → 1547

1497 - John Cabot claimed Nfld for Eng

1501 - 2nd trip Gaspar Corte-Real - 57 Ind to Port; Indians

had sword + earrings left by Cabot

centered on Nfld Barb

1530 - fishing labor to Nov Scot - Eng, Bretons, Normans, Basque, Port

1550 - 30 Fr ships annually

- 1578 - 50 Eng, 150 Fr, 100 Spanish fishermen down NE coast
- 1575 - dry fish Nfld - Lib
- 1579 - fur trade
- 1520 - Spanish slave hunter raids SC - 150 Ind shipped to W Indies  
maps NE → FL0
- 1524 - Verr.
- 1525 - Estevan Gomes - capt 50 Ind NE → Spain
- 1604 - Fr trade Saint Croix ME
- 1607 - 120 Eng settlers + 2 Weymouth Inds - Kennebec; settle failed; 1st Ind met spoke some fr.
- 1607 J Smith at Ches Bay - met Indians w/ hatchets + cloth, received overland prezium from Fr traders to N
- 1609 Hudson Dutch trading oper. as far E as Narr Bay
- 1614 7 Nauset kids - Thos H<sup>1</sup> + 20 Pawtucket incl. Squanto  
Lack of sig contact before 1580  
Fur trade great Δ annual cycle
- 1610 VA natives had abandoned stone industry - thos. of iron hatchets
- 1643 NE ♂ still using shell + wood hoes

Day '53 large tracts of undisturbed forest

<sup>194</sup>  
Haviland + Power Dutch obtaining furs in Hudson by 1612 CRV- 1614

## Face of NE on Contact

- Jaffee 1999 Edward Johnson 1656 - First history of NE "A History of NE or The Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Savior in NE"  
"... remote, rocky, barren, bushy, wild-woody wilderness, a receptacle for Lions, Wolves, Bears, Foxes, Raccoons, Bays, Beavers, Otters, and all kinds of wild creatures... a place that never afforded the Natives better than [sic] the flesh of a few wild creatures and parch't Indian corn inch't out with Chestnuts and bitter Acorns..."
- Strong 1977 No rush to adopt Ag as efficient use of Enviro  
Take Eur obs w/ caution - little understanding NA culture; own agenda; need to justify taking land  
Champlain maps - poss. not literal
- Denevan 1992 "cumulative impacts of 15,000 yrs growth"  
16<sup>th</sup> C NA - 'humanized' - forest struc + comp; grasslands created; wildlife disrupted; locally severe erosion; roads, fields, settlements  
Environ recovery after depop - less obvious impact 1750 than 1500  
Ind ≠ benign  
ENA - much of forest into succ. growth + semi-perm openings; wide spaced trees  
Pristine, virgin, wilderness, empty = invention 19<sup>th</sup> C romantics + primitive writers
- Treaskov 1992 BI - Verraz found it forested + well-populated
- Dunford + O'Brien 1977 Good soil's disappeared; early w/ clearing + sheep; Early houses - pine boards; + wainscot 2-3' wide W Barns church - 16<sup>th</sup> x 48'
- Chilton

## Living in the land - Not Managers or Farmers

Strong '97 "Forest efficient" economic system

E Russell '83  
- large tracts undist forest  
Dog '53 - only burn in places occupied by Inds; R Wms - only accidental  
Sires: few 1st hand acts - most in grass

Silwen '78 deer poss 90% of mammal meat S CI



## Rejection of Agricultural Myth

- Chenopod + maize mobile farmer - pre-adapted LW Ind for transformation w/ <sup>Contact</sup>
- Maize residues - John Hart; maize present for 1000+ yrs - but not adopted so integrated into H-G-Collector lifestyle

Donahue 2004

Incls maintained most forest - climate would favor W spp.

Corn, beans, squash - up to 6530 calories; longhouses

Indian master key = fire : waterway, wetland, meadow, swamp, hort land, pine land

Fuelwood - 15-30 cobs/family; 20 bu corn/family

Cantwell + Wallin

Ag critical issue as tied to enduring image of primeval landscape

"Nevertheless, the one thing for which there is no clear <sup>arch</sup> evidence is full-scale farming. This is troubling because so much of conventional wisdom argues for a necessary link between the adoption of maize agric and the development of a sedentary village life." "B. of along the coast, there is remarkably

little evidence for a transition on maize, beans and squash and usually little evidence for large villages" Dinc - separate Ag + <sup>sedentary</sup> cultural complexity +

May have shifted to move on coast to take advantage of new trading oppo<sup>Eur</sup>

Critical - enduring images of primeval landscape

LW - more careful burials near settlements + 6x6' pits

Bone isotopes - C3 plants - upper range poss. limited maize - good teeth

Perm comm ≠ Ag reliance Breaks fwd. myth

Benefits of hort ≠ sufficiently impressive to make assum burden of intensive form inland groups diff - no major

1998

Hutchinson et al

Maize - minimal SFA before contact; gen ↑ 800-1000AD; Coastal GA ↑ ~1100 AD ↑ contact

"deficient lysine + tryptophan - + causes ↓ bioavail- b. l. h FE

Strong 1997

Perm settl. doesn't imply Ag

"Corn, beans and squash, the three sisters so important to the Iroquois, never made much of an impact on LI until after the Eur settlements destroyed the rich sources of natural foods, medicines and supplies." "Natives made such efficient use of the enviro that there was no rush to change from the old ways when plant domestication was introduced"

LI settlements = 20-30 people, random wigwam array never 500+ people

Denevan 1992 Pyne  $\approx$  1982 "the virgin forest was not encountered in the 16th + 17th C; it was invaded in the late eighteenth and nineteenth C!"

R. J. H. '69 flimsy dwellings of mat or bark-covered poles 2 1/2 - 3" diam  
diet dom by deer - clams, oysters, bay scallops

Carlson et al. 192 Broad spectrum - hunt, fish, gather - seasonally mobile, dispersed  
1993 Marginal - no villages, lived in woods  
Iroq have dominated hist + effno sense as Alg disappeared; dull vs Iro fighting, archaeol

DDinc. 1990 - By Eur settl - LIA - so can't accept Eng + Dutch narratives describe hort  
Centering = 1993 + cult crops as representative of previous times; new relationships  $\rightarrow$  new activities + hostilities  
Resist really archaeol record as historical record

Mulholland et al. 1998 - LW  $\uparrow$  perm settl + peopl + conflict - not due to As

Doolittle 2004 - "No evidence swindw/follow/shifting; one cleared - perm.  
v. difficult to create fields so maintained them

Demeritt 1991 "for the most part, it would seem prehistoric peoples chose clams over corn"

Ruberfort 2001 R Williams only saw new, artificial, not all eggs + birds

Marchant 1989 SE land - 1505-1675 - 65% total - grain; 10 animal + bird

10- fish + shellfish 8 nuts + legumes  
corn-bean-squash covered intricate Polyculture - high succ. Inbr

dependent diversified

DD - prevailing view Dincuze 1990, Snow 1980, Brown + Brown 1991

Herb + Brown '02 GH - more interior sites as more weathers + pds  
tributary stream

EM - fewer sites; NW ↓ sedent ↓ pop'n, social complexity, regional trade

LW other regions - assemblage into large complex village

Shell middens up to 1/2 m from seafloor

Habitat + environment to coast, short-term infra

H+C 2000 MW - more private resources than as off section of SNE

Drift which industry flourished into early later

Disease - zoonotic bacterial

EC 2002 - some archaics - dependent relationship farming, sedent + social complexity

Regions - exemplars LW highly no culture

> AD 1200 persisted - initial warfare villages > 100 houses

NE Sedent paved way for hort, not agr - few longhouses; loose political structure

had knowledge + tech to be sedent farming; flexible, egalitarian,

Mishra/Hely - Archaics - high E, some

Kirt/Peterson - high alkaloids, low protein  
deer, deer, turkeys, complex

Johnson 1995 - 65-85% daily food = HG  
Vere - cornfields + mil

Nann 2005 Widespread HG by AD 1000; polycultures common by 1600

Widespread land - native spp exploit as ↓ Indian;

Edwards notion of New World - due to explosion after ↓ Indians

Indurkhat Ear creation; old ecological regime collapsed

Ear created wilderness clustered lands + ecosystems to coastal

- ↑ trade network > 2500 site
- Duroseau ↑ MA to LA peak, ↓ E+MW, ↑ LW; flexible sedentism = strategy
- Byers+Johnson 22 shell heaps around Men + Squirrels
- DD Sedent = continuum of mobility groups of sites on MV extended community  
 LA+LW periods social + technological Δ, burial ceremonialism, expanding lithic + storage tech  
 flex sedes - groups of camps thru year  
 Continuity in short-term sites stable human adaptation over 1000s of yrs  
 Use dates not periods NE+NW hold together  
 LI Appel → storage, Anker Wk crop, Giza.
- Morgan 1999 NE not mentioned - pre-Columbian architecture Lower Miss, Fla, Ok Valley, Tenn
- Herb + Cher '00 choppy - substantial 3rd row pop'n ↓ grows season T
- Guernsey Wiggwags to 1817 ↑ risk consecutive crop failure Coastal ME  
 1730-1829 - 21 days 1830-1990 16
- Demeritt '91 Maize only after disease etc; LIA impact; uncertainty Std Agr. grows season  
 Adopt Agr - would need Δ site
- Strong '97 Eng destroyed corn - No impact  
 LI. No forts, no large village
- Patt + Sars Shiffin Cult
- Vaughan 1965 after 1605 most brought Ind guides  
 No evidence wild food use ↓ w/ maize arrival
- Diocaux '90 resist temptation to read archae record in relation to attached - major trends Forward
- Dunford's O'Brien 190 2-3' floor bdr
- De Pasieres Corn "a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up or it does not thrive"
- Gosnold 1602 Inds brought fur to trade
- Hart longhouse - 100 pits Eur docs + comparison to Iro led to Ag emphasis  
 most emphasize cultural change;  
 Remarkable lack of lithic variation over 6000 yrs; NO good appl's Iro to MS
- Bernskin LA nuts v. Imp 46/52 oak 18/52, Just 8/52 Corjles 7/52 chest O
- EC Pine Hill - Wigwam overlap, seasonal
- Calloway '90 1607-15 MicMac + E Abenaki fought for residential position in trading Nova Scotia to MS  
 1609 Champ joined Montagnais, Algonquians against Hokaik - protect fur trade
- Thomas '90 Bennet - maize 50-60% calories ~300lbs/person; 400 people - 80-100 ac fields  
 w/ fallow 330-530 ac → 990-2220 if unprod. relocation - explains spaces  
 in CRV "maize must be considered the primary staple food of the Iroquois Indians  
 from 1st Sept to N3"
- SNE 200,000 - 300,000 ac. under cult over 50 yrs

Verr. "They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require? this is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats and they have other houses prepared at hand"

Weinstein 1994 Carbo rich nuts → butters, creams, meals, oil, suet

Block CTR Fort. Villages may be due to Iroq raids

No trauma/death precontact

Bourque 1995 after 4500 - rapid cooling ↓ sword fish

Champlain 1604 "grass pastured by oxen and cows which ~~the~~ Portuguese carried there more than sixty years ago" lack of sub Rumor?

Largay et al. 2002 - Lucy Vincent may be Guernsey site A - couldn't find not contact 2 Algonk + 1 Mohawk Iro

Chilton 1996 PhD - CTV people maintained fluid + mutable subsistence, ethical + social relationships dept had access to same info + technology shared info w/ Iroquois. Not less advanced / No large this united polity Fluid + mutable Active Agents of Social Change

Sturtevant + Quinn 1989 1567 - 1st Esquimo Strait Belle Isle to Netherlands

Chilton 2010 Chenopod, Knotweed, sumpweed - No evidence domesticated until after Eur col. "No evid for sed. sur-rowed farming vill in NE" "no evid. for labor maize land"

Breidinger '92 Cultural + environ continuity; little maize; little evid for precontact warfare, defensible locations; pits w/ sunflower, Chenopod + nuts

Peterson/Lewis 2002 - fullblown regional transform w/ AS - most sig event in Northeast - diff to find sites 1000-1200 - ext adopt of corn-beans - ag

Hart + Means 2002 - S Ont rural vill by 8th longhouse 15th NE - none

Cartwell + Wall '01 NE is "dreary and uninteresting" Convictional wisdom - link maize Ag + Solut

Capece 2001 "...a substantial proportion of MV was open at this time" More subtle

Chilton '99 MA - much greater poltly diversity than Iro - due to small groups

Don't look for data to fit NE to model

Engelbrecht '03 Lots of Iro info - maize < 50%; moved villages 15-20/15; log house

No eyewitness accs devoid of Eur infamy - 100 yrs 1684 - lots of material

R Wms - vast wilderness spaces interspersed with settlement

Zellawson DD - BI Fort Island - first fort village

East Hill - Mystic - MeB

DD Truro - Corn Hill - no precontact site

Do Humboldt declines + LW stand out as anomalous?

Munoz Key cultural transitions, human pop'n + climate-driven changes terr ecosystems  
changes well-defined - insolation, ice sheet, ocean-atmos circ, E border - T + precip  
Subsistence + pop'n size LA/LW - period rapid pop'n growth  
Every transition except LW = climate + veg  
Resource base + carrying capacity - wild food dependence  
8.2 Low Ice Sheet collapse Δ moisture; S.S dry + moist  
↓ A → W grad hot cools ↑ lake level, deep snow + winter precip  
Uncorr - LW - maize

Cantwell + Wall 01 Cooking starch, seed plants - wearing gloves ↑ pop'n; LW ↑ storage pits size  
250 systems for daily calories - characterized as "a marginal, culturally retarded" society  
Dincauze '90 Pioneer etc. LW-farmer foldgood system - "resist temptation to read arch record in  
47-2300 ritual period arch - huts, ↓ mobility, ↑ R ↑ Pop, amel climate, ↑ storage pit  
3000 ↓ climate, ↑ trade, ↓ pop'n; why? ↓ shell fish? snow?  
1000 - climate amel, warmer winter, bgr grow season

199 Kagam + Kagam LA - start pop'n ↑ ↑ moist

Pagoulatous '88 R Wms - traditional source on native customs but late 1630s - after dramatic As  
to native systems - epidemics, weapons, hostilities, fur trade

Denevan '92 Pristine myth  
Quick - much of forest - suc + semi-perm grassy openings

Chilloe/D D LVincant - 130 post mortals + 31 pits

DBF How + why would Inds clear something large?

~~Salwen 1993 - Deer 90% meat consumed 867~~

Luedtke '88 Appearance of maize ≠ reliance on A<sub>1</sub> - Eng changed As fields didn't erode beds  
Strong 1997

Leci May impacts of Eur Contact - ↑ trade, conflict, formal tribes, movement, sedentism, fertility

Richter 2001 villages, disease, ↓ areas, ↑ forts + conc villages

Did coast represent a distinct cultural region

Day 1362 Hope of finding Inds completely unaffected by Eur trade goods - fruitless

Ceci '90

1539 Pierre Crignon sailed 800 km S of Cape Breton to Norumbega  
land discovered by Verr

Hudson 1609 - upper Hudson - evidence of brass etc., competition - trade

1613-14 Man. overwinter 10,000 furs 3 Dutch boats

Hart '99

Indigenous - not domest?  
Cucurbita pepo ME 5695EP PA 5400

King 1000-1200 AD rel. warm/dry as ↑ W flow; 1250-1700 cool 1°  
↓ frost freq ↑ competition for sites

Climate - Popn ↑ from warm; low conflict for resources

Ohio - maize AD 425; heavy reliance after 1000 corn E Ag Complex  
squash, beans, sun, tobacco

WVA after 1000 70% 1050 80% 1275 ↑ health probs

Many palisaded sites up above R valleys where corn grows; large storage bins

attached to house; lots of maize, gourd cobs etc. at mag sites  
debris

↑ stress after 1200 AD?

C PA consistent maize remains 7-1000 maize v. imp initially sacred  
into 425 bis ↑ 1000

Hart

Roundtop

Nice longhouse outline; 30x100m 100+ pits; beans 400 yrs after maize

Bernstein

Mississippian - rel. stable coastal economy long estab pattern

BI, LI, FI - FI 27 prehist sites v. small; ↑ # + size to LW

No native cultigens

Coastal Alg - no sig consump maize before 1524

At all maize sites - much other material - esp. Hick 46/52 oak 18/52 Jugl 8/52 Com 7/52

Chwapod - may have been most imp maize - symbol

George + Dewar

No evid for Chwapod Δ in CT like midcont but much used

Brewer

broad-based life Δ may ↑ CTR maize by 14th C as fewer resources; not staple

Archaic conc maize CRV; marginal-coast - large sedent villages

large non-hort sedent villages rich marine + estuarine R-system large pop  
Coast fish + shellfish - low risk resources; avail all yr except freeze

larger more sedent despite poorer soils

Chilton

Little evidence - plowing fields, gardens, large pits

Dichot unhelpful coast/inland; need specifically % consump.

Bennet '55 65% diet - from time of extensive trade; Pynchon calendar - substantial trade  
Thomas 1979

Cites Cronon on landscape mgmt

Hemlock - threshold w/ multiple

"We have yet to carry out the research that will tell us whether or not the enviro Arcs are prime movers re the shift of settlement at Subarctic"

Chilton '99

Invisibility of villages due to mobility, No large semi-perm settlements dispersed w/in homeland; Individual + community dispersion

Mobility - strategy to maintain enviro diversity + socio-pol. fluidity - depopulation  
20 x 1.5m pits w/ maize

Pine Hill - one of largest LW occup - small overlapping wigwams - seasonal encamp

Ceramics - support diverse diet + no maize specializ. more diverse than Iro

Almquist-J + Say

↓ hem ↑ beech-rich Nfld; more P for game animals; mult ↓ hemlock

6400, 6000 w/ pine ↑ fire spread 2000

Asch-Sidell

butternut 64% fat + 25% protein RD 22/62

M. Archaic → acorn ubiq; butternut, beech, hazel

1605-75

65% grain; 10 animal; 4 veg/fruit; 8 nuts/legums; 9 shellfish; 1 egg

Snow 1980

Periods; Economic subsystems - social, technological, ideological

By time of Champlain - St. J R already altered N - perm villages

Nahawia - kidnapped by Weymouth 1605 - returned next yr w/ Martin Pring

Stredwarza - returned w/ Gilbert + Popham 1607

Squanto - learned fish salt in Eur or Nfld rapid Δ; lower carrying capacity for game

Tundra - optimal for H-G; large pop'n ↓ P maximum discontinuity Iro → EA

Social connections - gift exchange + reciprocity forest highly favorable - deer, turkey

Fluxes T° + Precip - may have been imp. Most forest Archaic

Climate - winter survival + wildlife carrying capacity 6-3700 O, C, Be, Hi

Extensive trade network "the last six c of prehistory appear to have been a period of generally peaceful growth + prosperity"

Q? → system Ag like Hudson single cultural form

NE can only be understood in context of NY as NE poorly understood + people from V

"Taken together, it all suggests that in the period aboriginal NE was marginal to the mainstream of pre-history in the East"

"Funk regards the condition of the teeth to have been abnormally good for an

Indian population; further evidence that they still maintained a diverse diet"

Ag sites + villages destroyed - "The most unfortunate aspect - large central village sites all at places favored by Eur ↑"

Contrast w/ Iro - peaceful, no fort, dispersed, less hort

"There is no Q about the importance of hort in the Late Prehistoric period of SNE corn - Ritchie corn ↑ pr"



Timeline - how to improve

2nd timeline - MWP → WSTO

Tuck 1984

Maritimes - <sup>unc why</sup> ↑ 5KBP; 3500 BP ↓ water T° Gulf of ME, ↓ swordfish  
prehistoric flows smoothly despite appearance of breaks  
Water T° ↓ - Sauger due to ↑ sea-level, cold water into Gulf of ME 3.5K  
Some reversion bulky clay pots to leather, birch bark, woven containers  
Cult occ just before Eur arrival - haphazard operation between fishing  
and gathering No evid Ag; sig A just before contact

in Commission '97  
Haldor + Goland

OH RV - 4-600 for maize to take hold to add sig to subsistence  
sharp decline world-wide in forager health rel. to H-G; as ↑ pop'm ↓ #crops  
H-G affluent, E efficient, low E vs Ag - preconception Ag seized on  
"Why besides externally imposed necessity would foragers give up a secure  
comfortable means of production for the uncertainty and drudgery of  
Agriculture?"

Gardner "

7 hickory trees/person/yr 10 km radius 4 m lbs acorns 1/2 m lid  
shell, leach, pound 2 hrs, 4 hrs leach 1/2 hr cook; parch on hot stones ↓ fuel  
thin trees ↑ P; compete with animals 995 w/o  
1x1m pit 22 bu hickory - 40 lbs/bu 35% edible - 300 lbs 680 acorns  
Easy to transport ↑ thick MA w/ ↑ climate + hick ↑ nuts ↓ failure  
End of Hups - ↑ most failures ↑ conflict interreg alliances  
Hickory - not fire adapted so unmanage otherwise

Loren 2008

contact - ongoing process; influencing already dynamic cultures; entanglement  
of culture; creolization; not acculturation, not passive or unilateral  
artificial divide pre-post exchange  
historic sources - all Eur perspective for Eur consump; readily consumed also maps  
art; archaeo v. difficult: use to fill holes of archaeo interp of material  
Archaeo - democratizes, quotidian, most <sup>bias to</sup> common  
Gifts + exchange - from diplomacy → economic  
Inog - extensive movement of goods before contact

Village lands organized along a single watershed

Cronon - Distinction S vs N Ind as imp as Ind v Eur; DEF - moving to industrial <sup>pre-Eur</sup>

DEF - LA critical - Hittc arrival; bowl + processing technology; storage pits

Hemlock, Oak & flourish of mast mast + weed - pre-adapt foreorn

Scenes change - actors with flexible toolkits adapt + Pop'n Aes

No dichotomy - native vs non-native <sup>periodic expansion/contraction</sup>

Staron - Pequot village = 10-20 wigwams → consolidation <sup>70</sup> Fort Hill Mystic

McManamon 1987 Archaeology of CC. NAPS Cult Res Mt Surv 17

Timeline Wm Pynchon acct book (John) 1645 Corn calendar

Wilbur 1996 "Long before the first white settlers came to NE shores intertribal wars were tearing apart the very fabric of Algonquin life"

Ceci 1990 Real dichot history vs archaeology; assumption 17th C sources "natural

state"; assume sedent = maize true Owasco + Iroq; Iro - wapum supply

w/Dutch; LI - no prehist pits or cribs

Long houses "fixed places of abode and dwellings built with beams

in the form of an oven... sufficient for several families" <sup>Samson 1703</sup> Delaetin

vs "temporary huts or shawks", "small movable tents" Vander Donck

post mold differences No forts prehistory all = camps

Substrate model - Ag imp economic model → villages, ↑ pop'n, ↑ social complexity

shellfish calorically impossible

Iroq - high yield area Hudson 1609 upper Hudson - Storage houses beans/corn

and earthenware, or it does not thrive"

DeBasiere 1628 "a strain to which much labor must be given with weeding

Feldmann 2002 Deer will take large % sward acorn

Vaughan " Bear feed high in tops oaks #1 preferred bulk up is 6/11

## Useful / General

62-85%

91-98% faunal remains famib needed 7 hides/yr

Engelbrecht '03 Iroquois - deer most imp meat source in diet; beaver, passenger pigeon

wild plants more imp than records indicate

farming - never replaced hunting, fishing, gathering

maize < 50%; isotopes; ↑ caries - carbs; corn boiled in ash; lysine + niacin <sup>to metabolize</sup>

longhouse - up to 400' x 15-20'; 255 posts; posts ↑ size over time

moved villages every 15 to 30 yrs

model - 200 people could live indefinitely in 1 place - went far for fuelwood

Eur trade goods - small amounts appear after 1525 - iron adze, spikes, copper

early material from StL or Basque? Late 1500s reg trade w/ French

100 yr between arrival Eur goods + contact - No eye-witness accounts of

culture devoid of Eur goods materials 1634 aburd. material

1595-1605 black woman in cemetery - up Susq?

Strong 1997 Pits - lined Androger - mold resistant or bark incl hemlock

Mullinetal et al 99 Christiantown/Indian Hill wif - no prehistoric sites

W Tibsburg - highest potential - TGPd Shellfish Prod ↑ by occ. breach

Coves - paucity of prehist sites - seldom breached - few shellfish, no alewife runs

perhaps sampling - no development

Blacic 2002 Climate A - too gradual to precipitate abrupt cultural recon figs. "In the future it may be poss. to link climatic to cult + archaeo change"

Long dist exchange Nfid/Havikm/Lib - NNE

Rainey 2010 ACK Wiswam - semi-spher; 10-60' diam; built sapl, tied, woven mats, skins

Verz, Champ, Hudson, Gookin, Wood, Joss, Williams

Arch - local/seasonal <sup>artifact</sup> ~~arch~~ collect.; Members Mass Arch Soc; Univ field school,

Nauitz Assoc; CRM - 60 since 80s

Quidnet site - Little 66 7-10cm post 22 in 4.75 m arc, may pair

Relocation regularly; not stable; one site center ridge pole; footprint

unchanged over thousands of yrs

Little + Andrews 2010 <sup>1982 orig pub</sup> Drift whels - The kindness of Moshup - <sup>d St Crv.</sup> "fond of sea expert mariners"

Dutch + Eng Whelk Fishy - 13th Biscogaw or Baskwes

No whels S Del <sup>reported</sup> before 1750; Eng settl - Indians did not know how to whelk or  
could strand whels in embayments

Bassett 1792 <sup>MV</sup> "Moshup, their legendary whelkman, was kind to them, by sending  
whelks etc. ashore to them to eat"

Drift whels - numerous enough, never went to see <sup>today - but less abnd</sup> 1/yr 13 tons

Laws regulate drift whels - ACK 1673 all to Inds more possessive whelk than Ind

1620 - Ind cut whels into rauds Wms "the Natives cut them out in several  
parallels, and give and send farre & neare for an acceptable price or deal"

No drift records - Salem, ME, ENJ, So F Del

Rt whelk distr. drift → along shore → pelagic <sup>no sint</sup> temperate, slow, rich oil

Alongshore + pelagic whelk culture up to 1829 - parallel drift whelk distrib. - not

mercaublk; fishy parts - Phil, Boats, NY, Sohm - ACK, N Bed, Soj Hubs

Ind MV, ACK, CC, LI - long rock growth Am Whelk

Supply Rt whelk + labor pool Ind w/ maritime aptitude + interest in whels

SENE + ELI, poss Del B<sub>2</sub> - more Rt than any other E Coast So F Gulf St L

Bamerit 1991 - <sup>SE exp.</sup> Soils - well drained - warm, dry in spring, <sup>- gurgly, ↓ inertia</sup> ↓ path & fungi; hillside + near lake to min <sup>fast</sup>

entered

C.C. Mann. 2005. 1491

Neolithic Revolution - invasion of farming - cannot be overstated  
reinvented by N Americans

NE - ecological crazy quilt - wet meadow forests, shellfish studded tidal  
estuaries, highland woods, mossy boggy cranberries + orchids,  
sawtooths, fireweed stalks of PA

"tremendous variety even within the compass of a few miles"  
Cronon

Widespread Ag by AD 1000 distinct mix farm + forage  
big variation w/in region

Hole for chimney - not surprising as just coming into use in Britain  
most houses - central roof holes

Defensive palisades - common by Tisquantum's era

1501 - ME Gaspar Corte Reals - ~~the~~ abducted 50 Inds,  
2 with broken sword + 2 silver rings from Venice

Verrazano, Morfon - people beautiful stature, no pox scars

Squanto prob saw Fring, Champlain + d Smith

Hunt kidnap Squanto + 19; stopped at Cod kidnapped 7 Nauset  
Malaga - taken by pirates; got to London, stayed w John Stany,  
shipbuilder w/ Nfld investments; 5 Nfld w/ Dermot to ME  
thru back to England, Back to ME, thru MA  
200 x 40 mi ceme'tery hepatitis A

diets allied against them

Back to S.M.E., walked back to MA telow as captive to Massasoit

Widowed land - native spp exploded as Indian imprints lessened

Passenger pigeon - competitor to Indians

Ind - hunted deer, turkey, pigeon - to remove competition for acorns also raccoons

Pass pigeon exploded after Indians - not evident in archaeo sites

Edenic nature of New World - due to explosion after ↓ Indians - largely an inadvertent Eur. creation

The ecological ancient regime collapsed

Destroyed NA + ecosystems they had created

Dark forest of HDT something they never saw

Europeans created wilderness

Cronon - Changes - no wilderness for thousands of years in NE

But should build for the future, not recreate the past. Gardening for future

Table - Add

Overview - Basic Chronology of Periods

all entered ↓

Jaffee 1999	Portable round houses 14-16'; left frames behind; rolled + carried mats
Cantwell + Wall '01	Clay cooking + storage pots - cook starchy seed plants - weaning gruels, allowed earlier weaning + ↑ pop'n MA - shell middens 250 oyster for daily calories LA - sea level 60'; Transitional - before clay - stoneware 4000 - mudflakes during E+MW - clay pots, ↑ pop'n; LW - T Tethered to Land - farming LW - large storage pits + trash pits 6x6'; curbed burials; heavy ceramic <sup>more permanent</sup>
Strongs '97	Plant domestic, ↑ sedn, ↑ trade network, new pottery + projectile pits - feel good system, popular terminology
Dincauze '90	Paleoindian = Pioneers 12-10K no direct evidence hunt/eat elephants EA = Late Pio - 10-8 9K - max summer T° w/colder winters MA - Early Settlers 8-5.25 4.7-2.8 LA Developed 5.5-2 Richest archaeol. per.; EW/LW Late Settles 3-1 3-2 ↓ pop'n - unknown; related to shellfish? LW Farmer's Per. 1-.25 snow 2000 ↓ oysters - T°?
	4700-2300 - richest arch period; nuts v imp - protein/fat; hickory, acorns; ↓ mobility ↑ resources ↑ pop'n; ↑ Ames. climate, warmer winters + longer Q <sup>Q = season</sup> more trade, more localized; storage pits appear; ↑ ceramic <sup>↑ ceremonial</sup> ↓ climate? 3000 ↑ trade + exchange esp to W; ↓ upland sites - larger coastal; ceramics > soapst 1000 - climate amel; warmer winters; longer grow; maize - not dramatic; dieting supp stpl <sup>not economic</sup>
Litke 1988	3800 BP - sea level stabilized - allowed barrier beaches, estuaries + embayments
Keegan/Keegan '99	~ Every CT site - duv Paleo (E Jones) 18 sites 2 rigorously excavated; every site - duv LA - great ↑ pop'n, ↑ mast food TA (2.5-2.0) - soapstone; EW final pit 3.6-2.5



All  
entered ✓

New England as Backwater Archaeologically Ignored

Morgan 1999

Book on PreColumbian Architecture in NA - examples from Lower + Upper

Miss, Fla, Ohio Valley, Tenn, Appalachian + Piedmont - nothing NE

Appendix of Comparable Sites - Piazza San Marco St Peter's Sq  
Stonehenge, Giza, Acropolis, Angkor Wat

Cartwell + Wall 2012

NE "dreary and uninteresting" DDinc - "a marginal, culturally retarded  
outlier in the Eastern U.S."

1998

MacQuarrie

EC - 1st HV NE Arch - 100 yrs

## Archaeo Figures + Tables to Include

Table Shellfish from Ritchie - just incorporate % in text as example of how many species drawn from + idea of preference

Table Vertebrate - Ritchie Use #s in text - example of diversity of spp, overwhelming abundance of deer - frequency, # bones + #/% of animals

Ritchie or other excavation - showing overlapping post molds + features?

Table - Indian Periods: include climate

Paleo EA/MA/LA EW/MW/LW C

Lithic Workshop + Tool Hunting Hort Shellfish Fishing Plant Gathering

Deana Maps (2) Sites by period (3) Activity Hort vs tools vs Meat etc.

(1) Seasonality of Use - short-term, seasonal, sedentary

Table - North American Explorers and Contacts with Indians.

from "Atlas of North American Indians" Indians and Explorers

Whole strandings - Drift Whales - From Betty Little

\* Map of ethnohistoric locations - all shaded the same

"Moshup went awa nobody knows whither. He had no conversation with the Indians, but was kind to them, by sending whales, Ec. ashore to them to eat."

Figure - Oldale + O'Hara curve - sea level vs periods

see other side

Deena → E Chilton talk Figs

Seasonality LA vs LW LW more sedentary but only 11%

LW shared sites - Only 6% unshared + 71% shared with LA

LA vs LW Seasonal Activity - identical except 7% hant in LW

LW Seasonal vs Short Term - Great difference much more than LA vs LW  
and short-term may favor the seasonal

Poss - Core sites

Synthetic Diagram

Through Time

Sea-level change

Ratio of Land to water in Coastal Zone

Lake level (moisture index)

Temperature

NA sites

Major Taxa Spruce - Pine - Oak - Beech - Grass

Changes!

edits 1-25-11

Maps. Whaling, and drift whales. Alongshore and pelagic whaling ports (1715-1837; from Little and Rainey 2010, modified from Starbuck 1964) and Ethno historic drift whaling locations north of New York. (shade all <sup>the same</sup> areas). Dots on Ack for 1947-1980 locations. Show ports as inset? Get data from Starbuck

Map of maize finds in New England (Chilton and Rainey 2010). Shade area of GDD?

~~Map. Distribution of Paleo sites, fluted points, mammoths and mastadons (Snow 1980)~~

Not for publication

Archaeo sensitivity - All Chappys within 150-250m of coast, within 150m of site. Map all sites (Herbster + Chrau 2000).

shaded by elevation  
Wampanoag Map "Noeps" Place Names Mass Cultural Council  
MCC

Use MCC map consulting Banks

Roads from that map

Show modern place names as listed

Q - what are names Banks used?

Definitions in borders / separate table

Graph/Timeline Nut yield - Ohio white oak, red oak, hickory  
1962-1970 (Nixon et al. 1975)

Figure / Illustration Contrasting Iroquois and Algonquian  
Orleans or other Champlain depiction  
Caughnawaga or other Mohawk/Iroquois depiction  
Ritchie Roundtop excavation 1964 (Ritchie 1978)  
60-80' longhouses  
Ritchie MV site wetu wigwam

8-03-04

Historical Archaeology -


Mass Arch. Services - good strengths thru

Bob Paynter - Post-modern; Marxist  
oppressed people

Oral Histories - Aquinnah  
Linda Coombs

Mashpee

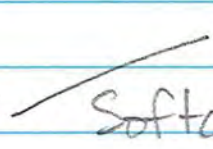
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DD - circularity? 

need certain pop'n size to warrant particular

Generalities

Site Files for the Coast - Each State  
Backyards  
Amateurs etc.

Archaeology of CT  Wm Keegan  
Softcover

Bill Starna - SUNY Oneonta - accts.

David Silverman Princeton; Native Land  
transfer

Algonquin People of LI

## Elizabeth

Deena — Focus on Phase 3 <sup>studies</sup> materials so far

Pulse Late Archaic then decline then pulse to LW  
LA more sites than LW

Rel few changes to LW

Maize 1300-1500 AD

/ Synthesize + re-evaluate conclusions

/ GIS - Archaeol of CT

GIS person + state archaeologist

/ What about no-context materials?

Amateur site files - most of the files

/ Most CRM - Phase 1 + 2

Dutch Archives in NY

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An Agawam fragment. p 98-101

William Pynchon account book - 13 names of month - 2 same month  
important for dialect - only specimens we have  
so 12

Handwriting = son John

Written late 1645

1. When they set Indian corn 5 - corn
2. When women weed their corn
3. When they till Indian corn
4. When squashes ripe + beans edible.  
When Indian corn edible
6. Ye middle between harvest + Indian corn.
7. White frost on grass & green
- 8
- 9 middle work
- 10 sun both strength to them
- 11 ice in river all gone
- 12 catch fish



Checked 10-10

# Look at Malhollat + Donta MV

DD Synthesis

7-14-10

DD SNE-NY Coastal MA, RI, CT, NY > 2000 project areas + sites thru 2005

MHC - Brona Simon State Archaeologist; Cult Res Mgt reports

NPS surveys,

develop

Biblio Etc

Region holds together well - difficult to separate

Prevails view - <sup>1990</sup> Dincavage, <sup>1980</sup> Snow, Evans + Evans 1998

Paleo 12-10 tundra + parkland; hunted projectile pts, scavenged, drills  
+ parkland; hunting, woodwork, food processing; small  
bands, seasonal wandering < 25,000 pop

EA 10-8 Id by projectile point style - drills, choppers, hammerstones, anvil stones  
bifacial celts/adzes; ↑ woodwork + nut processing; continuity - restricted  
seasonal wandering; defined territories; less exotic lithics - ↑ local metal

MA 8-6 Decid forest + still receipt sea level; territories; central-based wandering;  
winter interior, spars migr. fish, summer fishery; ↑ special purpose sites  
celts, gouges, grooved axes; knives + scrapers at celt; local metal  
for canoes, fish, food proc.

LA 6-3 small, numerous encampments; broad estuaries; ↑ fish + ↑ acorn nuts  
Mact-Best; pop. fluctuations - # sites + richness; ↑ stability

Trans Ar - 35-2500; diagnostic pts; steeltank boats; central-based work

E+M 3-2, 2-1 - combined; stabilized sea level; resource-rich estuaries  
base camps; w/ special purpose summer sites - coastal shellfish harvest,  
winter camps - hunting - small streams + ponds

larger sites may have been used year round

Advanced pottery - defined Woodland - storage + cooking easier + more efficient  
↑ outside trade - Ohio Adena + lithics - N, S, W

LW 1000-450; ↑ larger site freq, heads of estuaries; multi resource

Contact 1500-1650: main villages - semi-perm, moved every 12 yrs or so  
seasonal to family farmsteads w/ fields, ↑ wampum, but little other

Terrrestrial, marsh, coastal, pelagic, fresh, salt + brackish

more nucleated LW + Cont:

L00

Diff to identify contact period

MV - studies conc - GH/Chil + Tia/DF "evidence along almost every pond, watercourse, bay and coastal line of native group of MV for thousands of yrs"

Ritchie - forest-adapted hunter to marine-oriented (as ↑ familiarity!)

Reported use - Squib, Nash, Menem, Lagoon - the continuous, yr round

huge shell middens, many cemeteries + small maize fields beginning 12th c

Vineyard Area  
Griff  
Devils

235 ac interior - no archaeo sig resources - varied native habitats

Impacts - shellfish harvest, deer, fish, saplings for wigwams, firwood, clay,

Possible overuse local resources

+ Deer + Mainwawa Barn Project - no cult material - near pond

Regional Diff - Interior LI exploited more than other interior areas

M LI - LA Mt Sinai - appear sedentary - early

Storage features, middens, hearths, post molds

7-12-10

DD - Buzz Bay

Fall River - Wareham + New Bedford

Few prof studies

All Wampanoag = Pokanoket - Mt Hope RI

Heavily affected 1617-19 epidemics (up to 100% in Plymouth area)

Much less in W+S 1632 - smallpox

Contact 4-5500

Drainage = imp core area for Native Settlement - Archaic + Woodial

MA-11 LA-29 EW-15 MW-20 LW-25

DD - CT

By MW semi-sedentary; LW → villages <sup>2.4m 3000 yrs</sup> <sub>3m last 2500</sub>

4000 BP - coast formed 1.2 mm/yr to 3500 BP; .25 mm site

CTR extensive tidal marshes 1500-2000 yrs BP

3000 pop'n before Pequot War <sub>70 villages</sub>

Fortified village - Eur contact - Fort Hill + Mystic Fort

Unfort. villages + smaller encampments

Inter-regional trade networks, semi-set

[DRA post-molds ≠ sedentary]

Shift towards major rivers after LA

DD - Narragansett

Gradual shift - upland forest-adopted habitation Archaic to coastal by, and Archaic + W - formation estuaries

Narr Bay - part of system of rivers → Cont shift through BI Channel

Free from early epidemics ~ 7800 men ~ 20,000

Verrazano 1524 - white open plains 25 to 30 leagues <sup>10000 chow</sup> <sub>season by season</sub> their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation ad

↳ this is easily done, as they have only to take with them their  
meats, and they have other houses prepared at hand:

R. Wms 1642 also

Vast spaces of wilderness interspersed with settled communities

Contact - shift - more to saltwater <sup>markets</sup> ports along coast

by 17th c positioning themselves for extended periods - produce wampum  
+ ↑ trade Pasouletas 1990

BI - No Peko, EA, MA - most Woodland Bellantoni

Fort Island - fortified historic village - year-round + horticultural  
subsistence: hearths, native pottery, copper, glass beads  
maize

Wintthrop description John Endecott - 10 mi overgrown with  
oak brushwood; no good timber 2 plantations 60 wigwam  
200 ac corn

Deep sea wafers, salt + inland wafers, woods Cod

Little evidence in general of year-round residence

LIA impact

-As

DD-ACK

4 total sites to data recovery level of analysis before 6000 BP ACK + MV small hills on west coastal plain moderating climate - warmer winters / cooler summers

Erosion - conc of N sites; loss Sern

Paleo - 12-10 5 fluted pts - no habitation; 10-8 EA-4; 8-6 MA-12; 6-3 LA-5B; 3-2 EW-20  
2+-1 MW-16, LW-2B (1000-450)

No Archaic sites professionally excavated, analyzed, published

Little - sites correlated w/ season due to high wind + directionality  
Winter - S + SE (NW wind + solar); summer - equal distrib.

Potential for site <sup>zones</sup> (1) < 200m (2) 1km of shellfish habitt, (3) hill crests, knolls, cliffs (4) sandy plain

Most complet

As shoreline stabilized 3-2,500 BP - tidal flats, salt marshes + estuarine creek systems formed - shellfish, water fowl

Deer, rabbit, coon, turkey, muskrat, turtle, hazel, history, cod

Wigwam floor Maize 1440-1630; 1495-1670

Luedtke - Field Station. 145 ac - single family campsites + processing area  
wide open area - no physical restriction. Unique to site?

Marginal sites used as land area ↓

Seasonality - plants, fish spp, locati.

Similar stable C + N isotope - lobster, eel + maize

Most info - Plantation <sup>1620-1675</sup> period - 4 sachems; Wampanoag Federation  
~2000-2000 contact ↳ ~300 families

White settler ~1659 so protected from disease

## Archaeo Notes

DD

Cape Cod

MHC - intensive (locational surveys) - by Cultural Resource Mgt archaeologists on lands with known or probable sites; if positive → site examination to determine boundaries, time, eligibility for Nat'l Reg. Historic Plac; data recovery exam (to salvage info)

Cape - some of highest densities in whole cap LW

Palco (12-10) material; MA (8-6k) 1st habitation; LA (6-3) more

sites but still short-term, low density; small mobile

EW (2-2) + MW (2-1) more sedentary popns; larger houses, longer-term more intensive use

Lepanto 1987 - little material Δ LW → contact

But how to differentiate? Are both materials mixing or <sup>cultural</sup> incorporation?

!

Truro - Corn Hill - no precontact material

Wellfleet - Indian Neck Ossuary - large #, range of people - healthy, no trauma, low caries, not ground cereal diet + low infectious disease vs contact

By looking at intensive surveys, site exams, data recovery - id. areas used + not used

M → LW & shellfish W, Sp, Su → W + early Sp (Outer Cape + 1 Inner Cape) may reflect add of hort; or Δ pop'n

LW + C. ↑ pop'n + more nucleated - along estuaries - rel. large pop'n; Nauset Outer Cape ~ 1200 people pre 1616

1600 AD ~ 2100 on Cape 1674 AD ~ 1250 (Cook)

Conc along waterways - use terr, marsh, coastal, pelagic, fresh, salt, brackish

7-16-10

## JD + Archaeo Notes

NPS pubs - McManamon 1989 Arch of CC - NPS (with BoM) Study 17

ACIC - Wigwam site - 1<sup>st</sup> for ACK; also contact site close to pre-cont'd  
+ mix native artifacts, domesticated animals, Eur 18<sup>th</sup> c  
but not interp by arch as historic native site.

From Deeno

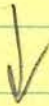


Fig. Coastal site distributions ~~by~~ through time.

Maps from Dina Duranleau of coastal region  
(shaded but with coastline)

Paleo - 12,500 - 10,000 6 panels

Early Archaic 10,000 - 7,500

Middle Archaic 7,500 - 5000

Late Archaic 5,000 - 3000

Early Woodland 3000 - 1500

Middle + Late Woodland 1500 - 450

Graph of #s  
to see trends

Fig. ~~to~~ Archaeological evidence of Indian activity.

Maps from Dina Duranleau.

Lithic Activity (Tool and Workshop)

Hunting

Fishing and Shellfish 6 panels

Plant Gathering

Food Processing

Horticulture

Fig. Indian ~~to~~ site use over time. A single map

from DD's work

L Woodland sites that are also <sup>or any Archaic</sup> Late Archaic sites ~ 71% 124

" " " " overlap with other time periods 40 23

" " " that are unique



Indian  
Consistency of activity through time.

Bar chart. Percentage of LW and Late Archaic sites demonstrating different activity.

Lithic, Fishing, Shellfishing, Storage, Hunting, Burial  
Horticulture.

Maps  
Figure. Temporal distribution of Indian activity in the coastal region. from DD data.

3 panels

Short-term activity

Seasonal

Sedentary

Deena ↑

Munoz Figure

Human period  
Climate phase

Human population, vegetation change,

Temperature, Lake level, Charcoal

Hemlock

Map - Munoz region vs Native Groups

Graph - sea level versus Indian period

- Not w/ of Navu E?

Timeline - Disease 1616 MA - Yellow Fever or bubonic / snow + Lanphuc 1988  
 1623 smallpox  
 Pequot War 1636-39

89 Sturtevant + Quinn	woman + little girl 1566 Eskimos kidnapped by French sailors in Labrador taken to Holland
199 Mulholland et al.	but also less development Few sites on coasts E of TGP as near beaches - perhaps seldom breached
H + C 2000	Chappy - substantial air rowd - village-like multifamily
DD 2003	LW ↑ why? Pottery - gravel nuts, chert, weans / fertility; climate 1000 ↑ native conflict before Eur
MM 1979	Good discussion preservation; acid soils; relates pop'n to sites + artifact diversity to vegetation productivity; pop'n decline 3000; Peak LA the decline the ↑
Guernsey	LV site; Eur families on MV since 1623; Mayhem colony at Edj 1642 Ind: 1642-3000; 1674-1500 1817 Wigwams still at GH Word Chil Pd - 30' high pit 2 3/4' x 4 1/2' deep; scallop shells, charcoal, fish, dog, bird E shore Monem + Nash Pds - "almost uninterrupted evidence of aborig occupation" House rings - Oyster Pd, Men?
Huntington	Lagoon Pd site near Bass Cr - prob perm villg; Hd of Pd - extensive springs
Bragdon	Eur overemph mainly as evaluate fertility
McBride '90	sites undefensible except 1 fort
Dunn 193	at Patawet (Pli) 1614 Squanto kidn. Capt Thos - J Smith's fleet w/ 26 others → Spain / Eng → NH → Pli w/ Thos Denver
Vaughan '65	after 1605 meet brought Inds as guide
Dine '80	1000 Amelior climate; warmer winters; longer grow sea
Russell '83	RWms accidental fires only; Wood + Morton inconsistent + near settl obs most in grass; few 1st hand
Brasler '78	Norse cont to get timber at Labrador 1349
McSnea / Healy 2002	Acorn = manna; 96 verta - critical part of many habitat suitability models
Abrams	Clark + Royall 1980 - Be-Moph → WP-D w/ lro; Abrams - map papers Dkt ↑ fire ↑ Quote - Ind popins ↑, also fire, ↑ oak
Oak 2002	root health outbreaks - few msec. secor. Oak patha - spring defoliation - after tremendous LTD expenditure compromise
Keenig Knops Kirby + Pekros	Moat - intermitt; asynchr among intrapp ↓ ann. variability overall high digest, hgt E, low pop'n Grouse, turk, deer, bear, pigeon, racoon, owl

Linda - Please type + send me the file

*Done  
enacted + also  
saved on S. drive*

## MV Indians - Illustrations

I-1 Fig. ~~Some~~ Map of Plymouth harbor in 1606 by Samuel Champlain depicting scattered Indian wigwams with associated gardens, surrounding woodlands and water depths. <sup>The</sup> Individual wigwams were temporary structures 15-20 feet ~~and~~ in diameter and housing an extended family of 6-20 individuals. The scene likely depicts a seasonal encampment <sup>of numerous family groups</sup> around the productive ~~habitats~~ ~~forest~~ landscape ~~that~~ with access to the stream, estuary, and shellfish beds, woodlands and maritime habitats. ~~The~~ In Champlain's depictions of New England encampments there is no apparent regard for defense.

I-2 Fig. Samuel Champlain's ~~depicting~~ of the joint French and Huron attack on ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> fortified Iroquoian village in ~~the~~ northern New York. The village consists of more than twenty long houses, which ranged from fifty to a few hundred of feet in length and each containing <sup>a</sup> ~~dozens~~ of families or more. The village is positioned in a highly defensible location and surrounded by a substantial multi-layered palisade that afforded protection from fire, arrows and bullets and direct assault. To thwart these defenses the French have constructed a raised battlement that provides cover and perspective.

I-3 ~~Fig.~~ Reconstruction of a ~~the~~ wigwam constructed of overlapping layers of bark over a light frame of poles. The bark, mat or hide covering could be removed and readily transported to another location in order to relocate the encampment.

I-4 ~~Fig.~~ Illustration of an Iroquois longhouse constructed of substantial timbers with internal <sup>supports,</sup> ~~and~~ cross-members and arched roof frame covered by slabs of bark. The substantial, permanent structures included large internal or attached storage areas for food and supplies.

I-5 ~~Fig.~~ Archaeological map for William Ritchie's Cunningham site in Vineyard Haven. Numerous small post molds are scattered in a largely haphazard fashion with <sup>along</sup> ~~the general~~ concentrations of shell and fire-broken stone. Ritchie has sketched the apparent outline of circular wigwams that are approximately 15 feet across.

I-6 ~~Fig.~~ Archaeological map of William's Ritchie's Roundtop site in Union, New York. ~~The~~ depicting post molds, storage pits, other pit features and hearths. The post molds form two or three overlapping outlines of longhouses that are approximately two-hundred feet wide and more than one hundred feet long.

with maize

I-7 ~~Fig.~~ Location of all archaeological sites in New England and New York. The sites broadly lie within the warm and temperate southern and lowlying part of the region. Modified from Chilton and Rainey 2010.

[Add some GDD data?]

I-8 ~~Fig.~~ Modified Munoz et al. Proposed relationship between climate, vegetation, lake levels and ~~human~~ cultural changes during the post-glacial period in the northeastern U.S. ~~The first~~ The population increased rapidly during the Late ~~Glacial~~ Archaic period when ~~dry~~ warm temperatures prevailed and mast-bearing species (oak, hickory, hazel) thrived; it declined during the cool moist Early and Middle Woodland and then rose again in the Late Woodland period with the slight warming through the Medieval Warm Period.

The number of sites in the coastal region from Long Island through Cape Cod parallel the estimated population trends for the Northeast. [Include sea level reconstruction]

I-9 ~~Fig.~~ Distribution of major Indian groups in New England and ~~adj. New York~~ <sup>adjoining areas</sup> ca. 1600 AD. Adopted from Meinig 1986 and Wilbur 1996.

## ~~I-10~~ ~~General notes~~

I-10 Vegetation dynamics around the Crawford Lake Ontario Iroquian site. Associated with the expansion of the <sup>and concentration</sup> ~~ancient~~ population ~~and int.~~, creation of large fortified villages and concentrated deforestation, ~~forest~~ creation for agriculture there are substantial changes in the vegetation and major episodes of grass pollen and maize pollen. ~~The~~ Following European contact these indicators of forest disturbance decline until widespread European settlement, expansive deforestation and increase of many weedy taxa including the non-native *Rumex*.

I-11 ~~Vegetation~~ Vegetation dynamics on Martha's Vineyard depicting no apparent opening of <sup>the</sup> forest landscape before European settlement.

I-12 Map of Martha's Vineyard depicting Wampanoag place names. Modified from the Massachusetts Cultural Council. Definitions for the place names are as follows:

I-13 ~~Local~~ Evidence for the importance of Drift Whales in the New England coast, including:

locations of known drift whales from ethnohistoric sources in the 17th c (Little and — 2010), the location of Drift Whale Rights on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard 1668-1772 [base maps show ACK and MV as in 1600s] and known along-shore and pelagic whaling ports of the U.S. 1715-1839 (from Starbuck 1964).

I-14

Distribution and number of archaeological sites overtime for the New England coastal region. From less than 60 sites through the Middle Archaic the ~~the~~ number peaks in the Late Archaic (463) drops nearly in half through the Early Woodland (251) and then increases substantially in the Late Woodland (908). There are relatively few Contact period sites. Modified from Durandau (2009) and Chilton et al. (2009)

I-15

Examination of the materials from archaeological sites in Coastal New England displays strong tendency for the re-use of sites over time and relatively ~~little~~ modest change in site selection over time. ~~to~~ More than 80% of sites in the Late Woodland period had been <sup>occupied</sup> ~~used~~ previously - approximately 70% of these were used in the Late Archaic period some two to four five thousand years earlier. Modified from ↗  
copy  
from I-14

## Archaeological

I-16

Evidence for Indian activity at New England coastal sites indicates supports the contention that subsistence was based on a broad spectrum of resources from hunting, fishing and collecting and that horticulture played a modest, supplemental role. Modified from

I-17

Across the coastal region of New England the vast majority of archaeological sites include materials and artifacts indicative of short-term or seasonal activity typical of a mobile population based on hunting and gathering. Nonetheless more than 50% <sup>(43%)</sup> sites indicate longer duration of use that were characterized by the somewhat involved or sedentary. The majority of these are clustered right at the coast and on estuaries or coastal ponds and bays.