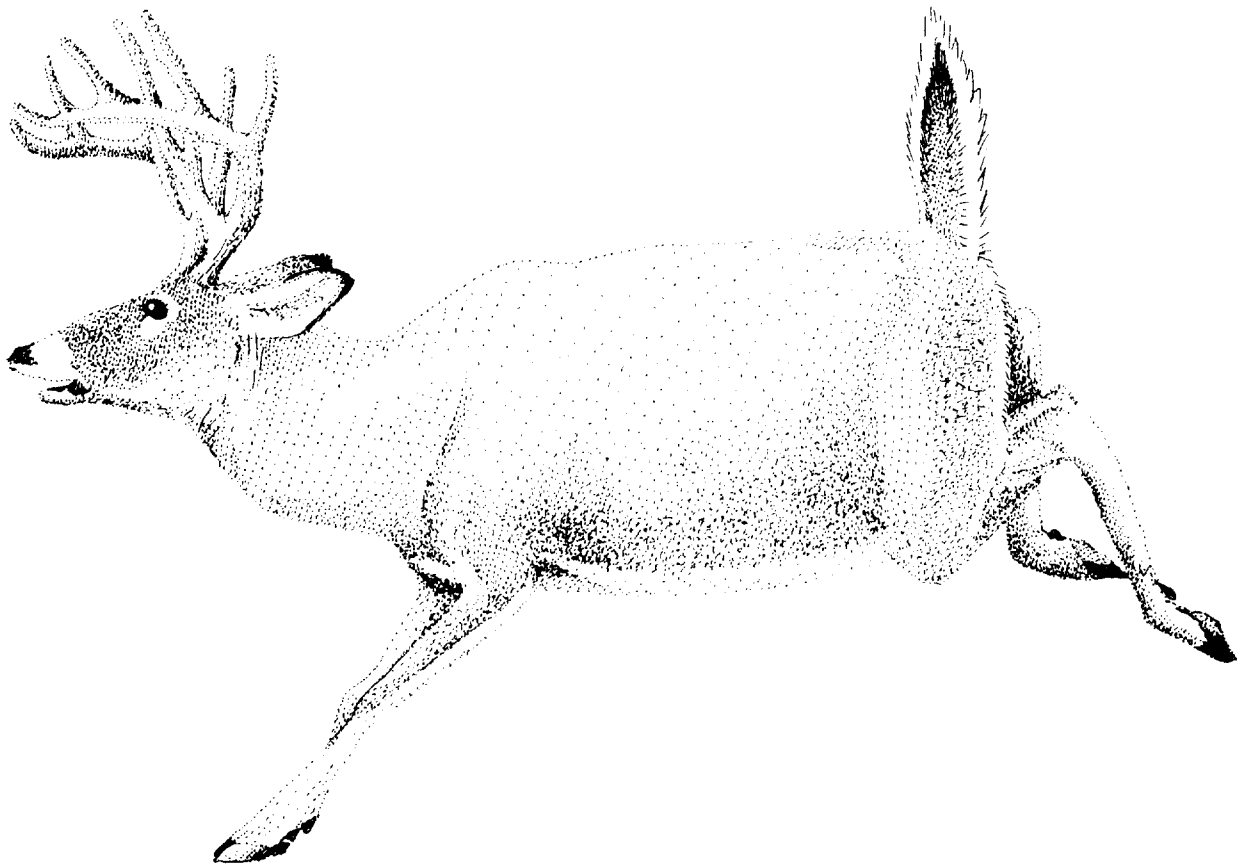
# THE MAINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY INC. BULLETIN



VOLUME 35:2

FALL 1995

## Officers for 1995

President: Darrell Crawford, RFD 2 Box 320, Brewer, Me. 04412; 973-7455; 989-2547

1st V.P.: Richard Doyle, Jr. 61 Ledge Road, Poland Spring, Me 04274; 998-2553

2nd V.P.: Stephen Bicknell, Dept. Of Anthropology, Univ. of Maine, Orono, Me 04469; 581-1890

Secretary: Diane Curewitz, RR 1 Box 2419, Liberty, Me 04949; 845-2952

**Treasurer: Jane Robinson, Box 323, South Harpswell, Me. 04079**

Editor: David Cook, Route 2 Box 1300, Winthrop, Me. 04364, 377-2186

Ass't Editor: Arthur Spiess; Maine Historic Preservation Commission, State House Station 65, Augusta, Maine, 04333; 287-2132

Newletter Editor: John Mosher, 364 Pinkham Brook Rd., Durham, Me. 04222; 353-7207

Immediate Past President: Michael Brigham; Milo Printing Company, Milo, Maine 04463 943-7384

**Trustees and term expiration dates:**

1995
Steven Cox, RFD 1 Box 2240, Litchfield, Me. 04350 268-4061
Leon Cranmer, Maine Historic Preservation Commission, State House Station 65, Augusta, Maine, 04333, 287-2132

1996
Diane Kopec, Abbe Museum, Box 286, Bar Harbor, Me; 288-3519
Eric Lahti; RFD 4, Box 1070, Skowhegan, Maine 04976; 474-5961

1997
Mark Hedden, Box 33, Vienna, Me. 04360 293-2075
Ken Wing, P.O. Box 29, Eustis, Me., 04936 246-2880

**Permanent address**
The Maine Archaeological Society, Inc.
P. O. Box 982
Augusta, Me. 04332-0982

# MAINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY BULLETIN

## CONTENTS

VOLUME 35 NUMBER 2

FALL 1995

# EARLY CONTACT PERIOD CONTEXT

**Arthur E. Spiess**

## INTRODUCTION

*A "Context" is a formal review of what is and is not know about the archaeology of a particular time period or culture to be used in setting standards for eligibility of sites for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Identification, Evaluation and Protection sections discuss archaeological surveys which have addressed the period, the National Register eligibility criteria which seem most logical given what is known about the time period, and any special problems of site protection applicable to the period. The primary review of what is know about the archaeology of the time period is presented under twelve Research Themes, which are used to organize all prehistoric Contexts.*

*Two Contexts have been previously published in the Maine Archaeological Society Bulletin, one for the Paleoindian period and one for the Late Paleoindian period. This Early Contact Period context was drafted originally about four years ago. Since that time several compendia of information on the period have been published, notably Baker et al. editors (1994) and articles in Judd et al. editors (1995). I also recognize that much primary research on the subject, which will undoubtedly change some of our understanding, has been compiled by Bruce Bourque and Edwin Churchill, and is a year or so away from publication as a book.*

## DEFINITIONS AND ETHNICITY

The Early Contact period contest is relevant to Native American archaeological sites which postdate the first influence of European contact in Maine whether from direct contact with Europeans (excluding Norse) or by Native middleman trade from the north or south. The Early Contact period starts arbitrarily about 1500 A.D., with European voyages to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Subsequent addition of European materials to Native material culture were followed by expansions and strains in pre-existing intertribal trade networks, warfare, disease introduced unwittingly by Europeans, social strain and personal tragedy. There were few European voyages into the Gulf of Maine during the 16th century (Bourque and Whitehead 1985), except perhaps by a few Basques (Turgeon 1991). Thus much of the movement of European material goods into the Gulf of Maine was controlled by Souriquois (Micmac) traders with European contacts in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There are hints in the Late Ceramic archaeological record (circa 1200-1400 A.D.), in the intensification of fur trapping and trade in lithic materials and copper, that a Native trade network was "preadapted" and in place when the Europeans arrived (Spiess et al 1983). Sustained European presence in the Gulf of Maine, and with it direct and indirect interference in Native American affairs, began with Samuel de Champlain and George Waymouth, circa 1604-1605.

Coupled with recent significant advances in our understanding of Gulf of Maine Native American ethnicity, to which we shall return below, many archaeologists currently feel that the ethnohistoric record which predates 1675 provides a possible model for understanding the last few centuries of prehistory, and maybe the deeper past. Unfortunately, archaeological components of the Early Contact period are more poorly known than are those of the earlier Ceramic period. Comparison of the ethnohistoric and archaeological record, however, has great potential for a major advance in understanding Maine's Native American heritage.

The last decade has produced an unparalleled advance in our understanding of ethnicity during the Early Contact period (Prins and Bourque 1987, Prins 1988, Bourque 1989, Prins 1990). These authors

The Maine Archaeological Society Bulletin 34:2:1-20 (1995)

have revised a static view of river-valley-centered tribal distribution that had been most recently reiterated circa 1980 (Snow 1978, 1980), ultimately based upon Speck's work (Prins 1988a:204-211; Bourque 1989:257-258). In Prins's and Bourque's work a detailed rereading of primary sources for a variety of European ethnonyms (ethnic group names applied by Europeans), and individual Native Americans' names (mostly sachems, sagamores, or chiefs), provide details on the dynamic nature of ethnic groups. Prins (1988:161-191) documents ethnic plasticity and change as an integral part of the Native American adaptation in the 17th and 18th centuries. Formal adoption of individuals, or of whole groups, incorporated new individuals into an existing ethnic group, including adoption of a son or even adoption of a tribal leader from a different ethnic group (Prins 1988a:175-176). Group amalgamation sometimes occurred more slowly, sometimes forming a third (new) ethnic identity from two antecedent groups of people. This process was reversible for a time, and the new ethnic identity sometimes failed to survive, as in the case of Amesokanti at Farmington Falls (Prins 1988b). Ethnic change of individuals also occurred as a result of marriage rules and residence patterns (Prins 1988a).

The English generally referred to Native Americans by a place or geographic name. French sources were more sensitive to ethnic identity, although they often used a name applied by one group to another: e.g. *Almouchiquois*, a derogatory name for the (probably Abenaki) inhabitants of southern coastal Maine and New Hampshire applied by the Souriquois, supposedly based upon the latter's word for "dog". Similarly, Maliseet means "those who speak badly" (ie. with an accent) as judged by the Micmac (Prins 1988a:163).

Major relocations and amalgamations of ethnic groups in Maine intensified after roughly 1670. Between 1605, when Champlain's account first specifically mentions ethnic groups, and circa 1670, three ethnic groups inhabited the Maine-Maritimes peninsula. From northward to southward these are the Souriquois, Etchemin, and Abenaki. The Souriquois, also in part identified as Tarrantines in some English accounts, are (primarily) the ancestors of the modern Micmac. They inhabited Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and possibly northeastern Aroostook County, Maine (Prins 1988). The other two groups are discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

The Etchemin were the primary ancestors of the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. In the early 17th century, they lived between the tidal portion of the Kennebec River and the St. John drainage. The Etchemin inhabited the mouth of the St. John, at a village named Ouigoudi (Lescarbot 1907/11 2:357), although the Souriqouis used the St. John river valley further inland. The Etchemin inhabited the Penobscot valley. There was a village near the mouth of the Kennebec inhabited by people who were probably Etchemin, although the Abenaki inhabited the Kennebec well above tidewater. (For example, after becoming familiar with the regional geography from the perspective of Quebec after 1608-1610, Champlain refers to the Abenaki living inland on a river that flows to the coast of the Etchemins [Bourque 1989:262 with references]). The Etchemin village near the mouth of the Kennebec may have been on the Sasanoa River, a tidal connection between the Kennebec proper and lower Sheepscot, or on the lower Sheepscot River estuary. Biard (1891:422) clearly describes a short trip though the Sasanoa to Meteourmite's village in 1611, where Almouchiquois were *visitors*. The Almouchiquois inhabited Casco Bay with Marchin as sagamore, although they did not grow crops there (Bourque 1989:263). Champlain visited a major Almouchiquois agricultural village located at the mouth of the Saco in 1605.

In a January 31, 1612 letter, Biard (1891) summarized the ethnic distribution from the viewpoint of Port Royal, Nova Scotia: "To the west and north live the Etheminquois, from the river St. John to the river Pentagoet and even to the river Kinibequi. .... The Armouchquoys occupy vast lands from the river Kinibequi to 40o." (Longitude 40° North is south of New York city, an evident error.)

In 1604 Champlain heard of an agricultural

village located up the Kennebec. In 1629 he refers to upriver inhabitants on the Kennebec as "Abenacquiouit", Abenaki (Bourque 1989:262), with multiple agricultural villages. There is no primary source which equates Almouchiquois, the agricultural people from Casco Bay southward recorded before 1620, with Abenaqui, the agricultural people of the interior Kennebec named first in 1629. It may be that this was one ethnic group, and the French simply dropped use of the "dog" epithet. Other alternatives are possible, including withdrawal southward of the Almouchiquois or depopulation by disease in 1617-1619 (Bourque 1989:263).

Dreuillettes visited a village of unstated ethnic composition in 1647, where there were 15 dwellings located about a league (about 2.5-3 miles) upriver from Cushnoc [Augusta] (Thwaites 1959: 31:189) apparently on the east side of the Kennebec. Prins (personal communication January 1991), however, is of the opinion that this village (a league upriver from Cushnoc) was a temporary, probably multi-ethnic, mission village. Dreuillettes visited a village in the vicinity of Norridgewock, further upriver and probably on the west bank, in 1646 (Prins and Bourque 1987), and along with a visit to Cushnoc, was back again in 1650.

Tracing the Abenaki, sensu stricto, as interior Kennebec agriculturalists into the late 17th and 18th century is problematic, also. Beginning circa 1650, French colonial authors increasingly used the term "Abenaki" to refer to a greater proportion of the Indians in Maine and the Maritimes (Bourque 1989:271). In 1676, Madocawando, sachem at Taconic [Winslow, on the Kennebec] (Bourque 1989:266, with a vignette of his life) moved with most of his followers to Pentagoet (Castine). Beginning in 1681 the term "Caniba" is used to refer to people at Pentagoet and in the Penobscot Valley, and it is made clear in several sources that the Caniba were people who "ordinarily" had resided on the Kennebec (Bourque 1989:267-269). Caniba and Maliseet both used the Penobscot Valley during the 18th century, but where they lived and whether or not the communities were formally multiethnic remains unclear (Bourque 1989:267). Thus, the term Abenaki is generalized gradually to include more and more groups. For example, in 1744, Charlevoix (1870:200-201) states "These were the Abenaquis. ...the portion of the Nation living in the vicinity of the Kennebec were called Canibas. The subsequent necessity of defending themselves against the English and their allies having forced them to unite with the Etchemin or Malecite, living near the Penobscot, and the Micmac or Souriquois... (T)he close union formed between these three nations...have commonly led to include them all under the general name of Abenaqui nations."

For now we assume that Almouchiquois and Abenaki (*sensu stricto*) refer to one ethnic group living west of the Kennebec River. Between 1676 and 1692, for areas east of the Kennebec the term Etchemin was replaced by use of two terms: "Cannabes", referring to expatriots from the Kennebec who moved to the Penobscot, and "Maliseet". Maliseet was originally spelled "marizis" by Cadillac circa 1692, and was used to refer to a people living between the St. John Valley and the Penobscot (Bourque 1989:268).

In 1694, Villebon says: "The Cannabes, the Maliseets and the Micmacs, each have a different language..." (Bourque 1989:268). This statement clearly indicates some level of differentiation between the Cannabes and Maliseets. Moreover, Charlevoix's statement, albeit 50 years later from the long-distance perspective of Quebec, indicates that the Maliseet were thought of as the primary constituents of the older term "Etchemin". The question of what the "Caniba" were called prior to 1676 arises, especially in light of the clear early 17th century extension of the term Etchemin as far west as the (east side of the) mouth of the Kennebec River.

One opinion is that the Caniba were mostly or entirely Abenaki from the interior Kennebec region around Norridgewock (Prins, personal communication, 1991). For reasons presented below, we think this less likely than a second possibility. The second opinion (Bourque, personal communication, 1991) is that the Caniba had been subsumed under the

term Etchemin before 1676, and that the eastern and western Etchemin were much more closely related than either were to the Abenaki/ Almouchiquois or Souriquois/Micmac. This position becomes clearer when one focusses on the Kennebec River as a boundary, and when one traces the biographies of individual Native Americans (Bourque, personal communication 1991). The Kennebec River was apparently an inter-ethnic boundary, as well as the international boundary between New England and Acadia. The people living upstream around present-day Norridgewock lived on the west bank, before they were enticed across the boundary by Father Rasles' construction of "new" Norridgewock circa 1690. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that these west bank people lived in longhouses and grew corn, beans and squash (Cowie and Petersen 1992). We assume that these were the Abenaki. The Etchemin clearly inhabited the east bank of the Kennebec, at least at its mouth. Biographies of individual Caniba clearly indicate identification with the east side of the Kennebec, to as far east as the Pemaquid region along the coast. Madocawando's Caniba were apparently recruited from the east side of the Kennebec River, and they lived at Taconit (Winslow) on the east side of the Kennebec before their move. Madocawando himself was a Maliseet-Etchemin from eastern Maine, the adopted son of Assiminisqua. Assiminisqua is, at one time, identified as living at Wesserunsett (now Skowhegan) on the left (east) bank of the Kennebec (Bourque, pers. comm. 1991).

We end the Early Contact period arbitrarily at 1676, which corresponds with the outbreak of King Phillips War, the move by Madocawando and his people from Taconic to Pentagoet and the inception of the expatriate "Cannabes", expulsion of most white settlers from Maine for a period of 30 years or more, intensified movement by Native American refugee groups, and other drastic changes in Native American ethnic groupings and lifestyle.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION

To date there has not been a systematic attempt to identify specific villages mentioned in the ethnohistoric record with known archaeological sites, or to locate previously unknown archaeological sites of the period from historic records. Discovery of Early Contact period archaeological sites has been fortuitous. Only a few site specific projects have resulted. Sanger (Sanger et al 1983, Callum 1994) salvaged eroding coastal site 16.90 (the "Nahanada" site near Pemaquid) after identification by an amateur archaeologist, Richard Doyle, of pig bones and debitage of European flint in an eroding context. Based upon Rosier's account of Waymouth's 1605 voyage, MHPC staff identified the location as Nahanada's (seasonal?) village and nominated it as such to the National Register of Historic Places (NR 7/22/80, Bradley 1981, Sanger et al 1983). (We have since learned that the main Contact period component at the site dates about 1670, well after Nahanada's passing.) In another project Spiess tested site 17.76 on Allen's Island, attempting to find evidence of Waymouth's 1605 voyage. A Contact period Indian component was identified (NR 12/15/83), stratified above a Middle Woodland component, (Figure 1). The Contact period component at Allen's Island, and another at the Hilton site (26.34, NR 7/13/89, Will and Will 1989) may postdate 1676 and therefore relate to the later contact period. In both cases, European trade goods are mixed with stone working technology, while Allen's Island also preserves Native American ceramic technology (Figure 2). The "Old" site of Norridgewock (Prins and Bourque 1987) has been reported as site 69.11. It has been the subject of intensive-level survey testing (Figure 3) (Cowie and Petersen 1992). The site was listed as a National Historic Landmark on April 12, 1993.

Archaeological visibility of Early Contact period components may be low, especially when they are located congruently with prehistoric occupation. For example, Dreuillettes mentions a village of 15 "great cabins" which in 1646 were located 1 league above Cushnoc. He states that Cushnoc is 16 leagues from the mouth of the Kennebec, and that Norridgewock is 16 leagues further upstream. Cushnoc is near Fort Western in Augusta (Cranmer 1990). These known sites and

distances mean that Dreuillettes' league was between 2.6 and 2.8 miles in length. The downstream end of the first major alluvial river terrace above Augusta is located 2.8 miles upstream from Cushnoc. Archaeological site 38.19 is located on this terrace, which has recently been subject to Phase I archaeological testing, apparently without detecting a Contact period component (Will 1991). The Upper Kennebec Historic Archaeological Survey also failed in 1984 and 1985 (Cranmer, personal communication 1991) to locate the village Dreuillettes visited; it may be under water.

At present, there are a score or so sites with a component assigned to the Early Contact period in Maine. A small sample, as described above, have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

**Figure 1**. Contact period wigwam floor excavated on Allen's Island June 1983. Center of wigwam toward top, with imbricated cobble floor toward center of floor. Cobble floor yielded Contact period artifact assemblage.

## RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE THEMES

### Theme 1, Culture History.

This theme engenders two types of research: (1) ethnohistory (sensu Trigger 1983) and (2) the details of material culture succession in the archaeological record. In contrast with the prehistoric past, there is relatively much information on ethnohistory and relatively little on the details of material culture. The ethnic picture has been discussed above. In this section we discuss the historic record of material culture. Because little archaeological work has been accomplished in Early Contact period archaeological sites, and less is fully reported, there has been no opportunity to compare patterns in the material culture record with the ethnohistoric baseline.

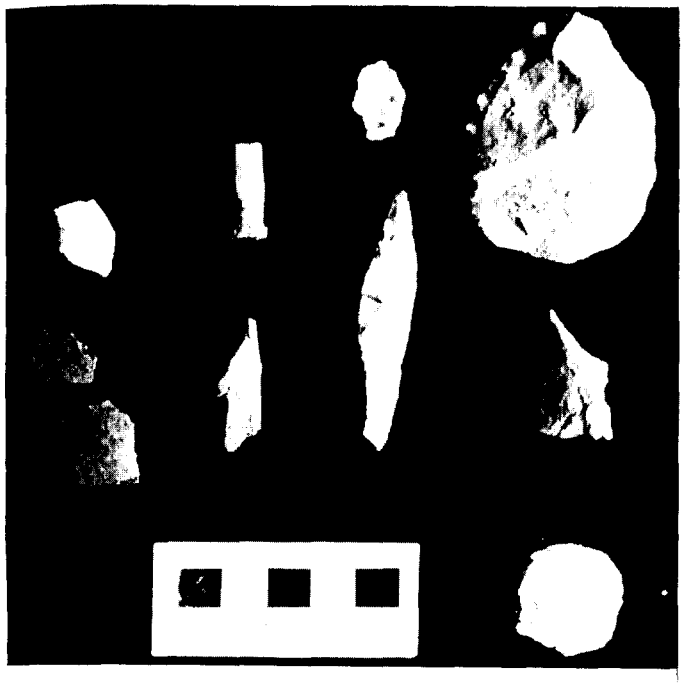


**Figure 2.** Artifacts from the Allen's Island cobble and gravel wigwam floor: upper left, belly-bowl European clay tobacco pipe fragment; lower left, thin and paddled Native American ceramic fragments; second from left, bone tools; right two columns, stone tools.

One aspect of material culture is the personal appearance of Maine's Native American inhabitants. Their personal appearance was modified by decorative hairstyles and paint designs, distinctive clothing styles, and decorative items applied to clothing. Such data are extremely rarely (e.g.: Heckenberger et al. 1990) recovered from the archaeological record. Circa 1583 natives of the Bay of Fundy wrapped themselves with a girdle with ends cut into "little thynn thonges, which thones they tye rownde about them with slender quils of birdes fethers wherof some are as red as if they had byn dyed in cuchanillo "(Quinn 1962:340-341). In 1605 in the St. George River area, Rosier reports that a similar piece of clothing "is decked round about with little round peeces of red Copper" (Burrage 1887: 121). Champlain reported the hairstyle and face paint patterns of the Saco River Indians circa 1605 as follows (Grant 1907: 61)": These savages shave off the hair far up on the head, and wear what remains very long, which they comb and twist behind in various ways very neatly, intertwined with feathers which they attach to the head. They paint their faces black and red, like the other savages which we have seen." Waymouth, in the St. George estuary in 1605 says: "They paint their bodies with blacke, their faces, some with red, some with blacke, and some with blew (Burrage 1887:110), and "with stripes of excellent blew over their upper lips, nose and chin. .... One of them ware a kinde of Coronet about his head, made very cuningly, of a substance like stiffe haire coloured red, broad, and more than a handfull in depth, .... Other ware the white feathered skins of some fowle, round about their head, jewels in their eares, and bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a leather string" (Burrage 1887:135).

On May 30, 1605, Waymouth observed three canoes of Indians land on an island near their anchored boat and "very quickly make fire" (Burrage 1887:109). They must have used some sort of fire-making kit. Bellanger, for example, reports "Their girdells haue also before a little codd or pursse of buff wherein they putt divers thinges but especiallie their tinder to keepe fire in, which is of a dry roote and somewhat like a hard sponge and will quicklie take fyer and is hardlie put out" (Quinn 1962:341). In an account of variable fancifulness dating to 1673, Josselyn (1883) reports that the punk in these fire-making kits is composed of processed birch shelf fungus, and that they rubbed two sticks together to make fire. Otherwise, sparks may have been struck from pyrite and felsite, or other combinations of mineral and stone as reported in archaeologically recovered "firemaking kits," or from flint and steel obtained from Europeans. Wooden fire-drills are also reported by Rasle (Prins, personal communication).

Bows and arrows are described by several authors. Arrowheads were variably reported to be horseshoe crab tails (Champlain, in Grant 1907:61);

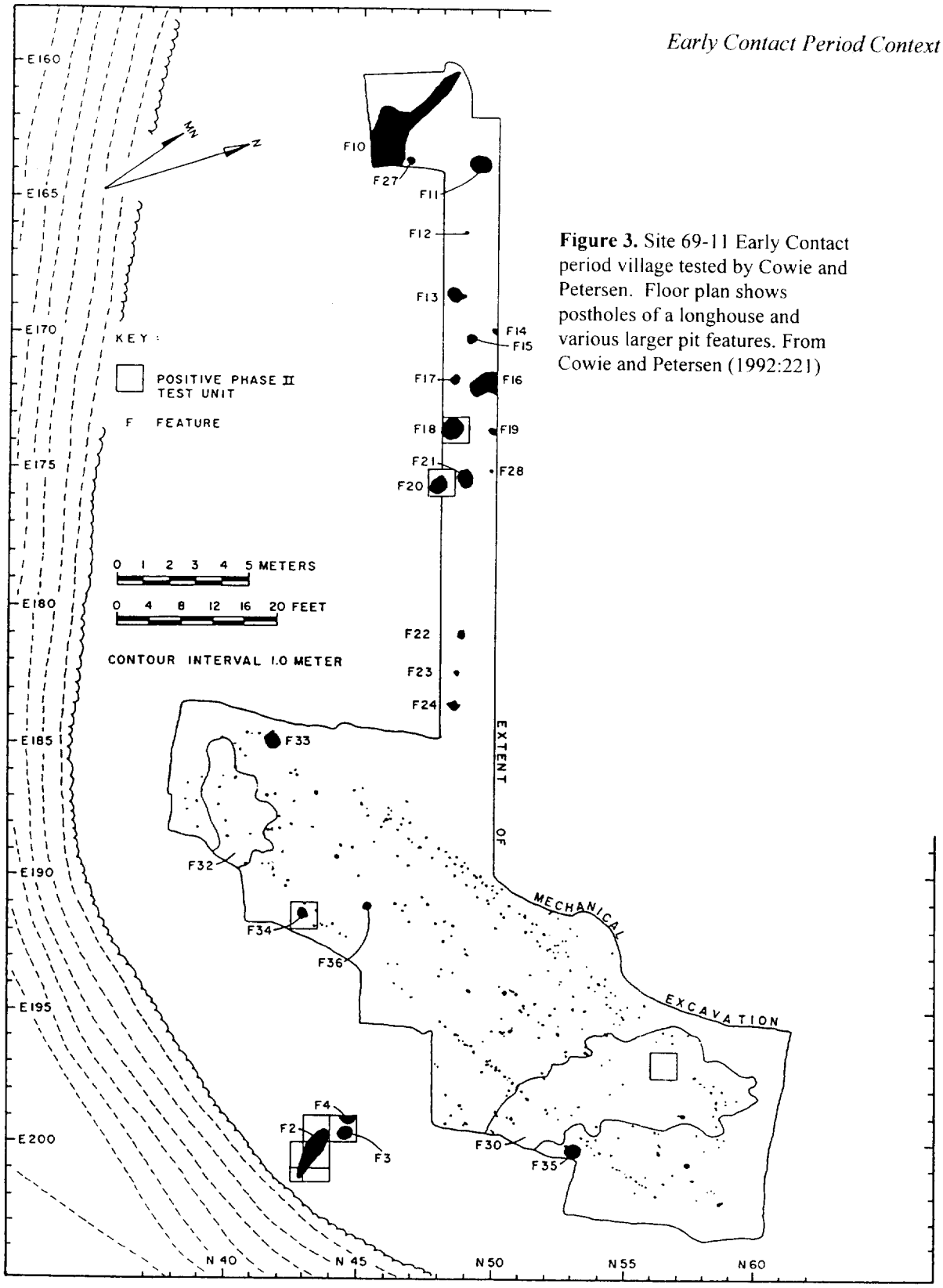



**Figure 3.** Site 69-11 Early Contact period village tested by Cowie and Petersen. Floor plan shows postholes of a longhouse and various larger pit features. From Cowie and Petersen (1992:221)

"arrowes of one yarde hedded with indented bones three or fower ynches long, and are tyed into a nocke at the ende with a thong of lether" (Bellanger, in Quinn 1962:341); or arrows "headed with the long shanke bone of a deere, made very sharpe with two fangs in manner of a harping iron" (Waymouth, in Burrage 1887:118). Lescarbot (Grant 1907-14) reported stone arrowheads and hardwood shields at Saco in 1607. Biard (1891: 421) reports that each of Meteourmite's 40 warriors had a bow, arrows, and a shield on the lower Kennebec in 1611. The shields are not further described, although a wooden shield is illustrated by Champlain (e.g., Armstrong 1987:136).

Native tobacco pipes were manufactured out of local clay, "very strong, blacke, and sweet, containing a great quantity" (Waymouth, in Burrage 1887:123). In fact, the survival of Native American technology well into the 17th century was commonplace, partly because of lesser access to Euroamerican trade goods with distance from the Gulf of St. Lawrence before circa 1610. Champlain (in Bourque and Whitehead 1985:335) reports that the Massachusetts Indians were still using stone axes and stone scraping tools (endscrapers, evidently) to fashion canoes circa 1604: "After taking great trouble and spending much time in felling with hatchets of stone (for except a few who get them from the Indians of the Acadian coast, with whom they are bartered for furs, they possess no others) the thickest and tallest tree they can find.... They apply fire throughout its whole length ... (and) scrape it all over with stones, which they use in place of knives. The stones from which they make their cutting tools are like our musket flints."

Thus, archaeologists working on the early Contact period in Maine must be aware of the fine scale geographic and temporal variation in access to European goods, and of the fact that much Native American technology survived well into the Early Contact period.

**Theme 2, Settlement Pattern.**

Settlement pattern includes the study of spatial distribution of archaeological material at several scales: 1) the distribution of sites across the state and region, 2) the association of sites with specific geographic attributes, and 3) the internal patterning within archaeological sites. In the latter case, the identification of features and material that can be associated with one "house" or living floor occupation of a limited span of time is critical for understanding artifact associations and building a cultural chronology. There is relatively much information about certain aspects of settlement pattern in the Early Contact period ethnohistoric record, primarily the larger scale distribution patterns subsumed under items 1 and 2 above.

The focal points of Early Contact period settlement were many multi-seasonal villages each associated with a geographic name and a sagamore (chief or headman). The inhabitants of each village often dispersed to smaller, seasonal campsites for one or a few families. All settlements were reported to be located on some sort of water shoreline (offshore island, marine coastal, riverine or lacustrine). The large, multi-seasonal villages were not randomly distributed across the state, but were "concentrated" in estuaries along the coast and along the middle and lower reaches of major rivers.

The large multi-seasonal villages were evidently an identifiable "home" for their inhabitants, although we do not know how permanent they were on a seasonal basis. For example, in the late spring of 1614, John Smith found Penobscot Bay and River "well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing among the Iles, or hunting the lakes and woods.... (O)ver all the land, iles or other impediments, you may well see them sixteene or eighteene leagues from their situation" (Smith 1614:15). Apparently, Smith was reporting that people commonly went 40 miles from their "home village" to seasonal fishing or hunting camps. Moreover, at least in Almouchiquois territory along the southern Maine coast, use of a major embayment like Casco Bay may not have been year round. Marchin, the sagamore of Casco Bay, is reported by Champlain to have grown his corn at Saco "with Onemechin" (Biggar 1922-36:395-6). Whether Souriquois raids or some other

factor was the cause, some people from Casco Bay moved seasonally to Saco to tend gardens.

The outer islands of the central Maine coast (as opposed to inner islands and estuaries) were warm season camping locations. On May 12, 1605, Waymouth anchored in the Georges Islands (Allen and Burnt Islands, near Monhegan) and found evidence of hearths and food animal bones lying on the surface of an unutilized campsite. At five P.M. on May 30th (18 days later) three canoe-loads of people, apparently including women and children, arrived and made camp. Rosier's account (Burrage 1887:109) indicates delivery of a major oration by one of the arriving men, perhaps a formal arrival speech, indignation, and/or surprise. Since Waymouth's boat had been in the islands for two weeks, and the Europeans had thoroughly explored them, the May 30th group was probably newly arriving for their seasonal stay. Archaeological work on these sites indicates an island-based, warm-season subsistence pattern (Spiess, unpublished data) which supports the ethnographic account of seasonal use.

Most multi-seasonal villages were located on tidewater, including the estuarine portions of major and minor rivers. The best settlement pattern description applies to Mawooshen (Purchas [1625]; confirmed by Egerton circa 1610 [Barbour 1980]), a portion of Maine comprising the Mount Desert Island area and intervening drainages and coast westward to and including the Saco River drainage. Twenty-two villages were reported within Mawooshen, of which approximately thirteen (between ten and fourteen depending on several assumptions) are located on tide water. Approximately seven villages were apparently located on rivers above tidewater. On the Kennebec River, for example, Naragooc (Norridgewock) was the furthest village upriver.

Not all permanent villages were located on tidewater or lower rivers. The presence of a permanent village with sagamore on an interior lake basin is confirmed by Purchas's description of the location of Buccawganecants. His description of the Androscoggin River contains the following information (Purchas 1625; reprinted 1906:404). The first village on the river (above what must be Merrymeeting Bay) is Amereangan, and the second village is Namercante. One day's journey (evidently leisurely, in a canoe) above Namercante "there is a downefall, where they cannot passe with their cannoes, but are forced to carry them by land for the space of a quarter of a mile.... And twelve days journey above the Downfall there is another ..." We assume that these major falls are Lewiston and Rumford, respectively. "(S)ixe dayes journey more to the North is the head of this River, where there is the lake that is of eight days journey long, four days broad...." Perhaps the description refers to all of the inter-connected Umbagog-Richardson-Rangeley chain of lakes. "Three days journey from this Lake" (from the arrival at the outlet of the lake, ie. somewhere in the chain of lakes?) was located "Buccawanecants, wherein are three score households, and foure hundred men: And the Sagamo there is called Baccatusshe."

Even if exaggerated, this report represents a substantial resident population in an inland lakes basin. On the other hand, circa 1646-47 Norridgewock was still the furthest inland village on the Kennebec River, and the Moosehead Lake basin was used as a seasonal hunting ground. In January 1647, Dreuillettes accompanied several to many families up the Kennebec River to Moosehead Lake. (The journey began at the village one league above Cushnoc and presumably went past other Kennebec River villages, including Norridgewock, which was the furthest upriver village from before 1614 to at least 1646 [Prins and Bourque 1987: 141]. Dreuillettes does not say whether the group with whom he traveled was drawn from one or multiple villages.) The party dispersed around Moosehead Lake in family or extended-family sized camps for hunting and trapping, and reassembled in the spring at the spot on Moosehead from which they had dispersed. Dreuillettes was back on the middle Kennebec by May.

Much of the settlement information from the Early Contact period consists of lists of place names. For example, Smith (1614:5) states: "The principall habityation Northward we were at was

Penobscot. Southward along the Coast and up the Rivers we found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nuscongus, Kenebeck, Sagadahock, and Aumoughcawgen." Some sources list population size and the name of the sagamore as well as a place name, notably Purchas (1625; see also Barbour 1980), derived from information dating circa 1602-1609. About Norridgewock, Purchas (Purchas 1625; 1906 report) says: "To the Northward is the third towne, which they call Naragooc; where there are fiftie households and one hundred and fiftie men. The chief Sagamo of that place is Cocockohamas". Purchas reports villages with between 30 and 160 households and between 90 and 400 men, with one smaller village of 8 households and 40 men.

Some sources include information about intrasite content or organization. At the meeting of the Chiboctous and "great Pentegoet" rivers, presumably Pentagoet now called Castine, Biard (1891: 424) reports "There are eighty canoes and a longboat [European boat], eighteen huts and about three hundred souls. The most prominent chief was called Betsabes, a prudent and conservative man...." As another example, 1623-4, Levett (1847:85-6) reports at the falls on the Presumpscot that "the sagamore or king of that place hath a house, where I was one day when there were two sagamore more, their wives and children, in all about fifty...." Perhaps this location was a seasonal camp, with visitors.

Occasionally, a primary source provides a physical description of the location of a village. Asticou's village, in the Northeast Harbor or Southwest Harbor region of Mount Desert Island, in the summer of 1613 was "a pleasing slope, gently rising from the sea, and bathed on its two sides by two springs. The land is clear of trees to the extent of twenty or twenty-five acres, and covered with grass in some places almost to the height of a man. Its aspect is to the south and east... (Biard in Cummings 1893). This may be the spot, under sagamore Asticou, that Purchas reports had 50 houses and 150 men. This village must have produced a substantial archaeological site: 20 acres is 80,000 square meters, or an area of about 150 by 50 meters. The area was apparently kept clear of trees, although the grass grew high in untrampled areas. And this was a non-agricultural Etchemin village, not one of the larger agricultural Abenaki villages.

The description of Chouacoit, or Saco, by Champlain (Grant 1907:62-3), includes a written report accompanied by a later sketch map (e.g., Armstrong 1987:61). Champlain's written description contains details of corn-bean-squash gardens. Moreover, "the savages dwell permanently in this place, and have a large cabin surrounded by palisades made of rather large trees placed by the side of each other, in which they take refuge when their enemies make war upon them. They cover their cabins with oak bark." The sketch map may or may not be the product of artistic license. It portrays Chouacoit as a dispersed settlement, primarily of individual structures adjacent to cornfields separated by woods. This is only one group of structures. The structures are a mix of both conical wigwams and longhouses. In the only group of structures depicted, five dome-shaped wigwams surround a longhouse. A palisaded fort is depicted to contain one longhouse, not associated with the only group of structures. A similar dispersed settlement pattern may have been described for the Abenacquiouit on the Kennebec River by Erouachy in 1629: "large villages and also houses in the country with many stretches of cleared land, in which they sow much Indian corn" (Champlain, quoted in Bourque 1989:262). A similar settlement pattern, and the difficulties in detecting and recognizing it archaeologically, has been described for the Choctaw in Mississippi (Voss and Blitz 1988). Each individual farmstead is marked by a light scatter of debris of 30 meters or so diameter, separated from the next by 200 to 400 meters.

In Maine archaeologically confirmed Early Contact period house forms include both small oval structures and longhouses. Site 17.76 yielded a recognizable wigwam floor of about 4 meters diameter marked around the circumference by large rocks and shell (Spiess, unpublished data.) Site

69.11 at Norridgewock contains the floorplan of at least one longhouse (Cowie and Petersen 1992). It is obvious, however, that archaeological work can substantially augment settlement pattern data derived from the ethnohistoric sources.

**Theme 3: Subsistence Patterns**

The seasonally agricultural nature of Abenaki and Almouchiquois settlement has been mentioned above. Champlain (Grant 1907:62) describes the horticulture at Chouacouet: "We saw their Indian corn, which they raise in gardens. Planting three or four kernels in one place, they then heap up about it a quantity of earth with shells of the signoc [horseshoe crab] before mentioned. Then three feet distant they plant as much more, and thus in succession. With this corn they put in each hill three or four Brazilian beans, which are of different colors. When they grow up, they interlace with the corn, which reaches to the height of from five to six feet; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw there many squashes, and pumpkins, and tobacco, which they likewise cultivate. ... They plant their corn in May, and gather it in September."

There are no written records of corn, bean and squash cultivation from east of the Kennebec River during the Early Contact period. The eastern limit of the distribution of horticulture during the 17th century is a question that may ultimately have to be answered with archaeological data. Rosier, however, implies that the people he met in the Georges Islands had a tobacco garden somewhere (Burrage 1887:124).

Much of the subsistence of the Almouchiquois and Abenaki, and the vast majority of Etchemin subsistence, was based upon wild plant and shellfish collecting, fishing, and hunting. A detailed description of the specific techniques used to acquire these resources is beyond the scope of this summary paper. Much specific ethnohistoric detail for hunting and fishing techniques can be found in Denys (1671/2), but most of what he reports applies to the Souriquois of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Rosier's account of arriving in the St. George Islands in 1605 (Burrage 1887:103) is one of the few ethnoarchaeological accounts: "Upon this Iland, as also upon the former, we found (at our first comming to shore) where fire had beene made; and about the place were very great egge shelles bigger than goose egges, fish bones, and as we judged, the bones of some beast. Here we espied cranes stalking on the shore..." (possibly great blue heron).

Rosier's report (Burrage 1887:126) also contains a reference to what may be stored whale meat, offered in trade on June 1: "They shewed me likewise a great piece of fish, whereof I tasted, and it was fat like Porpoise...." At the end of his account, in a series of short subjects seemingly cleaning up a list of interesting topics he could not weave into his narrative elsewhere, Rosier (ibid: 158) relates an account of hunting large whales ("12 fathoms long"), from birchbark canoes with bow and arrow and "a bone made in fashion of a harping iron fastened to a rope, which they make great and strong of the barke of trees...." "When they haue killed him and dragged him to shore, they call all their chiefe lords together... (the) Sagamoes divide the spoile and giue to euery man a share, which pieces so distributed they hang up about their houses for provision; and when they boile them, they blow off the fat, and put to their peaze, maiz, and other pulse, which they eat." This is evidently a third-hand account, not eyewitness. Moreover, nowhere in the text is there explicit connection between the proferred piece of sea mammal (skin? and) fat, and the account of hunting large whales. However, large whale bones are frequent enough in Ceramic period archaeological contexts from the Maine coast that some sort of formalized redistribution system for systematically hunted whale products must be considered as part of the subsistence base of the Ceramic period and possibly Early Contact period.

**Theme 4: Mortuary Practices.**

There are few mortuary sites of confirmed Early Contact date from Maine. The poorly known Sandy Point site may date to this period (Wil-

loughby 1935: 234). Evident Early Contact interments are known from southern New England (Willoughby 1935:231-241) and from Pictou, Nova Scotia (Harper 1955/6, Whitehead 1988). Modest amount of European copper and brass were present in the Massachusetts graves. The Nova Scotia interments contained conspicuous amounts of European trade copper. Recent re-examination of the Sandy Point burial material culture assemblage indicated that at least one individual was interred with iron trade axes and a large, iron-banded copper kettle. These pieces apparently date to the late 16th or very early 17th century. Burials on Mosher Island in Casco Bay, apparently dating from the Early Contact period, contained smelted copper beads (Bourque, pers. comm. 1990). A Native American buried at Pemaquid, which must predate the circa 1630 English village, was accompanied by large copper tubes or beads.

Spiess and Spiess (1987) review a catastrophic mortality event (epidemic disease) extending from roughly Casco Bay southward in 1616-1620. The dead from this event may have been buried in mass graves, or not at all in some areas. The timing of arrival of the first European-introduced diseases into the Gulf of Maine is a topic of debate. Snow and Lanphear (1988) conclude that smallpox and other diseases that caused massive Native mortality were not introduced into the region until the 17th century. This conclusion is at odds with one comment in the ethnohistoric record that the Souriquois population suffered from introduced diseases: "one by one the different coasts according as they have begun to traffic with us, have been more reduced by disease" (Biard, circa 1611 quoted by Bourque and Whitehead 1985:337). The solution seems to be that each group was affected by pandemic disease as Europeans settled among them, a conclusion reached by Bourque and Whitehead (ibid).

**Theme 5: Transportation, Travel, Trade and Commerce**

Bourque and Whitehead (1985) discuss the intensification of trade and commerce in the Gulf of Maine, primarily by Souriquois middlemen trading with Europeans in the Gulf of St. Lawrence during the 16th century. There are enough references to European-built small sailing craft to demonstrate that they were preferred for long-distance coastwise trade (ibid:333). Smith's (1614) comment that people commonly went 16 to 18 leagues from their home village as part of a dispersed subsistence phase indicates that the birch-bark canoe was capable of inshore coastal voyages as well. Rosier's report of hunting whales from a canoe, and the summertime use of Maine's offshore islands such as Monhegan and the Georges Islands, indicates that the entire coast was within reach during good weather conditions.

Long distance interior travel by canoe was also common. Early 17th century travel from the Penobscot to Tadoussac (on the St. Lawrence) by Etchemin is recorded (Bourque and Whitehead 1985:332). The geographic knowledge and skills required for interior travel over long distances by birch canoe survived to the 20th century. Succeeded by travel in canvas-covered canoes, some of this lore has survived to be recorded in detail (Cook 1985, with references). Dreuillettes 1646 trip from the lower Kennebec to Moosehead Lake for a four-month hunting trip also demonstrates the range over which a single annual subsistence cycle may have spread.

The trade into the Gulf of Maine run by Souriquois and Etchemin middlemen during the 16th and early 17th centuries (Bourque and Whitehead 1985) may have been an intensification of some pre-existing Ceramic period trade patterns which involved furs among other products (Spiess et al 1983: 105). Some of the earliest European reports hint at trade in Native commodities. In 1580 John Walker took "III ᶜ drye hides ... eighteen foote by the square" that had been cached in an unattended Native structure in Penobscot Bay (Bourque and Whitehead 1985:330). Whether 300 individual hides or three hundredweight of hides, someone had stockpiled a significant quantity of moosehide which could only have been intended for trade or redistribution. In 1603 Champlain recorded a party of

Native Americans in the St. Lawrence on their way to Tadoussac to "barter arrows and moose flesh for ... beaver and marten" (Bourque and Whitehead 1985:335).

Among European goods, metal was avidly sought, especially copper and its alloys. At Saco in 1603 Pring recorded: "plates of Brasse a foot long, and half a foote broad before their breasts" (Bourque and Whitehead 1985:327). These copper/alloy pieces were used as ostentatious status markers or personal decoration, fitting into a long prehistoric tradition of use of copper for decoration (e.g., Heckenberger et al. 1990). Champlain's comment on the stone age hatchets and scrapers in Massachusetts (Bourque and Whitehead 1985:335) indicates that the demand for iron tools further north in the Gulf had not yet been satisfied. Henry Hudson, 1609, commented that the French traded the following items with Penobscot Bay area Natives: "red Cassockes, Knives, Hatchets, Copper, Kettles, Trevits, Beads, and other trifles" (ibid: 334).

Archaeological studies of Early Contact period trade in Maine are in their infancy. Reports of European flint cobble ballast, worked by aboriginal stone flaking techniques, are perhaps the most common indication of European trade contact (e.g.: site 9.143, Jane Robinson, personal communication; site 16-90, Sanger et al 1983). Clay tobacco pipe fragments of European or Euroamerican manufacture are perhaps the second most common indicator of Early Contact sites. European copper or brass (often reworked) and glass beads (Cranmer 1990: 96; Bradley 1983; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987: 133) are less common. The quantification of European trade goods in Early Contact period Native American components is one topic requiring substantially more work, followed by a systematic effort to compare the archaeological data with Euroamerican accounts of trade items.

**Theme 6: Social and Political Organization**

The study of social and political organization using archaeological data is much more difficult than using good documentary sources. Archaeologists are still struggling with the topic, although with notably more sophistication than even a decade ago (Price and Brown 1985). The concept of "complex" hunter-gatherers (ibid) is a major conceptual advance, which applies to Maine Native Americans at contact since they lived in multi-seasonal villages of several hundred to a thousand individuals with a formal leadership structure, and since Maine essentially straddled the border of advancing horticulture. Combining archaeological and ethnohistoric data in exploring this topic could make a major contribution to archaeological studies on social and political organization of complex hunter-gatherers.

Prins (1988:120-140) rightly cautions against accepting the European meaning of terms such as "nation", "tribe", "king", "chief", or "captain" when applied to Native American social organization. However, numerous ethnohistoric references to king, captain, commander or prince indicate that one or more headmen were "in charge" at each major village. When a Native American word was used to describe these personages it is "sachem" in southern New England and "sagamore" (sakom, pronounced sagum, in modern Passamaquoddy-Maliseet) in the northern Gulf of Maine. Many of the Native personages recorded by name in ethnohistoric documents (Bourque 1989) are sagamores.

Both in southern New England (Winslow 1624 in Prins 1988:125) and in Maine before 1620 there was a hierarchy of status and power among headmen. "Many provinces [in the central Maine coast are] governed in chief by a principall Commander or Prince, whom they call Bashaba, who hath under him divers petty Kings, which they call sagamores" (Strachey 1618 in Prins 1988:125). Rosier, in a summary opinion (Burrage 1887:157) says "They shew great reverence to their King, and are in great subjection to their Governors." Even a local sagamore could provide an impressive ceremonial/functional show of force to European visitors, as Meteourmite did for Biencourt and Biard in 1611: "and some forty powerful young men around the hut, as a bodyguard, each one having his shield, his bow and his arrows on the ground before him

(Warren 1891:421).

"Bashabe" was apparently a name, not a title (Prins 1988), despite English misunderstandings. Bashabe's village was Upsegon (Purchas 1625) at a place called Kadesquit (Biard 1612), perhaps Kenduskeag = Bangor, on the Penobscot River. The nature of the relationship between sagamores at the other villages and Bashabe is unclear: it may have been based strictly upon his skill and personal persuasive power. The territory within which his power was acknowledged had a name ("Moashim", Gorges 1658 quoted in Prins 1988:167; probably the Mawooshen of Purchas 1625), extending from the Union River west to the Saco River. But after his death in 1615, chaos reigned: "This Bashaba had many enemies, especially those to the East and North-East, whom they called Tarentines.... (T)he Tarentines surprised the Bashaba, and slew him and all his People near about him, carrying away his Women, and such other matters as they though of value; after his death the publique businesse running to confusion for want of an head, the rest of his great Sagamores fell at variance among themselves, spoiled and destroyed each others people and provision, and famine took hould of many...." (Gorges 1658 in Prins 1988:167). Evidently, whatever power structure Bashabe had constructed could not survive his death.

A description written by Biard about 1614/15 (Thwaites 1896 3:87-89) makes it clear that relations between most sagamores were egalitarian and that decision-making required a sometimes difficult consensus. "It is principally in summer that they pay visits and hold their State Councils; I mean that several Sagamores come together and consult among themselves about peace and war, treaties of friendship and treaties for the common good. It is only these Sagamores who have a voice in the discussion and who make the speeches, unless there be some old and renowned Autmoins [shamans or medicine men]..., for they respect them very much and give them a hearing the same as to the Sagamores. It happens sometimes that the same person is both Autmoin and Sagamore, and then he is greatly held in awe.... Now in these assemblies, if there is some news of importance, as their neighbors wish to make war upon them, or that they have killed someone, or that they must renew the alliance, etc., then messengers fly from all parts to make up the more general assembly, that they may avail themselves of all the confederates, which they call Ricamanen, who are generally of the same language. Nevertheless the confederation often extends farther than the language does, and war sometimes arises against those who have the same language. In these assemblies so general, they resolve upon peace, truce, war, or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs, without order and subordination, whence they frequently depart more confused and disunited than when they came..."

**Theme 7: Laboratory or Field Techniques**

There are no Early Contact archaeological sites exhibiting particular significance because of the invention or application of a particular laboratory or field technique. It is likely that application of metallurgical analysis techniques to differentiate Native from European copper will be critical in differentiating late Precontact from Early Contact sites. Trace element studies may be able to differentiate among sources of Native copper in eastern North America. So far, however, studies of Contact period copper in Maine have been not been systematic or remain unpublished.

**Theme 8: Anthropological Archaeology**

A better understanding of the Early Contact period in Maine could contribute to several topics of general anthropological interest. Most obvious are the processes of dramatic culture change that occur when two economically unequal cultures meet, including disease (Spiess and Spiess 1987, Snow and Lanphear 1988), warfare (various), and other symptoms of the dissolution of cultural values (Denys 1671/2). In particular in Maine we have an early example of the "Frontier" of European settlement, and participation in the fur trade, topics which have generated an enormous literature. Maine is a special case during the 16th and 17th

century, compared with most other areas of the New World, because until roughly 1676 Native Americans were on an "even playing field" with the European immigrants. In fact, for the first decades, Native middlemen controlled the trade into the Gulf of Maine. The affect of this trade on Native socio-political structure may be similar to that of other Contact/trade situations: enhancement of the power of "big men" who partially control the trade (eg. Kaplan 1985 for an example from the Eastern Arctic). As stated in other discussions above, whether or not this process has antecedents in the prehistoric trade patterns before European arrival is an important question to understanding cultural preadaptation.

Not only is Maine an excellent locality for studying European-Native contact, but at the time of contact Maine included both sides of the economic border between horticulturalists and hunter-gatherers. The dynamics of that Native-Native culture contact situation add interesting complexity to the Euroamerican-Native contact.

**Theme 9: Human Biology**

As stated above in Theme 4, there are currently few mortuary sites of the Early Contact period. The horrible effects of introduced pandemic disease, as presented in historic sources, have been one focus of human biology research for this period (Spiess and Spiess 1987, Snow and Lanphear 1988). A vertebra from the Sandy Point burial has been included in a recent study of diet based upon bone stable isotope composition (Bourque and Kreuger 1994). A recent change in Federal law (NAGPRA) favoring return of Native American skeletal remains that can be identified with a known ethnic group will undoubtedly accelerate accumulation of the Human Biology data base tremendously in the near future, as some skeletal remains are studied that ;have remained on museum shelves for some time.

**Theme 10: Environmental Studies**

No studies directly pertinent to the reconstruction of environmental conditions during the Early Contact period have been attempted. The ethnohistoric sources, particularly Denys (1671/2), do however contain a wealth of anecdotal information about the geographic and seasonal distribution of fauna and flora, and some information about abundance, from Penobscot Bay eastward into the Maritime Provinces.

**Theme 11: Non-Mortuary Religious Behavior**

French priests made occasional references to Native "sorcerers" or "magicians" (or shamans) and their practices of healing or other rites. Despite the efforts of the priests, and at least partial acceptance of Christianity as evidenced, for example, by construction of a "little chapel of boards, made in their manner" for Dreuillettes on the Kennebec in 1646 (Thwaites 31:189), the old religion and its practices survived at least among some groups. Morain, in 1676, complained that the Etchemin "have not been instructed...averse to Christianity, and are exceedingly addicted to drunkeness, to juggling [shamanism], and to polygamy" (Thwaites 60:263). Indeed the Etchemin tradition of petroglyph art, which is intimately associated with shaman's dream journeys, survived into the 19th century in eastern Maine (Hedden 1989).

There is at least one eyewitness account of a collective Native ceremony, before Christian influence. It occurred on the St. George islands on or about June 2nd, 1605, related by Owen Griffin who spent the night ashore as a guest. Griffin reported to Rosier "their maner, and (as I may terme them) the ceremonies of their idolatry; which they performe thus. One among them (the eldest of the Company, as he judged) riseth right up, the others sitting still, and looking about suddenly cried with a loud voice, Baugh, Waugh; then the women fell downe, and lie upon the ground, and the men all together answering the same, fall a stamping round about the fire with both feet, as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry outt-cries, and change of voice and sound. Many take the fire-sticks and thrust them into the earth, and then rest awhile: of a sudden beginning as before, they continue so stamping, till the yonger sort

fetched from the shore many stones, of which every man tooke one, and furst beat upon them with their fire sticks, then with stones beat the earth with all their strength. And in this maner (as he reported) they continued above two houres. After this ended, they which have wives take them apart, and withdraw themselves severally into the wood all night" (Burrage 1887:122). This ceremony occurred approximately two days after the arrival of the Indians in the Georges Islands, and their seeming surprise at discovering Waymouth's ship. Approximately 28 Native Americans were present (Burrage 1887:118). Whether the ceremony was appropriate for arrival at a seasonal camp, or appropriate for the discovery of a strange interloper, or for some other reason, we have no record. Incredibly, the reported movement of stones and firebrands could leave some archaeological traces of the ceremony under ideal conditions.

**Theme 12: Cultural Boundaries**

The Early Contact period presents an opportunity to examine the congruence between material culture, subsistence, and other patterns amenable to archaeological data analysis, and the distribution of known ethnic groups on the landscape. Champlain's comment that the Almouchiquois were still basically in the stone age in 1605, while the Etchemin and Souriquois had access to iron tools (Bourque and Whitehead 1989) begs for archaeological analysis. Given a few excavated components of the time along the Maine and New Hampshire-Massachusetts coast, would the incidence of European goods, and iron tools in particular, decline slowly in frequency from one end of the coast to the other, or would there be a sharper clinical frequency change at ethnic group borders? Was Onemechin's rebuff of the trade overtures by Meesamouet and Secoudon (Bourque and Whitehead 1985:333) in 1605 at Saco a reflection of habitually poor relations between the Armouchiquois and their northern neighbors? If so, we might expect that such trade relationships contributed to the pattern of access to European trade goods.

It is possible to interpret the ethnic boundary between Etchemin and Abenaki, and between Etchemin and Almouchiquois (if the Almouchiquois were not Abenaki) as the boundary between horticulturalists and hunter-gatherers. Can we detect this boundary in the archaeological record? If not, that fact must lower the resolution with which we can study situations of horticulturalist-hunter-gatherer contact.

Given that any of the ethnic boundaries recorded for the Early Contact period can be detected archaeologically, how far back can we follow them in time? For example, Petersen and Sanger (1990) have detected a difference in some ceramic decorative attributes (cordage twist) between coastal and interior Maine, on the Saco, Androscoggin, Kennebec, Penobscot, and eastern Maine drainages, during part of Maine prehistory. The dynamic ethnic situation of the 17th and 18th centuries, characterized by village dispersal, adoption, amalgamation, and wholesale movement of people from one place to another (Prins 1988 and elsewhere), placed a short "lifetime" on Native American ethnic groups before they changed or realigned themselves. Perhaps the processes of change during the period were just tremendously accelerated because of European contact. If not, however, it seems that specific ethnic groups might usually be traced backward into the prehistoric archaeological record for only relatively short time spans.

## EVALUATION

Two broad types of archaeological research questions can be applied to the Early Contact period. The first involves comparison of the archaeological record with the ethnohistoric record and the relatively great detail that written statements give us about some aspects of Native American life. The second focuses upon questions of culture contact and cultural dynamics that may be different in kind or intensity from those of preceding periods. In either case clearly defined and datable archaeological components are necessary, since so many of the research questions discussed above depend upon fine chronological control and "pure" assemblages.

**National Register Eligibility Criteria**

To be eligible for National Register listing under the Early Contact context, a Maine site must contain a component clearly datable to the Early Contact period. Such dating is most easy to demonstrate by the presence of certain types of European-manufactured goods (certain bead types, clay tobacco pipe types, European ceramics). Early Contact period sites also are apparently marked by evidence of Native American remanufacture of European materials (such as copper, brass, glass, or ballast flint) into Native American cognate items (such as endscrapers made of bottle glass or flint, or copper triangular points). These "remanufactured" items should exist without evidence that the site dates from after 1676, if they are to be used to date the site to the Early Contact period. Therefore, National Register eligibility of a site, based upon its Early Contact component, is minimally dependent only upon the archaeologist's ability to demonstrate that some or all of the Early Contact component is either a "pure" component or that it can be clearly separated (material culture assemblage) from preceding or later admixture. National Register eligibility is enhanced by the presence of features, house or village plans, and/or floral or faunal remains that can be securely associated with the Early Contact component. A plausible association of the archaeological site with a site mentioned in an ethnohistoric text also enhances National Register eligibility, but a textual association cannot by itself be used to "prove" an Early Contact date for a site in the absence of material culture or other confirmation. Moreover, any site with an Early Contact period component that can make an extraordinary contribution to any of the Research Significance Themes presented above is also eligible.

## PROTECTION

Written records in the ethnohistoric sources would seem to make Early Contact period sites vulnerable to discovery and looting. However, intermittent professional archaeological effort has not been highly successful in finding such sites. The presence of metal goods on these sites might make them more vulnerable to detection (e.g., with a metal detector), but it takes a trained eye to recognize much of the remanufactured material that would appear on these sites. Because conservation of Euroamerican goods on such sites might be a problem, and because the research questions applicable to the period are so far relatively untested and unexplored, delaying excavation into the future would tend to increase data derived from excavation of an Early Contact period component. Therefore, preservation in situ with full legal and physical protection is preferable to data recovery, other factors being equal.

## REFERENCES

Armstrong, Joe C. W.
1987 *Champlain*. MacMillan of Canada, Toronto.

Baker, Emerson W., Edwin A. Churchill, Richard S. D'Abate, Kristine L. Jones, Victor A. Konrad and Harald E. L. Prins, editors.
1994 *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Barbour, P. L.
1980 The Manuscript "Instructions for a Voyage to New England". *Papers of the Eleventh Algonquian Conference*. Ottawa.

Biard, Pierre
1891 Extracts from the letters of the Jesuit Missionary in Maine, Father P. Biard. Translated by Frederick M. Warren. Maine Historical Society Collections, 2nd Series, Vol 2: 411-427.

Biggar, H. P. ,ed.
1922-36. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. 6 volumes. The Champlain Society, Toronto.

Bourque, Bruce J.
1989 Ethnicity on the Maritime Peninsula, 1600-1759. *Ethnohistory* 36:257-284.

Bourque, Bruce J. And Harold W. Kreuger
1994 Dietary reconstruction from human bone isotopes for five coastal New England populations. Pp. 195ff in Kristin D. Sobolik editor. *Paleonutrition: The Diet and Health of Prehistoric Americans*. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper No. 22. Southern Illinois University.

Bourque, Bruce J. and Ruth Holmes Whitehead
1985 Tarrentine sand the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine. Ethnohistory 32:327-341.

Bradley, James
1983 Blue crystals and other trinkets: glass beads from 16th and early 17th century New England. In Charles F. Hayes, Ed. *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*. Rochester Museum and Science Center Research Records 16:29-39. Rochester, new York.

Bradley, Robert
1981 Assessment of the Nahanada Settlement Site from the Perspective of Primary Sources and Historical Archaeology. Manuscript on file, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Burrage, Henry S.
1887 Rosier's Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605. Gorges Society, Portland, Maine.

Callum, Kathleen E.
1994 The Geoarchaeology of the Nahanada Site (16-90) Pemaquid Beach, Bristol, Maine. Master of Science dissertation, Quaternary Studies, Univ. of Maine. Orono.

Charlevoix, Pierre Francis Xavier de,
1870 *History and General Description of New France*. John Gilmary Shea translation. New York.

Cook, David
1985 *Above the Gravel Bar: The Indian Canoe Routes of Maine*. Published by the author, Winthrop, Maine.

Cowie, Ellen R. and James B. Petersen
1992 *Archaeological Phase II Testing of the Weston Project (FERC No. 2325), Somerset County, Maine*. Report on file, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Cranmer, Leon
1990 *Cushnoc: The History and Archaeology of Plymouth Colony Traders on the Kennebec*. Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology 7. The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Augusta.

Denys, Nicholas
1671/2 The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America. Reprinted 1908, William F. Ganong (ed.). Toronto, The Champlain Society.

Faulkner, Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner
1987 *The French at Pentagoet: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*. Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology 5, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Grant, W. L.
1907 *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
1907-14 Marc Lescarbot. *The History of New France*. Toronto Champlain Society.

Heckenberger, Michael, James B. Petersen, and Louise A. Basa
1990 Early Woodland Period ritual use of personal adornment at the Boucher site. *Annals of the Carnegie Museum* 59:3:173-217.

Hedden, Mark H.
1989 Petroglyph evidence for a possible 19th century survival of Algonkian (Passamaquoddy) shamanism in eastern Maine. *The Maine Archaeological Society Bulletin* 29:1:21-32.

Josselyn, John
1883. An Account of two Voyages to New-England. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 3rd series, 3:228-311.

Judd, Richard W., Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel Eastman, editors.
1995 *Maine:The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to Present*. Univ. of Maine Press, Orono.

Kaplan, Susan
1985 European goods and socio-economic change in early Labrador Inuit Society. Pp 45-70 in W. W. Fitzhugh ed. *Cultures in Contact*. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Levett, Christopher
1847 A Voyage into New England, Begun in 1623 and Ended in 1624. Maine Historical Society Collections. 1st Series, Vol 2:72-109.

Lescarbot, Marc
1907-11 The History of New France. Translated by W. L. Grant, 3 volumes. The Champlain *Society, Toronto. Originally published 1618.

Petersen, James B. and David Sanger
1991 An Aboriginal Ceramic Sequence for Maine and the Maritime Provinces. Pp. 113-170 in Michael Deal and Susan Blair, editors. *Prehistoric Archaeology in the Maritime Provinces: Past and Present Research.* Reports in Archaeology No. 8. Council of Maritime Premiers.

Pierce, T. Douglas and James A. Brown
1987 Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers: The Emergence of Cultural Complexity. Academic Press, Orlando.

Prins, Harald E. L.
1988a Tribulations of a Border Tribe: A Discourse on the Political Ecology of the Aroostook Band of Micmacs (16th-20th Centuries). Doctoral Dissertation, New School for Social Research. University Microfilms #8827013, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
1988b Amesokanti: Abortive Tribe Formation on the Colonial Frontier. Paper delivered at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Williambsurg, Virginia.

Prins, Harald E. L.
1990 Ketakamigwa: The Homeland of the Wabanaki. Manuscript in press, The Land of Norumbega: Maine in the Age of Exploration. (See Prins, Children of Gluskap: Wabanaki Indians on the Eve of the European Invasion. Pp. 95-118 in Baker et al. editors. 1994).

Prins, Harald E. L. and Bruce J. Bourque
1987 Norridgewock: Village Translocation on the New England-Acadian Frontier. *Man in the Northeast* 33:137-158.

Purchas, Samuel
1625 The description of the country of Mawooshen in the yeere 1602, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. Pp 400-405. In *Hakluytas Posthumous or Purchas, His Pilgrimes.* Reprinted 1905-7, J. MacLehose, Glasgow.

Quinn,D. B.
1962 The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A new Document. *Canadian Historical Review* 43:328-339.

Sanger, David, Arthur Spiess and Robert L. Bradley
1983 Nahanada, a 17th century site on the coast of Maine. Paper presented to ESAF, Salem, Massachusetts, November 1983.

Smith, John
1614 A Description; of New England. Reprinted as Old South Leaflets No. 121. Boston.

Snow, Dean R.
1978 Eastern Abenaki. In *Northeast,* Bruce G. Trigger, Ed. Handbook of North American Indians, pp. 137-147.
1980 *The Archaeology of New England.* Academic Press, New York.

Spiess, Arthur E., Bruce J. Bourque and Steven L. Cox
1983 Cultural Complexity in Maritime Cultures: Evidence from Penobscot Bay, Maine. pp. 91-108 in Ronald J. Nash, ed. *The Evolution of Maritime Cultures on the Northeast and Northwest Coasts of North America,* Publication No. 11, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University.

Spiess, Arthur and Robert Lewis
1990 The Turner Farm: 5000 Years of Hunting and Fishing in Penobscot Bay. Manuscript on file, Maine Historic Preservation Commission

Spiess, Arthur and Bruce Spiess
1987 New England Pandemic of 1616-1622: cause and archaeological implications. *Man in the Northeast* 34:71-83.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Ed.
1896-1901. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Reprinted edition, Pagent Book Co., New York. 60 volumes.

Trigger, Bruce
1983 American archaeology in native history: a review essay. *The William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series 40:413-452.

Turgeon, Laurier
1991 Basque-Amerindian trade in the Saint Lawrence during the Sixteen Century: New Documents, New Perspectives. *Man in the Northeast* 40:81-87.

Will, Richard and Rebecca Cole-Will
1989 A preliminary report on the Ann Hilton Site. *The Maine Archaeological Society Bulletin* 29:2:1-12.

Will, Richard
1991 Phase I Assessment of Prehistoric Archaeological Resources in the Edwards Dam Impoundment Area. Report on file, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Willoughby, Charles Clark
1935 Antiquities of the New England Indians. Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTS: THE MYTH OF PRE-COLUMBIAN EUROPEANS IN MAINE

**Robert L. Bradley**

## INTRODUCTION

> The general features of the shell-heaps on Glidden Farm at the Damariscotta head waters are shown to be identical with like remains found now on the coasts of Norway and Denmark. Throughout they show a Northman phase of human life and habit (Sewall 1895: 39).

> No doubt of its being an Indian relic would have been raised but for our eagerness to find something Norse.... It is not real flint, but seems to be identical with certain varieties of the mineral, or rock, called *halleflinta* in Scandinavian countries — Walter B. Smith, 1923 (Moorehead 1924: 139).

The image is dramatic. The long-boat slowly slips past islands and promontories, nosing up estuaries into a secluded mid-coastal cove where her crew beaches her and leaps onto the mud-flats to unload gear. A European settlement is about to be born on the Maine coast. It is the early 11*th* century A.D. and the Europeans are Norse Vikings.

The image is indeed dramatic, but it is only an image. Despite nearly a century of professional and avocational field research, there is not a shred of scientific evidence that proves even casual Viking visits to Maine waters, let alone the establishment of a seasonal or year-round settlement in the early medieval period.

One might pardon Sewall for the reckless assertion that the Damariscotta shell-heaps were left by Vikings; after all, he was researching and writing in the 19*th* century, a time rife with naivete about prehistory. Still, he was a prominent and respected antiquary who was well aware of the thousands of Indian artifacts which had been found associated with these sites and countless others up and down the Maine coast. The mystery here is not who left the shell-heaps — it is why someone like Sewall would write blatant fiction about them.

Walter B. Smith, a Maine amateur archaeologist, is known to have had sounder field techniques than some of his professional colleagues early in this century. He accompanied Warren K. Moorehead to Pemaquid in the summer of 1923 to determine if any of the buried ruins on that site could be ascribed to the Vikings. Moorehead ransacked a number of 17*th*- and 18*th*-century cellars at Pemaquid and, although he knew nothing about Euro-American sites, did state that there were no apparent traces of a Viking presence. Smith, meanwhile, was shown a large stone spearhead that had been found on the shore nearby and reported to Moorehead as quoted above.

The summer of 1923 had been frustrating for the Viking hunters. Here was a spear-head of stone which seemed a bit out of the ordinary. Given the nature of the project, why not suggest a Scandinavian origin? That is all very well, except that Medieval Vikings are not known to have used paleolithic weapons. Smith even had a possible answer for this: "It was brought here by Scandinavians while they were still living in the Stone Age" (Moorehead 1924:139).

Sewall and Smith are not unique. Literature is full of enthusiastic and usually well-meaning amateurs who have ignored long-established scientific methodology and the scientific data painstakingly collected by predecessors and contemporaries. Was Sewall troubled by non-Indian artifacts eroding out of shell-heaps, requiring a new explanation of their origin? No. In his own words Smith would have

The Maine Archaeological Society Bulletin 34:2:21-34 (1995)

happily attributed the Pemaquid spear-head to Indians had he not been looking for Leif Eriksson and Company.

It is not that assuming the obvious is always best. It is that radical new hypotheses — shell heaps were left by Vikings, not Indians — must be considered unproven at best, until (or unless) scientifically valid data which support them have been gathered.

If such non-scientific ramblings on early Europeans in America were confined to dusty turn- of-the-century booklets and articles, they could be viewed as an amusing episode in America's search for its prehistoric and historic origins. But such is not the case. Today, more than ever before, the book market is full of publications, some of them best-sellers, which purport to prove that "ancient astronauts" inspired mankind to become civilized (Von Däniken 1969) or that Phoenicians, Egyptians, Romans, Scandinavians, and Celts, among others, swarmed over North America thousands of years ago (Fell 1976; Fell 1980; Fell 1982). This phenomenon might be comprehensible if North American scientific archaeology were still in its infancy and if our continent's prehistory were mysterious. The fact is, however, that in the past three generations archaeological sites all over the United States and Canada have been located and carefully studied, sites ranging from Paleo--Indian camps on the high plains of 10,000 B.C. to early English and French colonial settlements in the Northeast dating from the 1600s A.D. Of course there are many questions remaining to be answered (there probably always will be), but the broad patterns of human prehistory and history in North America have now been well identified.

The late Barry Fell's *America B. C.* is perhaps the most widely-known of these provocative books. Using place-names, linguistics, and archaeological remains, Fell asserted that various Old World peoples extensively occupied and exploited the Americas long before the birth of Christ. Since this bold hypothesis flies in the face of all existing scientific archaeological data, it must be carefully analyzed step by step. This has been done by Ives Goddard and William Fitzhugh of the Smithsonian Institution's Department of Anthropology, among many. Their conclusion:

> The contention is made in *America B. C.* that there are words of Egyptian, Semitic, Celt, and Norse origin in certain Indian languages of the Algonquian family, but the alleged evidence is seriously flawed. The discussion does not distinguish clearly among the separate Algonquian languages; ignores basic facts of Algonquian grammar, linguistic history and etymology; makes many errors on specific facts; miscopies and misinterprets words and their translations; and shows no awareness of the basic scientific linguistic procedures that have been used by specialists for over a hundred years to study the history of languages.... The assertion in *America B. C.* that certain place names recorded from New England Indians are actually of Celtic origin is without foundation.... In sum,it must be said that the discussions in *America B. C.* show no knowledge of the correct grammatical analysis of the American Indian languages considered (Goddard and Fitzhugh 1979:168-170).

Fell, a marine biologist by profession, went on to use inscriptions, artifacts, and structural remains to defend his hypothesis. A prominent Maine reference concerns an alleged inscription on Manana Island (adjacent to Monhegan Island) which has been transcribed and interpreted in many ways over the past century (Fell 1976:58, 100-101; Sewall 1895:6-9), usually as Phoenician or Norse. The reason for these various reports is that the specimen is weathered and it can be 'read' in various ways. Fell identified its 'script' as "a Bronze Age predecessor of the Irish Ogam", and translated it as "Ships from Phoenicia, Cargo Platform". This meant to Fell: "as Monhegan Island lies some ten miles offshore it seems likely that the whole island was a trading station used by Phoenician captains, with some organized ferry system for the transfer of goods to and from the mainland" (Fell 1976:58, 101; Frederick 1976). Some years ago Barry Timson, then a geologist with the State of Maine, examined the Manana Island 'in-

scription' and identified it as olivine norite with quartz micro-veins, differentially weathered in facing the prevailing winds. The 'inscription', according to Timson, is a natural feature, untouched by the hand of man (Timson personal communication to author, 1983).

What of Fell's Phoenician Ogams? They never existed, according to linguists and archaeologists on both sides of the Atlantic. Goddard and Fitzhugh: "Ogam is an alphabet used to write an early form of the Old Irish language. It was invented no earlier than the fourth century (A.D.)." (Goddard and Fitzhugh 1979:167). Archaeology professor Glyn Daniel of England's Cambridge University was equally emphatic:

> Ogam writing was invented in ancient Ireland by the Celts. Professor Fell's assertion that there is Ogam writing in Spain and Portugal and that it was taken by the megalith builders from Iberia to America is not true. There are no authentic Ogam inscriptions outside the British Isles; the megalith builders of Western Europe were not Celts. They predated the Celts by over a millennium and flourished from 4,500 B.C. to 2,000 B.C.

Daniel closed by saying that writings like Fell's display "an abysmal ignorance of the prehistory of Europe and Africa, which I would have found unacceptable among third year undergraduates" (Daniel 1977).

Fell also published a transcription of a Latin inscription carved in rock on the foreshore of York Harbor, Maine and carrying lines from Virgil's Aeneid in a script, according to Fell, "believed to date from about the fourth or fifth century A.D." (Fell 1980: 131). The present writer submitted Fell's transcription to Mark Hassall of the University of London's Institute of Archaeology, who forwarded it, *without provenience or source,* to Professor Robert Ireland of the Department of Latin, University College, London. Professor Ireland, a specialist in classical epigraphy, had this to say about the inscription:

> What strikes one immediately and most forcibly, I think, is the wild diversity of letter-forms which the text employs. Many of them can be paralleled from ancient epigraphic sources, but sources so disparate in date and medium that one's suspicions are automatically aroused (Ireland personal communication to author, 1983).

Ireland not only noted a vast range in dates for the letter forms, he also identified numerous anachronisms, including letters of modern form. Whoever carved the inscription "had a general but wholly uncritical familiarity with some ancient inscriptional alphabets and used, without any concern for congruity, whatever forms suggested themselves as looking authentic.... But even so, he should have known better than to incise blatantly cursive forms on stone... There are too many anomalies in the lettering.... It's a blatant fraud" (Ireland personal communication to author, 1983).

And what of archaeological evidence? Much has been made by Fell and others of stone chambers and "megaliths" in northern New England and their identification as Celtic (Druid) cult centers in the mid- to late first millennium B.C. (Davis 1978:10-14). A number of these chambers have been subsequently examined to test this hypothesis. Giovanna Peebles, Vermont's State Archaeologist, conducted detailed documentary research on all such sites in that state, determining without question that they date from the 19*th* century A.D. and functioned as root cellars for the many farmsteads which dot the region: "...As this study has shown, much of what is sometimes thought 'exotic' or 'mysterious' proves to be commonplace after a modicum of research. While there are still many archaeological puzzles in Vermont, the stone chambers are not among them" (Neudorfer 1979:132; Neudorfer 1980).

Nevertheless, at the behest of the National Geographic Society, Dr. Peter Reynolds, Director of the Butser Ancient Farm Research Project in England, conducted excavations in 1980 on four of these chambers, proving that they are of post-colonial date (Anonymous 1982:2, 4). Edward Lenik, Director of

**Figure 1.** The largely treeless landscape of the late 19*th*-century, with Hallowell in middle ground (Maine Historic Preservation Commission [MHPC] collection).

the Archaeological Research Laboratory at the Van Riper-Hopper Museum of Wayne, New Jersey conducted follow-up excavations at one of Reynolds' sites a few weeks later (Lenik n.d.) and additionally analyzed the artifacts recovered from all four chambers and their environs (Lenik 1980). Virtually all of each assemblage dated from the 19*th* century, with limited 18*th*- and 20*th*-century components. Not one artifact predated the late 18*th* century.

"Standing stones" have attracted attention as well (Poitras 1978 :183; Cole 1983:19). For example, the present writer was shown a group of three in the town of Bristol, Maine, all of which carried wedge-shaped scars typical of 19*th*-century granite quarrying. Two of the stones were located beside driveways and would have supported gates. The third was more oddly placed behind a barn, but among its quarrying marks were a series of slots, several of which contained fragments of iron wedges used to split the rock. Two granite quarries were in operation late in the 19*th* century in the village of Round Pond, just four miles away (Grindle 1977:36, 44, 90).

Maine's landscape has changed enormously in the past hundred years. Where today thick secondary forest grows in abundance, a century ago most of southern and coastal Maine was all but treeless, consisting of hayfields harvested as fuel for horse-power or pastures for sheep (Figures 1 and 2). The field-patterns representing the zenith of Maine's agricultural industry are everywhere to be seen in the form of stone fences criss-crossing the overgrown land (Figures 3 and 4); the stone cellars of abandoned farmsteads with their wells, orchards, and outbuildings are almost always nearby, allowing the archaeol-

**Figure 2.** The largely treeless landscape in the Winthrop area (MHPC collection).

ogist and geographer to reconstruct, often with the immense aid of early photographs, the profound effect of the New Englander's impact on our environment. There is no need to claim that these structural features were built by mysterious prehistoric visitors. Documentary research inevitably proves that Druids did not build John Doe's farmstead; John Doe built it in 1857.

The layman's imagination is fueled precisely because these farmsteads and field-systems are now locked into deep forest (Durrance 1978:23). The early photographs are revealing. They show the stone fences in a new condition, often with split-rail fences on top. Others show only split-rail fences and the random piles of rock which John Doe gathered while plowing (Figures 5 through 9). He would be amused to hear that the latter are now intriguing to some who think that they are Viking cairns! Recently an excellent book was published about the late 18*th*- and 19*th*-century origins of our stone walls and fieldstone piles (Allport 1990).

"Calendar circles" are another favorite subject, but it is very easy to crawl across Maine's boulder-strewn hills (a legacy of glaciation) and pick and choose rocks which will conveniently align with the seasonal passage of celestial bodies (Figure 10). In any case, if these structures were built by ancient Europeans who allegedly had such a profound effect upon our landscape, why have no Egyptian, Phoenician, or Celtic artifacts been found? Old World sites abound in diagnostic ceramics from all of these peoples, among many others. If, in the case of Monhegan Island, "the whole island was a trading station used by Phoenician captains" (Fell 1976:101), why is it that the earliest European artifacts recovered from the place over the past century are English white clay pipe fragments of the mid-17*th* century?

One class of artifacts from pre-Columbian Europeans is occasionally seen in Maine: coins. However, their presence should not be seen as evidence (much less proof) that the cultures represented actually visited northern New England. The now-famous Norwegian penny of the 11*th* century, found in an Indian site on Blue Hill Bay, seems to have found its way to the coast by indirect Indian trade from Labrador or vicinity. the site contains lithic raw materials from that area, and the Norse in Greenland are known to have visited Labrador from time to time (Bourque and Cox 1979:15-16, 24).

The Blue Hill Bay Viking penny is unique at this time in being the only such anomalous coin to have been recovered from an archaeological context. Oth-

**Figure 3**. Field-stone fences delineating a 19*th*-century field-system in Cornish. Note the lack of individual stone piles (MHPC collection).

**Figure 4.** Pole fence in the Camden vicinity (MHPC collection).

ogist and geographer to reconstruct, often with the immense aid of early photographs, the profound effect of the New Englander's impact on our environment. There is no need to claim that these structural features were built by mysterious prehistoric visitors. Documentary research inevitably proves that Druids did not build John Doe's farmstead; John Doe built it in 1857.

The layman's imagination is fueled precisely because these farmsteads and field-systems are now locked into deep forest (Durrance 1978:23). The early photographs are revealing. They show the stone fences in a new condition, often with split-rail fences on top. Others show only split-rail fences and random piles of rock which John Doe gathered while plowing (Figures 5 through 9). He would be amused to hear that the latter are now intriguing to some who think they are Viking cairns! An excellent book has been published about the late 18*th*- and 19*th*-century origins of our stone walls and fieldstone piles (Allport 1990).

"Calendar circles" are another favorite subject, but it is very easy to crawl across Maine's boulder-strewn hills (a legacy of glaciation) and pick and choose rocks which will conveniently align with the seasonal passage of celestial bodies (Figure 10). In any case, if these structures were built by ancient Europeans who allegedly had such a profound effect upon our landscape, why have no Egyptian, Phoenician, or Celtic artifacts been found? Old World sites abound in diagnostic ceramics from all of these peoples, among many others. If, in the case of Monhegan Island, "the whole island was a trading station used by Phoenician captains" (Fell 1976:101), why is it that the earliest European artifacts recovered from the place over the past century are English white clay pipe fragments of the mid-17*th* century?

One class of artifacts from pre-Columbian Europeans is occasionally seen in Maine: coins. However, their presence should not be seen as evidence (much less proof) that the cultures represented actually visited northern New England. The now-famous Norwegian penny of the 11*th* century, found in an Indian site on Blue Hill Bay, seems to have found its way to the coast by indirect Indian trade from Labrador or vicinity. the site contains lithic raw materials from that area, and the Norse in Greenland are known to have visited Labrador from time to time (Bourque and Cox 1979:15-15, 24).

**Figure 5.** Eagle Lake outlet, Mt. Desert Island, showing a field-stone pile adjacent to a split-rail fence (MHPC collection).

**Figure 6** (below). South Union vicinity, showing stone piles in alignment, obviating the need to zigzag across the field when plowing. Note the absence of stone fences (MHPC collection).

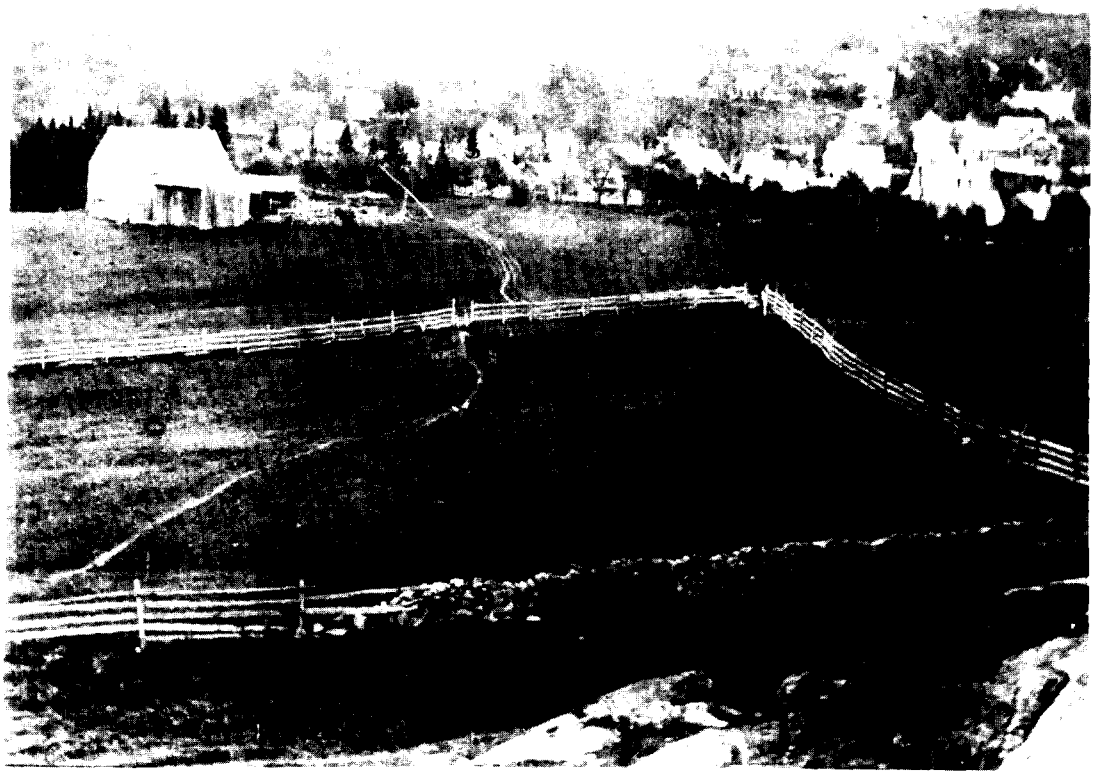


**Figure 7.** Waldoboro area, showing no stone piles, a stone fence terminated when rocks were used up, and completion of the field-system with split-rail fences (MHPC collection).

The Blue Hill Bay Viking penny is unique at this time in being the only such anomalous coin to have been recovered from an archaeological context. Others have turned up, reported to archaeologists by landowners or construction workers. For example, the writer has seen a sestertius of the Roman emperor Domitian, minted in 80 A.D., found in a Westbrook back yard; and a coin of the Byzantine emperor Constans II (A.D. 641-668) has turned up in New Harbor, a village within the Town of Bristol. Artifacts like these are stray finds lacking an archaeological or historic context. While it would be exciting to rewrite American history books by placing Byzantine merchants in New Harbor, unfortunately such a scenario is the *least likely* explanation. In fact ancient coins have been recovered on many occasions, not only in Maine but also in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Florida (Noël Hume 1974: 120-124). They will no doubt continue to appear, if Ivor Noël Hume, Director of Archaeology Emeritus at Colonial Williamsburg, is correct:

> The one factor common to all these... classical coins has been their discovery close to estuaries, to places where ocean-going ships might have been moored or beached, and where their ballast could have been jettisoned. Because... Roman... coins have often been found on the foreshores of England's River Thames, it might be suggested that fill dug from those shores was sometimes used as ballast and later dumped in American rivers and bays (Noël Hume 1974:122-123).

**Figure 8.** The boarding house for the Madison Slate Quarry workers, showing random boulders, a split-rail fence atop a field-stone base, and a sawn board fence (MHPC collection).

**Figure 9.** Little River Harbor, Cutler, from Henry G Peabody, *The Coast of Maine* (Boston, 1889), showing field-stone piles in front of a split-rail fence (MHPC collection).

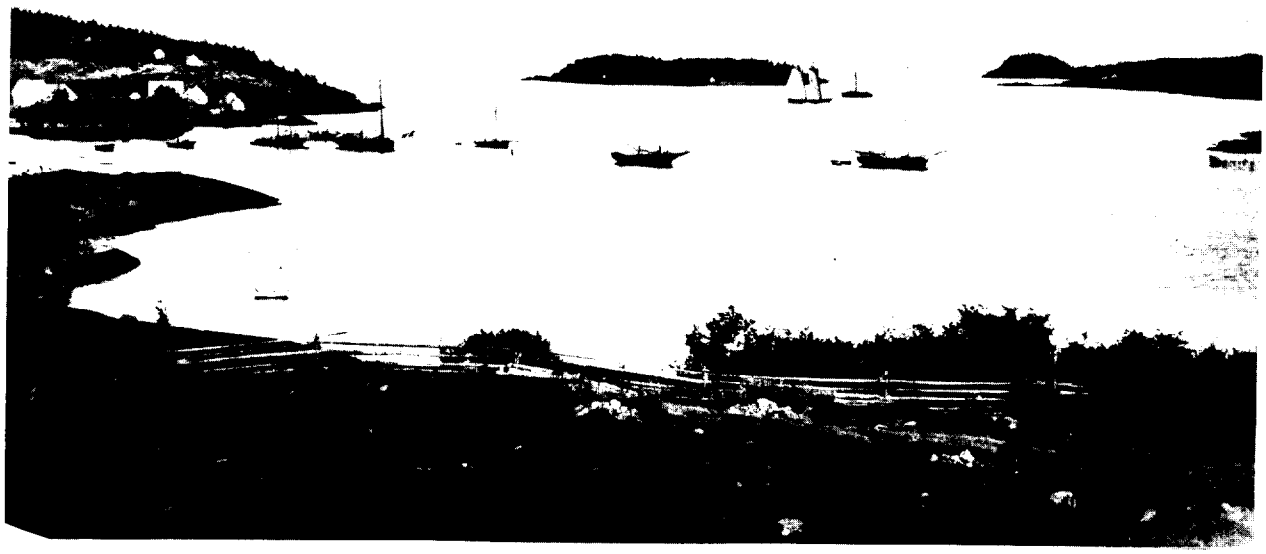


**Figure 10.** A boulder-strewn field in Andover with both field-stone and split-rail fences in the background (MHPC collection).

While on the subject of "ancient" coins, many Maine specimens have come to the writer's attention which are silver-plated. These are forgeries manufactured ever since collecting early coins became popular on both sides of the Atlantic two centuries or more ago. In 1981 Professor Alaric Faulkner of the Department of Anthropology, University of Maine at Orono, was shown a "Phoenician" coin found in downtown Bangor. Close inspection yielded the word "COPY" on the edge, indicating manufacture for sale as a reputable museum replica (Faulkner personal communication to author, 1981). A recent gift catalogue (Anonymous n.d.:64). carried an advertisement for the following:

> Coins of the Bible retrace history! Seven authentic replicas from Widow's mite to huge Roman coins - with historic data and Bible references for collectors or students. Solid metal, cast in our New England workshop, plated and antiqued to look like the silver, bronze and copper originals.

"Runes" have already been cited in the context of Manana Island. In 1971 three small stones were reported discovered at the mouth of Spirit Pond in Phippsburg, a revelation that caused a temporary sensation in the press (Trillin 1972:70-74). As usual there was no archaeological context, the stones allegedly having been found on the foreshore of the tidal pond by a member of the public. Various avocational groups, particularly the Landsverk Foundation and the New England Antiquities Research Association, have claimed that these stones carry authentic Viking inscriptions, and indeed they do carry runes (Figure 11). The scientific community, however, has categorically rejected their authenticity. The late Dr. Einar Haugen, Professor of Scandinavian and linguistics at

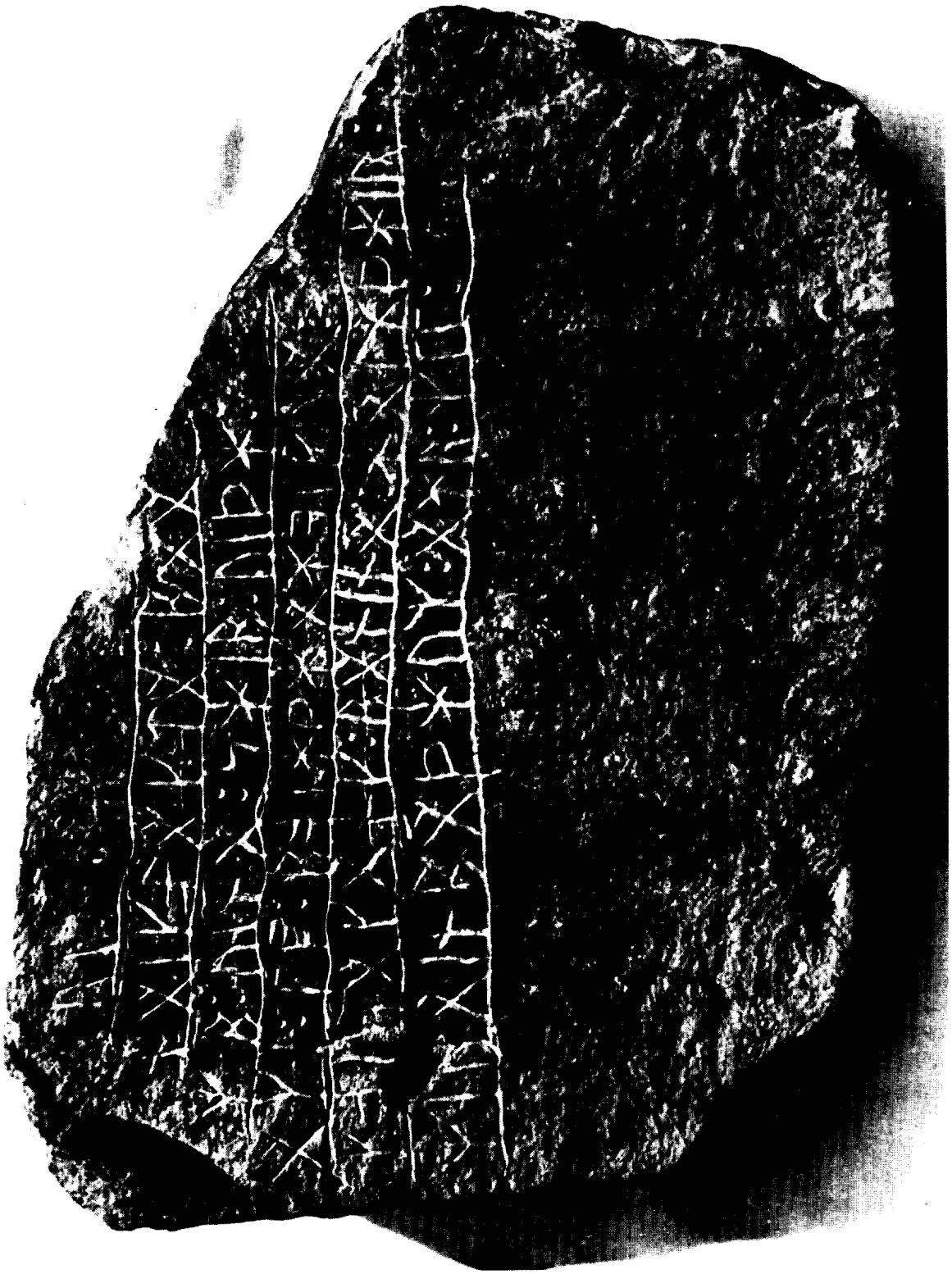


**Figure 11.** One of the Spirit Pond "rune stones" (Maine State Museum photograph).

Harvard University, thoroughly analyzed the artifacts and declared them to be clumsy 20*th*-century forgeries for a host of reasons: the runes are not those used by medieval Scandinavians; some have never been used by Scandinavians; the numbers, dates and spelling represented are anachronistic; the grammar is not related to the Old Norse language; much of the text makes no sense; and many of the words coincide with those on Minnesota's famed Kensington Stone, a known forgery:

> What...untrained runic enthusiasts do not realize is the point I have tried to make in this report: Norwegians and Icelanders coming to North American shores in the year 1000 did not suddenly change their language and start talking or writing pidgin Old Norse when they stepped ashore. To judge if an inscription could have been written then, one has to have read extensively enough in Old Norse literature to know how they expressed themselves and what their language was like. It is not enough to pick words from a dictionary. One has to know how they put words together into sentences and what the probabilities are of certain combinations of words. Such haphazard guesses concerning the meaning are a denial of everything that has been learned about language in general and about Old Norse in particular over the last 150 years (Haugen 1972:62-85).

Physically determining exactly when an inscription was carved, whether authentic or fake, is usually very difficult. In the case of the Spirit Pond specimens, the inscribed areas are not weathered like the rest of the rock faces, suggesting recent manufacture, but such observations are not conclusive. More recently, however, another "runic" inscription has appeared which can be rather precisely dated. This example was found in 1980 carved on a boulder in the Town of Tremont on the shore of Mount Desert Island (Wiggins 1980:1). In this case, again, the carving seemed very recent, but it was the location of the rock which was telling. Professor Faulkner examined the find in its environs:

> Found 2 to 3 meters from the rapidly eroding shoreline, this was probably not exposed until after the winter storm of 1978. Until this time it is clear that the boulder was imbedded in late Pleistocene deposits which certainly were not exposed during the 11th century. The markings are very fresh, and were cut into the surface with a square ended tool like a modern cold chisel (Faulkner field notes for the Maine Historic Archaeological Sites Inventory).

In other words, the obvious freshness of the chisel marks aside, the inscription was either carved between 1978 and 1980 or it was carved ten to fifteen thousand years ago. There can be no doubt that the Tremont inscription is an artifact of the late 20*th* century A.D.

So where does all of this leave us? Outlandish claims for massive migrations by early European peoples to Maine and North America are certainly not new. What is new is the proliferation of science fiction and pure speculation parading as science in newspapers, magazines and best-selling books. The phenomenon has been dubbed "cult archaeology" and there is no end in sight, as recently chronicled by Stephen Williams (Williams 1991).

Professor John R. Cole of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst has identified a number of characteristics common to these movements and their publications (Cole 1979: 27-53; Cole 1980: 1-33): wild assertions presented as proven theories; highly selective use of undocumented evidence to "prove" narrow points; oversimplification of complex issues; appeals for blind belief; and defensive attacks on the professional "Establishment". It is well to bear these characteristics in mind when thumbing through books on archaeology and history.

Meanwhile, both professional and avocational Maine archaeologists will continue to investigate reports of sites, inscriptions and artifacts which are loudly claimed to challenge accepted theory. And

they will continue to locate and study the remarkable range of sites left by prehistoric Native Americans and by Europeans of the colonial period on. Their painstaking work will seldom be dramatic and certainly will never result in world-wide best-selling books; but it will contribute to the body of scientific evidence which generations of researchers have built.

This article is not offered as proof that early Europeans never visited Maine. It is intended to summarize the various claims which have been made in favor of such visits, and to show how groundless they are. Perhaps some day a site will be found in Maine which will suggest the presence of Phoenicians, Egyptians, Celts, Romans, or Vikings. In the meantime research would much more profitably be applied to any number of the important remaining questions about Maine's prehistory and history.

## REFERENCES

Allport, Susan.
1990 *Sermons in Stone: The Stone Walls of New England and New York.* New York.

Anonymous.
n.d. Lillian Vernon gift catalogue, Vol. 62. New York.

Anonymous.
1982 NGS Study of Vermont Stone Chamber Completed by Peter Reynolds. *Vermont Archaeological Society Newsletter* 39 (1982).

Bourque, Bruce J. and Steven L. Cox.
1981 Maine State Museum Investigations of the Goddard Site, 1979. *Man in the Northeast* 22 (1981).

Cole, John N.
1983 White Nichols and His $2,200 Pet Rock. *Down East Magazine*, March 1983.

Cole, John R.
1979 Inscription Mania, Hyperdiffusionism and the Public: Fallout from a 1977 Meeting in Vermont. *Man in the Northeast* 17 (1979).
1980 Cult Archaeology and Unscientific Method and Theory. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 3, edited by Michael B. Schiffer. New York.

Daniel, Glyn.
1977 America B.C. (book review). *New York Times*, March 13, 1977.

Davis, William A.
1978 Rocks of Ages or Just Colonial Root Cellars? *New England Magazine, Boston Sunday Globe*, February 12, 1978.

Durrance, Martha.
1978 Are Common Stone Walls Prehistoric Megaliths? *Kennebec Journal*, November 1, 1978.

Fell, Barry.
1976 *America B.C.* New York.
1980 *Saga America.* New York.
1982 *Bronze Age America.* New York.

Frederick, Arthur.
1976 Monhegan Carvings May Alter History Views. *Maine Sunday Telegram*, April 18, 1976.

Goddard, Ives and William W. Fitzhugh.
1979 A Statement Concerning America B.C. *Man in the Northeast* 17 (1979).

Grindle, Roger L.
1977 *Tombstones and Paving Blocks: The History of the Maine Granite Industry.* New York.

Haugen, Einar.
1972 The Rune Stones of Spirit Pond, Maine. *Man in the Northeast* 4 (1971).

Lenik, Edward J.
n.d. Report of Excavations at the Eagle Site, South Royalton, Vermont. Unpublished typescript on file at Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, Montpelior.
1980 Letter to Dr. Eleanor Ott, Calais, Vermont, July 16, 1980, on file at Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, Montpelior.
Moorehead, Warren K.
1924 The Ancient Remains at Pemaquid. *Old-Time New England* 14: 3 (1924).
Neudorfer, Giovanna.
1979 Vermont's Stone Chambers: Their Myth and Their History. *Vermont History* 47: 2 (1979).
1980 *Vermont's Stone Chambers: An Inquiry into their Past*. Montpelior.
Noël Hume, Ivor.
1974 *All the Best Rubbish*. New York.
Poitras, Ron.
1978 Mysterious Old Megaliths Dot Maine's Countryside. *Kennebec Journal*, October 9, 1978.
Sewall, Rufus King.
1895 *Ancient Voyages to the Western Continent*. New York.
Trillin, Calvin.
1972 U.S. Journal: Maine: Runes. *The New Yorker Magazine*, February 5, 1972.
Von Däniken, Erich.
1969 *Chariots of the Gods?* New York.
Wiggins, John R.
1980 America Was a Busy Place Before Columbus Set Sail. *Ellsworth American*, September 25, 1980.
Williams, Stephen.
1991 *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory*. Philadelphia.

# NAGPRA

**Steven L. Cox**

*This article does not necessarily represent the position of The Maine Archaeological Society, but it is included to facilitate a discussion of an important issue. Readers are invited to respond through The Maine Archaeological Society Newsletter. — The Editor*

In 1990 Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, NAGPRA for short. This Act has far-reaching consequences for museums, universities and other institutions that conduct archaeological research and house archaeological collections. Ultimately it may well result in the loss to the general public of a major part of this country's (and more specifically Maine's) archaeological collections. Thus, I feel it is important for the Society's membership to understand both the law and the potential results of the law.

NAGPRA mandates the return to the Indians, upon their request, of all Native American human remains and several categories of cultural objects whose tribal affiliation can be determined. Affected are all federal agencies and any museum or institution which has ever received federal funding. This includes for instance the Maine State Museum, Abbe Museum, and the entire University of Maine system.

Five categories of material are covered by the Act:

1) human skeletal remains;

2) associated funerary objects, defined as "objects that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later" where both the human remains and the associated objects are in possession of the museum, as well as "other items exclusively made for burial purposes or to contain human remains";

3) unassociated funerary objects, which are objects reasonably believed to have been grave goods, but which are not associated with specific human remains;

4) sacred objects, defined as "specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents", and

5) objects of cultural patrimony, which are objects "having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native American".

NAGPRA, and draft regulations issued subsequently by the Department of the Interior under the authority of the Act, specify a schedule for activities mandated under the Act. By November, 1993 all institutions falling under the jurisdiction of the Act had to submit written summaries of the unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony that they possessed. More specific inventories of human remains and associated grave goods must be completed by November, 1995, and the inventories must be followed by notifications to affiliated tribes within six months of completion. Any items claimed by affiliated tribes must then be "expeditiously" returned to the tribe.

The impact of the Act on archaeological collections held by public and private institutions in Maine will largely depend on the final interpretation of the meaning of certain terms used in the Act. Probably the most important is the term "cultural affiliation", since repatriation appears to be mandated solely to tribes that are culturally affiliated to the remains or objects in question. NAGPRA defines cultural affiliation as "a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe...and an identifiable earlier group." Not surprisingly, there is disagreement over the interpretation of this definition.

The Indians believe that their ancestors have been in place within their historically known tribal territories forever; that the age of cultural material or remains is irrelevant.

Most archaeologists, on the other hand, take a more dynamic view of time and culture, believing that there is good evidence for significant population displacements in the Maine archaeological record at a number of times in the past. One such discontinuity occurred about 3800 years ago, when the Moorehead ("Red Paint") culture was suddenly replaced by a new culture, called Susquehanna. Susquehanna differed dramatically from Moorehead in virtually every aspect of culture, including technology, subsistence patterns and burial ritual, and the Susquehanna cultural pattern can be traced back to the Southeastern United States. Thus, the Moorehead/Susquehanna shift amply fulfills the rather stringent requirements archaeologists have set themselves to determine the presence of immigration of a new population versus in place cultural change. Although the Moorehead /Susquehanna transition is the best known and documented case of probable population replacement, there are a number of similar discontinuities in the prehistoric record which may involve new populations, including ones at about 1,000, 2,200, 2,800 and 5,000 years ago. While any one of these discontinuities may eventually be proven to result from rapid in place cultural evolution of an existing population, taken together they strongly indicate a dynamic prehistory involving many cultural and population changes through time.

Thus, a general consensus has emerged among professional archaeologists that cultural affiliation between present-day tribes and archaeological materials can be established back to the beginning of the European contact period around 400 years ago, but that such affiliations become increasingly less certain beyond that. Few, if any, archaeologists believe that cultural affiliation can be established for materials older than about a thousand years in the state. Thus, the dispute is not over the body of someone's great grandfather, which everyone on both sides of the issue agree shouldn't be in a museum, but on remains and artifacts from more than 30 generations back.

Another area of disagreement concerns the definition of associated funerary objects. Archaeologists understand the term to mean those objects interred with human remains. In discussions with museum officials, tribal NAGPRA representatives have indicated that they believe burial offerings were often placed above ground and therefore, since every artifact and fragment of animal bone at a site which contains human remains is potentially an offering to the deceased, they consider all artifacts and faunal remains from such a site to be associated funerary objects and thus subject to NAGPRA.

If the tribal view on these issues prevails, there will be major effects on Maine's public archaeological collections. Possible outcomes would include the loss of the great majority of Red Paint culture artifacts and the gutting and possible closure of the state museum's "Twelve Thousand Years in Maine" exhibit. Unquestionably there will be a massive loss of both scientific and educational resources.

NAGPRA also raises a number of more fundamental ethical and legal questions. Do the state's prehistoric archaeological collections represent the cultural heritage of only the state's Native Americans, or that of all of her citizens? Should the federal government impose the tenets of Native American religious beliefs on all Americans by dispossessing them of legally acquired, and often publicly owned archaeological and ethnographic collections? Are museums and other institutions violating fundamental civil or religious rights of ethnic groups by acquiring and maintaining collections of material originating in those groups?

It will be some time before the specific effects of NAGPRA are known. Disagreements between institutions and Native Americans will be submitted to a federal review committee set up under the act, and ultimately it is likely that a number of the issues may wind up being decided by the courts. However, it remains to be seen whether private or even state institutions have the will and the financial resources to take on both the federal government and the Indians in the legal system and to risk civil penalties for non-compliance.

Museums and other institutions holding archaeo-

logical collections are squarely in the middle of an ethical dilemma — trying to do what is right by the Indians while at the same time maintaining their responsibility toward the collections entrusted to their keeping. They wonder if any one else cares about the collections, and are very aware that saying no to any Indian demand would be very politically incorrect in this day and age. I urge those of you in the Society's membership who feel strongly about this issue, on either side, to express your opinions to local museum officials or board members, and to inform others of the issues involved. Additionally, since the resolution of disputes will depend in part on interpretation of Congress' intent when it passed the law, I suggest you contact your Congressional representatives, not only to express your opinions, but also to find out how they interpreted the meaning of the law when they voted on it.