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Graphic standards should be generally those outlined in
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chaeological Reports (London 1966).

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on white paper or board. Standard page size (printed
area) is 6"x9", and pictures should be this size or in
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No picture of an artifact will be accepted unless it con-
tains a graphic scale or other indication of size.

Photographs should be clear, large, glossy prints.
Site reports must contain maps and scaled layout.
Manuscripts for publication should be submitted to the
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one side only. Leave adequate margin for editing.
Authors are entitled to purchase 25 additional copies of
the Quarterly Bulletin at cost; each author receives two
free copies of each issue in which his work appears.
The Camden Site (44 Ce 3) lies on the right (south) bank of the Rappahannock River, 2.6 miles east-southeast of the bridge over the river at Port Royal. (Figure 1) The site lies in pasture lands nine-tenths of a mile east of the historic plantation house, Camden (built ca. 1770; rebuilt 1859) (Waterman, 1945). Camden has been owned by the Pratt family since the eighteenth century, and the present owner is Mr. Richard T. Pratt, to whom we are indebted for permission to make the excavations described in this report.

The site, measuring only 30' x 50', is on the north edge of an extensive terrace, at an elevation of twenty feet above mean sea level. The Rappahannock River at the site is tidal, with a tide range of about three feet. Between the foot of the terrace and the open river is a marsh about a thousand feet wide. This marsh undoubtedly results from silting of the river in historic times and the subsequent establishment of typical marsh vegetation, including trees. No source of potable water is found near the site, but river-bank springs probably existed in earlier times, or could have been developed with little effort.

The soil at the site is loose sand, overlying deposits of clay and gravel. While most of the terrace has been pasture in recent years, it had been under cultivation at some time in the past. The site proper was covered with a sparse growth of young trees when excavated. Mr. Pratt was in the process of having the land cleared for pasture improvement, when the site was first noticed.
Figure One: Area Map, showing approximate early land boundary lines.
The site was found in the spring of 1964 by Mrs. J.M.H. Willis, Jr., of Fredericksburg, the granddaughter of Mr. Pratt. She noticed oyster shells, bones and Indian pottery lying in an eroded portion of a logging road close to the river bank. She collected a sample of the exposed materials, and in addition, found an English copper farthing dated 1672.

Mrs. Willis, a member of the Upper Rappahannock Chapter of the Archeological Society of Virginia, reported her discovery to Dr. L. Clyde Carter, Professor of Anthropology at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, and at his suggestion notified the author of her finds. Dr. Carter arranged for a weekend of test digging at the site by members of the Upper Rappahannock Chapter in October 1964. A row of five-foot squares was laid out parallel to the river bank, and a shorter row was extended down the bank. Digging was done on subsequent weekends and at other times, as workers could take part in the work. A total of fifty five-foot squares was dug. Figure 2 shows the layout of the excavated area.

Members of the Upper Rappahannock and Greater Richmond Area Chapters combined one weekend in March 1965 to complete the site's excavation. The author was present for about half of the work and assumed the task of cleaning and analyzing the materials and preparing this report.

All digging was done by five-foot square units, and most squares were dug in two levels. The upper (plowed) level was six inches of black, humus-filled sand, which contained most of the cultural material. Below this level, Level Two was dug from six to twelve inches deep. In most cases, sterile yellow sand was met at or above the twelve-inch depth. In two squares, some humus and cultural material extended somewhat deeper. All materials below 12" deep were above the eighteen-inch level, and these were recorded as Level Three. Materials were kept separate by square and level pending analysis. The soil from each level was trowelled and then sifted (in screens of about one-fourth inch mesh), so that very little cultural or refuse material escaped. All materials were collected, except oyster shells, of which only a representative sample was saved. All bones, stones, and suspected artifacts were saved. Potsherds and pipe fragments were numerous in Levels One and Two. The materials collected are described below.

As each square was cleared, it was examined for pits, graves and post-molds. Two features were found: a shallow refuse-filled pit and a small burned area, interpreted as a hearth. One post-mold was found in square 2D. The two features were:

Feature One - an oval refuse pit, 3.3 feet long and 2.5 feet wide, with the longer axis east and west. The pit extended partly into Squares 3D and 3E. It extended two inches into the subsoil, to a maximum depth from the surface of fourteen inches. The base of the pit was flat, and the sides sloped uniformly from the base to the point where the outlines faded into the disturbed topsoil. The pit contained refuse bones, oyster shells and the following:

- Chip, quartzite 1
- Potomac Creek Cord-impressed Pottery 3
- Potomac Creek Plain Pottery 11

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Figure Two: Excavation Diagram, showing subsurface features.

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Feature Two - a small burned area in the subsoil at a depth of six inches in Square ~1F. The hearth was circular, two feet in diameter, and was lens-like in cross-section. It was three inches thick in the center and consisted of sand, obviously reddened by fire. No mass of charcoal or concentration of refuse was present. Mixed in the sand of the hearth were the following:

- Fragments of deer bone: 7
- Chip of greenstone: 1
- Potomac Creek Cord-Impressed Pottery: 7
- Potomac Creek Plain Pottery: 7

No pattern of post molds was found, and no graves were found in the area excavated. If graves exist elsewhere on the terrace, no surface evidence of them is apparent. Refuse bones and shells were found most thickly in the area outlined by the dotted line on Figure 2. It appears from this localization of refuse that this part of the site was a surface dump for the site's inhabitants, probably directly in front of the doorway of their house. Other evidence will be cited in support of this hypothesis.

**FOOD REMAINS**

Shells and animal bones were found scattered lightly over most of the excavated area, with the one concentration indicated in Figure 2. No vegetal food remains were found, although hickory and black walnuts of recent vintage were found on the surface and in the topsoil. No agricultural tools were found. The shells collected have been identified by Dr. J.P.E. Morrison, U.S. National Museum, as follows:

- oyster: Grassostrea virginica
- clam: Elliptio complanatus
- river snail: Littorina irrorata Say

The clams and snails are native to the river at the site, but oysters do not now live in the Rappahannock nearer to the site than Tappahannock, some 45-50 miles away. The oysters therefore represent imported food.

Animal bones were identified as the following species:

- Deer: Odocoileus virginianus
- Raccoon: Procyon lotor
- Squirrel: Sciurus carolinensis
- Duck: probably mallard
- Turkey: Meleagris gallopavo
- Snapping Turtle: Chelydra serpentina
- Loggerhead turtle: Caretta C. caretta
- Box tortoise: Terrapine carolina

In addition to the foregoing food remains, fifteen charred crab claws were recovered.

There was evidence for the use of both the bow and fire-arms by occupants of the site. Iron knives and native-made dishes and pots were used in food preparation.

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Evidence of the manufacture of stone implements consisted of chips of the following types and quantities of materials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>Level 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quartz</td>
<td>120 (32.3%)</td>
<td>51 (40.0%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenstone</td>
<td>116 (31.3%)</td>
<td>66 (50.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chert</td>
<td>52 (14.0%)</td>
<td>5 (03.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartzite</td>
<td>45 (12.1%)</td>
<td>4 (03.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argillite</td>
<td>32 (08.7%)</td>
<td>4 (03.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyolite</td>
<td>6 (01.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How much of the chippage shown can be attributed to the main occupation of the site cannot be ascertained. Undoubtedly some of the chips pertain to earlier occupations, as do some of the chipped stone artifacts and some of the ceramic remains. Since some of the chert chips are the same material as that from which gun-flints were made, it is probable that some chipping (or rechipping) of these essential artifacts was done at the site. No firm conclusions can be drawn from the chips tabulated above. Nine chert chips and one of quartz show edges with secondary chipping. These are classed as scrapers and will be described under that category.

No hammerstones, chisels or axes of Indian manufacture were found. Since several tools made of iron were found, it is probable that most work in wood and other workable materials was done with these acquired tools. To maintain edged metal tools, sharpening tools would have been needed. Two iron files and several fragments of sandstone, probably served this purpose. The latter are native sandstones of rather poor quality for honing sharp edges, but they would probably have sufficed for rough sharpening.

Several scraps of lead and copper indicate that some working was done at the site with these materials. The lead may have been raw material for bullets. Two pieces of lead with serrated edges seem to have been used to impress roulette-like designs on clay pipes.

Amorphous pieces of baked clay are probably waste material from the manufacture of pottery and indicate that pots and pipes were shaped and fired at the site.

**DOMESTIC REFUSE**

The bulk of the refuse can be attributed to household activities. The food remains (shells and bones) are almost assuredly kitchen scraps. The great amount of broken pottery, both cook pots and dishes, show that the active life of such wares was probably short and precarious. The varieties of pottery types found intermixed indicate that wares of several styles were in use concurrently. Some of these may represent dishes brought to the
site by the occupants when they first came there. Other dishes were undoubtedly made at the site, while others were obtained from neighboring Indians and Europeans. Detailed descriptions of the various pottery wares are included in the sections on artifacts.

Broken and worn-out tools constitute another important element of the refuse. These include files, knives, stone abraders, gun-flints, links of chain, and scrapers made from flakes of chert. These items are further described in the sections on artifacts. Scraps of iron, lead and copper may have been raw materials lost or discarded as refuse.

Objects of personal adornment were probably accidentally lost about the house, rather than discarded. These include buckles, coins, pendants of silver and brass, and beads made of shell, porcelain, glass and copper.

The great number of pipe fragments, both Indian-made (229) and European-made (23), are probably discards. Wasters found indicate that brown-clay pipes were made at the site. From the great number of pipe fragments, one might conclude that smoking was a favored pastime in the home.

Objects related to the structure of the house itself were found in the refuse deposits. These include forged nails, fragments of iron hardware (straps, hinges, rings, etc.), and burned clay mortar or daub. No bricks were found. The following list shows the structural items found, and Figure 3 shows the horizontal distribution of the nails found.

### Architectural Refuse Found

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iron nails</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye of strap hinge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of door lock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burned sandstone (hearth?)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burned clay (daub?)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Artifacts

Artifacts were found in every square excavated, although the quantities per square diminished as the perimeter of the excavated area was approached. This concentration in the center of the excavated area seems to pin-point the location of the habitation. The evidence for this will be summarized below. Smaller tests as near as ten feet outside the edge of the excavated area showed no trace of occupational refuse, except on the very edge of the terrace, where there seemed to be some thin, lateral spreading of the refuse along the river bank. This may indicate scattering by the site's habitants, as they dumped and tossed refuse toward and over the edge of the terrace.

The artifacts may be lumped into two major categories - aboriginal and European. In the following paragraphs, we describe and compare the

MacCord: Camden
artifacts in each major category by materials from which made. The significance of these artifacts and their occurrence together in a small site will be reserved for the Discussion section of this report. In most instances, a three-part number is shown after the designation of an artifact. This number is the Accession Number by which the artifact is catalogued in the files of the Virginia State Library. With the exception of a few artifacts retained by Mr. Pratt and Mrs. Willis, or deposited in the Virginia Historical Society collections, all other materials are stored at the Virginia State Library in Richmond, pending establishment of a proper museum.

ARTIFACTS - ABORIGINAL

Artifacts of unquestionably Indian manufacture show a wide range of types and varieties. Some of these undoubtedly represent occupations of the site during the Archaic and various Woodland Periods. The majority of the artifacts, however, are attributable to the main occupation, which can be dated in the Historic Period, probably about 1680 AD, as will be shown subsequently. The ceramics of the Historic Period occupation share characteristics which prove that the wares are identical with or directly descended from the Late Woodland wares of the Potomac Valley. The following paragraphs contain descriptions of the various artifacts of aboriginal origin.

STONE ARTIFACTS.

Many of the stone artifacts are whole or broken projectile points. The following shows the types and provenience of these:

1. Projectile point of yellow-tan quartzite. (311 a 196) Found at a depth of 18" in a test hole dug about fifty feet west of the main excavation. The point resembles Coe's Morrow Mountain I point, and also could be classed as Holland's Type K. It resembles, too, the Rossville Point of Ritchie. (Fig 8, Plate 26, Ritchie, 1961) This point is illustrated in Figure 4 a.

2. Three lanceolate points of quartz. Two are from Level One, and one is from Level Two in the excavations. They appear to be variants of Coe's Guilford Point, but fit the description of Holland's Type F. They are also similar to the Poplar Island Point of Pennsylvania. (Ritchie, 1961). Two are illustrated in Figure 4 c-d.

3. Two stemmed or notched projectile points made of white quartz. Both were found in Level One in the excavations. Both seem to be variants of Coe's Halifax Point and Holland's Type I. Illustrated in Figure 4 b & e.

4. Two triangular points, both found in Level One of the excavations. One is made of Harper's Ferry quartzite, a flintly quartzite in which the separate sand grains are easily seen. The other is made from a black trap-rock. Both are small, less than one inch long. Both can be classed as small variants of Coe's Clarksville Large Triangular point and as adjacent areas. (Ritchie, 1961). These are illustrated in Figure 10.

5. Two fragments of larger blades made of quartz came from Level One in the excavations. These are so fragmentary that their original shapes and sizes cannot be ascertained.
With the possible exception of the two triangular points (Fig 10), which may have been made and used during the Historic Period, the stone projectile points seem to be of Archaic and Early Woodland age and are proof that the site was occupied intermittently during these earlier periods.

Another fairly numerous type of chipped stone artifact is the flake scraper, of which ten were found. One is of white quartz and the remainder are chert. All were found in the top level of the excavated area. One (311 a 97) is a typical "thumb-nail" scraper, and the others are utilized flakes, showing sharpening or use chipping along one or more edges. None seems to have been hafted.

One uniface pebble tool (311 a 78) of white quartz might have been used as an end scraper, or it might be merely a rejected core from the making of other stone implements.

One flat slab of fine-grained sandstone 4.5" x 3" shows polish on both faces, probably resulting from the stone's use as a whet-stone. Faint striations on one face support the supposition that the stone was so used.

Two other irregularly-shaped pebbles of coarse sandstone seem to have been used as abraders. One (311 a 153) shows ten parallel cuts at one edge, as if this area of the stone had been used to sharpen a tool of metal to a point.

Another stone artifact of uncertain use is a small fragment of mica schist which shows one smoothed edge. This may have been part of a stone pendant. (311 a 158)

One complete and two fragments of fossil shark teeth found in Level One of the excavations do not seem to have been modified in any way.

**SHELL ARTIFACTS**

Two beads made from shell were found at the site. One is a tubular bead, 27 mm long and 8 mm in diameter, (311 a 62) found in Level One of the excavation, Fig 11c. A small disk bead (311 a 164) was found on the surface of the sifted soil after a rain. This bead is 3.5 mm across and 1.3 mm thick.

**CERAMICS**

The most plentiful of all artifacts found were potsherds. A total of 9055 were recovered in the excavations and on the surface. Those from the surface (311 p 49) were found on spoil heaps and on eroded edges of the excavations after the winter of 1964-65. They cannot be used to support seriation of pottery types, since they seem to have originated at all depths. A total of 223 potsherds were from the surface. The remainder came from the three excavated levels and from Features One and Two. The bulk of the pottery (8900) represent three major related types, which have much in common. The remaining 155 sherds represent a variety of wares and a considerable time-depth. The following table shows only the minority types, according to tempering, surface treatment and depth at which found. (Classification according to Evans, 1955).
Pottery types | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Comment
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
Soapstone temper |  |  |  | Marcey Creek Plain
Plain | 1 |  |  | Unknown type
Clay & quartz temper |  |  |  | Stony Creek Series
Net-impressed | 1 |  |  | Albermarle Series
Plain | 1 |  |  | Chickahominy Series
Sand temper |  |  |  |  |
Plain | 3 |  |  |  |
Net-impressed | 5 | 4 |  |  |
Indeterminate | 12 | 1 | 1 |  |
Crushed quartz temper |  |  |  |  |
Cord-marked | 1 |  |  |  |
Plain | 3 |  |  |  |
Shell temper |  |  |  |  |
Cord-marked | 2 |  |  |  |
Plain | 76 | 13 |  |  |
Burnished | 13 | 1 |  |  |

The great variety of the minority wares and smallness of the sample indicate occasional occupancy of the site throughout the pottery-using periods. None of the above seems definitely related to the wares of the majority types, except possibly the shell-tempered burnished ware which seems to be a shell-tempered counterpart of Potomac Creek Plain, especially the scraped variety. This shell-tempered ware is probably the colono-Indian ware of the nearby Nanzattico Indians.

The majority of the pottery is of the Potomac Creek Series (or ware) as defined for the Accokeek Site in Maryland (Stephenson, 1963). The most numerous type within the series is the Potomac Creek Plain - 60%, (Fig. 5a). This ware fits the descriptions provided by Stephenson so closely that to repeat the description here would be a needless waste of space. In the current work no whole or restorable bowls were found but, from the fragments we can derive a few additional data. Most bowls measured 10 to 12 inches (25-30 cm) in diameter at the rim. Bases were sub-conoidal and round, with definite flattening noticeable in a few samples. Seven vessels which had an added rim strip are represented by twenty-seven sherds. Rim treatment shows the following characteristics:

| Added rim strip | 27 |
| Straight | 46 |
| Everted | 87 |
| Incurved | 2 |
| Too small to classify | 107 |
| **Total** | 269 |
Figure Three: Distribution of nails and other refuse in the excavated area.
As a rule the rims are completely undecorated and they are usually square in section. A few are rounded. Two sherds bear a single line impressed by a twisted cord. Some sherds (16%) had been scraped smooth and there is a good likelihood that these eventually might be separated into a new pottery type.

The second most numerous type, as determined from the fragmentary pottery found, is Potomac Creek Cord-marked - 38% (Fig 5b). While this type, too, fits the published descriptions, a few additional comments on the sample from the Camden Site might be appropriate. No whole or restorable pots were found. From the rims, the sizes of the pots seem to be from six to twelve inches (15 to 30 cm) in diameter at the mouth. Thirteen rims bear small notches or slight cord impressions on the upper surface. Most are straight sided, self-rimmed vessels. Rim treatments are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Added rim strips</th>
<th>150</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everted</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flared sharply</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incurved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>178</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twelve sherds representing seven vessels are decorated with three or four lines parallel to the rim, impressed with a twisted cord. One sherd has two rows of crescent-shaped punctates parallel to the rim. Most rims are square in cross-section, although a few are rounded and others are pointed. No intact bases were found, but from the fragments, we can class the bases as sub-conoidal, rounded, and partially flattened. Which bases belong to the various rims is not known. Outer surfaces are covered with cord-impressions, usually from fine twisted cords, although a few show coarse cord-markings, and on a few others, the cord-markings are largely obliterated by having been smoothed over.

A third pottery type, sharing many attributes with Potomac Creek Plain, is probably related, and this has been named Camden Plain (new type). This ware seems to be an out-growth of Potomac Creek wares, possibly influenced by neighboring, shell-tempered wares, and with some influence from European dishes. Following is the customary detailed description of the type.

**Camden Plain**

Summary definition: The type Camden Plain is a coiled pottery with smooth exterior and interior surfaces, and a tan to cream color, with frequent smoke-clouding. The ware is untempered, except for unintentional inclusions, and is soft, compact, and well-made. Vessels are shallow bowls, with slightly flattened bases. Most rims are straight, although a few show a slight outward flare and still fewer are sharply flared. The ware is undecorated, Figure 6.
**Type Description**

**Method of manufacture.** - Coiled with few signs of paddle malleating. Breakage is usually parallel to the rim, although sometimes the breaks are jagged and irregular.

**Paste.** - The clay is untempered, except for accidental inclusions of such trash as may have littered the pottery-making area. A few sherds show mineral inclusions, which may be impurities native to the clay used. A few contain thin plate-like holes typical of leached shell tempering, but these are too few and too random to be intentional shell-tempering.

**Hardness** in Moh's scale is 2.0. Soft.

**Texture** is predominantly smooth, with a distinct clayey feel. With almost no tempering particles or other inclusions to break the surface, the ware has an almost burnished appearance.

**Color.** - Exteriors are usually buff to tan, with occasional sherds of creamy color. Large areas of some sherds show smoke blackening. These dark areas seem to be firing irregularities, as opposed to soot-blackening. Interiors are usually the same colors as the exteriors, with some sherds lighter and others somewhat darker than the exterior surface of the same sherd. As a rule the colors are uniform completely through the sherd.

**Firing.** - Firing seems to have been done at a fairly low temperature, but for sufficient time for the heat to effect all parts of the ware uniformly. The fire was probably an open fire, with ample supplies of oxygen, and all carbonaceous impurities in the ware have been burned away. Since interiors show the same colors as the exteriors, as a rule, the bowls were probably fired right-side-up, or supported in such a way that there was free circulation of the heated air around and into the vessels.

**Surface treatment.** - Exterior surfaces are uniformly smoothed, although a few show faint indications of having been paddled with a cord-wrapped paddle, following which, the surfaces were scraped and rubbed to remove the cordmarkings. On a few surfaces, the parallel striations left by the scraping tool may be seen. Interior surfaces are uniformly smoothed, although many show faint striations parallel to the rim, which are probably marks left by the scraping tool used.

**Vessel form.** - The dominant form is that of a shallow, self-rimmed bowl with a slightly flattened base. Most rims are straight, although nearly half show a slight eversion. None was incurved. Most lips are square in cross-section, with a slight slope to the outside surface of the vessel. A few are slightly rounded at the top, and none is pointed. The sides of the bowls are usually straight, although a few show slight roundness in vertical cross-section. The bases are flattened, but with no well-defined heel between the sides and the base.

Thickness of the body sherds ranges from 8mm at the base to 4mm near the rim. As a rule, the body thickness varies but little on the individual vessel.

No lugs or other adornments are found on this ware, and no repair perforations were noted in the sample recovered.

*MacCord: Camden*
Figure Four: Archaic Period Projectile Points

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FIGURE FIVE: Rimsherds, Potomac Creek Plain and Potomac Creek Cordmarked wares
Figure Five: Potomac Creek Wares, continued
Figure Six: Rimsherds, Camden Plain Ware

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Decoration. - No decorations were applied to these vessels. The simplicity in shape and the fineness of texture may have sufficed to satisfy the aesthetic requirements of the maker.

Vessel size. - The bowls of Camden Plain were of medium size, of unknown height, but with oral diameters of seven to twelve inches, (17 to 30 cm). They seem to have been shallow, open bowls, possibly copied from contemporary English bowls.

Sample size. - A total of 177 sherds attributable to this type was found. Thirty-four were rimsherds of varying sizes, and the remainder were body sherds. No vessel could be reconstructed from the sherds recovered.

Temporal position. - Last quarter of the 17th Century.

Cultural position. - Historic Indian-made ware, which can be categorized as a Colono-Indian ware, as defined by Noël Hume (1962). Its ancestry can be traced to the prehistoric and proto-historic ware of the Potomac Creek types, made and used by Indians at the time of English contact in the Potomac Valley between the present Washington, D.C. and the mouth of the river. The Potomac Creek ware is named from the Potomac Creek site of the village of Patawomeck in Stafford County, Va. Identical wares are found at historic townsites on Port Tobacco River, Piscataway Creek and the Anacostia River on the Maryland side of the river, as well as at numerous sites on the Virginia side. In addition, Potomac Creek wares have been reported from several sites in western Virginia, notably the Keyser Site in Page County, Va. (Manson, MacCord & Griffin, 1944). Camden Plain seems to be latest in the evolutionary sequence of Potomac Creek wares, strongly influenced by contemporary English-made ceramics and other local Indian wares, especially the shell-tempered wares made by the Rappahannock Indians on the Rappahannock River and the Pamunkey Indians on Pamunkey River. It may also be distantly related to the Courtland ware of the Nottoway River area (Einford, 1965).

Tobacco pipes

Indian-made pipes and fragments were numerous. Some of these are identical to prehistoric and proto-historic pipes found at Potomac Creek (Schmitt, 1965) and at the site of Moyaone in Maryland, (Stephenson, Ferguson and Ferguson, 1963). These are illustrated in Figure 7. Others seem to be types made later in the 17th century and are identical with pipes found in datable contexts at Jamestown, Denbigh, and other historic sites in eastern Virginia. The designs, styles and relationships of this latter class of pipes will be described in a separate paper on this topic by E.F. Heite, to whom we again express our thanks for this important analysis.

Other ceramic artifacts

One clay spoon or ladle (311 a 149) was found, and this was only the proximal half of the artifact. The clay is untempered and the spoon is therefore probably related to the pottery type Camden Plain. The handle of the spoon is about 40mm long and 25mm wide where it attaches to the bowl of the spoon. The handle is from 10 to 12mm thick, and it has a blunt
end 12mm wide. The bowl of the spoon is at least 45mm wide and is of unknown length. The fragmentary condition of this artifact precludes exact measurements. See Figure 8a and 9.

Other ceramic artifacts include: a small-diameter cup (311 p 19 and p 29) of unknown height, shown in Figure 8b. It is made of untempered clay, fired to a pale red color. It has a flat base about 40mm in diameter.

Two fragments (311 p 2 and p 27) of a slightly larger cup, of unknown height or diameter. It is made of untempered clay and has a buff-tan color. It seems related to the pottery type Camden Plain.

A miniature hand-modelled cup on a circular pedestal (311 a 71). The overall height is 23mm and the oral diameter is 16mm, while the basal diameter is 17mm. The bowl is about 10mm deep. The clay is untempered and the surfaces are all hand-smoothed. The cup is probably related to the pottery type Camden Plain. See Figure 8c.

A small squarish pedestal 6mm x 8mm and 6mm high is probably the base of a similar hand-molded miniature cup (311 a 124). As in the preceding example, the clay of this fragment is untempered.

Six amorphous pieces of wadded clay probably represent waste material from the manufacture of pots, bowls and pipes. These are in addition to six pieces definitely identifiable as waste from the manufacture of pipes.

TABLE I
VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY TYPES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Potomac Creek Plain</th>
<th>Potomac Creek Cord-Marked</th>
<th>Camden Plain</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>4884</td>
<td>3210</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>8261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5329</td>
<td>3394</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>8900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EUROPEAN ARTIFACTS

Many of the artifacts found can be identified as European-made items. Their intimate association with Indian-made objects in the same refuse prove that they were contemporary and were used to supplement and in some cases supplant comparable Indian-made artifacts. For convenience, the European-made objects will be identified and described according to materials from which they are made.

MacCord: Camden
STONE ARTIFACTS

Nine gunflints were found. These are square, rectangular, circular or oval, and the largest is less than 25 mm across, at the longest dimension. Most are smaller than 20 mm long. All are roughly flaked, and it is likely that they were made, or at least re-worked, by the user at the site. All show one or more abraded edges, the result of repeated striking of the flint against the battery or frizzen of a firearm. The type of firearm available to the occupant of the site was probably that known as the snapance, as evidenced by the finding of two iron parts, identified as the buffer and the powder pan (311a 92 & 43 respectively) of a snapance, (Peterson, 1956). Two of the flints are shown in Figure 10.

GLASS ARTIFACTS

One triangular arrowpoint (311 a 195) was found in Level 1 of Square-2F. The point is about 15mm long and 6mm wide at the base. It is made of clear, transparent glass. At Mr. Pratt's request, the point was presented to the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, where it is displayed with other objects from the Camden Site.

One spiral bead (311 a 17) made of translucent green glass was found in Level 1 of Square 1G. It is 28mm long and it 4.5 mm in diameter. The twist shows four facets, probably resulting from the gentle twisting of a square, extruded ribbon of molten glass. The perforation is about 1.5mm in diameter and is straight from one end of the bead to the other. Since the ends of the bead had been broken, its original length cannot be determined. See Figure 11F.

Eleven small fragments of thin green glass are probably fragments of so-called "Dutch gin bottles". No piece is large enough to show shape or size of the original object, and no piece of either the neck or the base is in the collection. Several pieces have a blistered surface, possibly resulting from having been burned. Five other fragments of dark-green, almost-black glass are probably parts of wine bottles. Again, no fragment is large enough to show the original shape or size.

GLAZED EARTHENWARE

Compared with the quantities of native-made pottery at the site, the use of European-made dishes, jars, and so on was quite limited. A total of twenty-four miscellaneous fragments were found, in addition to most of the fragments of a Bellarmine bottle (Figure 12) of Rhenish stoneware. The miscellaneous fragments found show the following types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majolica</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt-glaze stoneware</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Figure Seven: Virginia-made clay tobacco pipes, to be discussed separately

Four fragments of an unidentified glazed ware are badly warped and blistered, as if they had been burned after breaking. The Bellarmine jug is similar to one illustrated by Noël Hume (1963), which he attributes to the period 1660-1680, but the face and seal on the two jars are dissimilar. The 38 pieces of the Bellarmine were found scattered over nine five-foot squares in the excavation, with horizontal distribution as shown in Figure 13.
KAOLIN ARTIFACTS

One small tubular bead made of well-fired, white kaolin was found (311 a 70). The bead is 6mm long and 4.5mm in diameter. The ends are smoothed, and the central perforation is 1.5mm across.

The most numerous artifacts of kaolin were fragments of white tobacco pipes, of types known to be of English origin. Ten bowl fragments were found, plus fifteen section of stems. Two of the pipebowl fragments show the heel portion and can thus be tentatively classified. One has a large flat heel parallel to the stem and seems identical to one dated by Noel Hume (1961) to the period from 1650 to 1680. The other has a rounded base without a heel, and this type seems identical to one which Noel Hume dates between 1680-1740. One stem with part of a heel is of yellow-tan color and may be a locally-made pipe datable to the period 1650-1700. This latter stem bears a maker's mark on the upper side of the stem, near the start of the bowl. This mark is a wide letter V containing a capital S. An identical fragment found at Clay Bank in Gloucester County was dated to 1650-1690 (Noel Hume, 1966).
The other fourteen pipestem fragments show the following stemhole diameters (all are from Level 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCESSION#</th>
<th>SQUARE</th>
<th>DIAMETER IN 64THS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>311 a 7</td>
<td>4D</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1E</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1G</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>-1D</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>4G</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>2F</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>-4E</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>-1C</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>1F</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>3G</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>4F</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>4F</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>3E</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>3D</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

102 -average 7.3/64ths
Figure Twelve: Bellarmine jug
The distribution of sizes in the above sample yields the following percentages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 at 6/64th</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 at 7/64ths</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 at 8/64ths</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 at 9/64ths</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These percentages indicate a date for the occupancy of the site between 1650 and 1680. Use of the Binford formula yields a date of 1653, which is too early, according to other datable artifacts. It is probable that the larger-stemmed specimens (8 and 9/64ths) should be disregarded in this instance, due to an "heirloom factor," thereby changing the Binford date to 1672, which is more in keeping with dates yielded by other artifacts. One pipestem fragment (311 a 60) was definitely unusable as a pipe, as it contained a short length of soft iron wire embedded in the stem hole at one end. This seems to have been a defect in manufacture. Since the pipe was shipped to the colonies and eventually sold to a user, it appears that no tests or inspection for serviceability were applied to the product. We can imagine the dismay and chagrin of the Indian customer, when he first tried to smoke the pipe with the hole thus obstructed!

**METAL ARTIFACTS**

Artifacts found had been made from pewter, lead, copper, brass, silver, and iron. Iron was the metal most commonly used, primarily for utilitarian items. Some pieces are mere scrap, which cannot be identified, but the majority are identifiable, and these are:

**Nails.** The most numerous iron artifacts were nails. These can be sorted into four size groups, and some data can be determined from them. Figure 3 shows the horizontal distribution of the nails found, and this distribution presumably shows the rough dimensions of the original house or cabin. Note that there seems to have been a concentration of nails in the -1 to -4 rows of the excavated area. These total 45, or 54.9%. The other nails found seem to have been included in household trash in the refuse accumulation in the squares adjacent to the river bluff, with a few scattered nails elsewhere in the excavated area.

The nails found are all hand-wrought and fall into the following four type sizes:

**Type 1.** A large spike with a square, pyramidal head. The over-all length is uncertain, since no complete specimen was found. The shaft dimensions at the head end are 3/16 by 1/4", and the length exceeds three inches. The heads are 3/8 and 7/16" square. Five of this size were found.

**Type 2.** The next largest size varied somewhat in length from 2 1/4 to 3 1/4", with a flattened point. The heads are squarish and vary from 5/16 to 7/16" across, with a flattened pyramidal shape. The MacCord: Camden
shafts usually measure 1/8" by 1/4" immediately below the head. Thirty of this size were found.

Type 3. The next size were most numerous and totalled thirty-eight nails or identifiable fragments. These measure from 1 1/2" to 2" long, with flattened points. The shafts measure 1/8 to 3/16" across. Heads are frequently pyramidal, but many are also flattened, possibly through hammering when used.

Type 4. A fourth size is a small nail under 1 1/2" long, with the shortest 7/8" long. The heads on these small nails vary considerably in size and most are flattened. Nine nails of this size were found.

In addition to the 82 nails described above, twelve unidentifiable fragments were found, plus one anomalous type. This latter was similar to a modern roofing nail, with a stem 3/8" square, but with an oval, flattened head which measured 1" by 1 1/4" across. The overall length cannot be determined, since the shaft is broken about one inch from the head. This artifact may be an unused rivet.

Some of the nails had been burned, and the outer surface was thereby tempered and resisted subsequent rusting. Those so burned were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nails were bent in a fashion that indicates they had been clinched after penetrating one or more boards. Some of these are shown in Figure 14. Assuming that the clinching indicates the thickness of the boards penetrated, the following measurements might prove interesting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clinching 3/4&quot; from head</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1/4&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the nails were still bent, in many instances at a right angle and one with a second bend still present, it appears that the nails had not been withdrawn, since the action of withdrawal would have somewhat straightened the bends. It is probable that the nails remained in the driven and clinched position until the wood had decayed, at least enough for the nail to be removed without being straightened in the process.

Knives At least five iron knives are represented in the refuse. These are the proximal ends of the blades, showing the transition from the blade proper to the tang, on which a handle must have been placed. None of the
blades is complete, and the longest blade section found is 1 5/8" long. The tangs present are 1 7/8" long or less, depending on the amount which has rusted away. Two fragments are from the tip or a mid-section and show the curved edge of the blade. One blade is bent into a right angle. A typical knife fragment is illustrated in Figure 15b.

Files At least two files are present. One (311 a 125) is a segment of a half-round file (Fig 15a) with the cut of the file worn almost entirely smooth on the flat and the half-round sides. The portion present is 1 1/2" long, 5/8" wide and 1/4" thick. The other file (311 a 30) is a slim tapered file with elliptical cross section. The overall length is five inches, and the widest portion is 5/16" across, Fig. 15c.

Gun parts At least two pieces of a snaphance (a form of flint-lock) are present. One (311 a 43) is the external pan, into which the powder was poured for the spark to ignite. The other piece is the buffer (311 a 92), an internal part which absorbed the shock of the forward movement of the cock on which the flint was fastened. Other, unidentifiable pieces of iron might also be parts of fire-arms, but this cannot be demonstrated.

Building hardware One eye of a strap hinge (311 a 171) was found. This is a hinge with the eye coiled upon itself one and a half turns. The strap portion is one inch long and is broken through the first hole. The hinge was 1 1/4" wide at the broken edge and is 3/16" thick. Several other pieces of cut and perforated sheet iron (311 a 8) seem to have been parts of a door-latching system. Five small iron links are of unknown use, but may have been used around a kitchen. They are of heavy iron wire and the links are 1/2" in external diameter.

Buckle One iron buckle (311a 163), such as might have been worn on a shoe or at the knee of breeches, was found. It was found on the surface but seems to be part of the cultural debris of the site. The buckle is 1 3/8" long and 1" wide and the pin of the buckle is 3/4" long. (Figure 11a).

Loops Three iron loops were found. One (311 a 16) is a piece of heavy wire bent on itself to form an oval loop 1" x 1 1/4". Another loop (311 a 175) is a ring 1 1/2" across of heavy wire. The ring is complete, and the place at which the ends were joined is not visible. Another loop (311 a 185) is elliptical, 1" x 5/8", and may have been a band on a weapon, used to hold wooden parts of the weapon together.

Miscellaneous Many small scraps of iron which cannot be identified as artifacts were found. Several are large plates of heavy iron and may have been stock for making other objects. One such piece 1 1/2" x 2 1/2" has four nail holes in it, though its original use cannot be determined. One heavy bar of iron 3 1/2" x 1 3/4" thick (311 a 102) may have been used as a heating element in a primitive pressing iron. If it was so used by the

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occupants of the house, it indicates that European-style clothes were ironed, although the piece may well have been used for some other tasks.

Copper objects. Three pieces of scrap sheet copper (Accession Numbers 311 a 10, 188 and 192) show that some copper working, particularly cold-working was done at the site. The three pieces show hammering and folding along thin edges, along with marks of cutting, perhaps with a knife. One piece of bent copper wire (of about #8 wire gauge) is 4 1/2" long. Another piece 2" long (311 a 117) has both sides folded to the center, making a strip 1/8" wide (Fig 11c). Two diamond-shaped, thin pieces of copper were obviously parts of ornaments. One is unperforated, but the other has two small holes at opposite ends. Both are 3/4" x 5/8" across. An identical diamond-shaped, perforated piece was found at Rosewell in Gloucester County (Noel Hume, 1962).

Other pieces of copper are made into identifiable objects. One (311 a 182) is a bracelet, with a 2" diameter. (Fig 16a) It was made by bending a trianguloid strip of thin copper on itself to make the bracelet. The strip is 1/2" wide at the wide end and tapers to a point 5 3/4" from the wide end. Another copper ornament is a rolled tubular bead (311 a 103). It is 1 1/4" long and 5/16" thick at the wide end, tapering to 1/8" at the opposite end. The bead or bangle (Fig 11d) had been made by rolling a roughly-cut sheet of copper on itself so that there was about 1/4" of overlap between the two edges. Another copper object was an English copper farthing (Fig 16b) of 1672(?). The coin has the head of Charles II on one side and Britannia on the other. The date is partly obliterated by wear and by a perforation punched through the coin at the center of the date, thereby rendering the date somewhat uncertain.

Brass objects. Three artifacts of brass were found. One is a small buckle (311 a 128), 1" long and 5/8" wide, with the pin of the buckle operating across the shorter dimension. The buckle is shown in Figure 11b. Two other brass objects are illustrated in Figure 16c & d and seem to have been broken from another object, possibly parts of furniture hardware. One is 1 1/2" long and has three perforated lugs, as if made to be attached to some other article (311 a 94). An incised design is on the face and the other side is plain. A trace of silvering shows on the front. The other object (311 a 98) is 1 5/8" long and had four perforations. The distal end shows a jagged broken edge, indicating that this was formerly part of some other object, possibly a 17th Century hat ornament known as an aigrette. The face is slightly convex and has white and green enameling. The reverse is slightly concave and is plain.

Lead objects. One lead bullet (311 a 61) is 3/8" in diameter and is roughly spherical. It was probably used in a snaphance. Two other artifacts of lead were probably used in the manufacture and decoration of pipes. One is a strip, two inches long and one-fourth inch wide, with a wedge-shaped cross section at the mid-point (311 a 105). The thin edge is fairly sharp and is the
right size and shape to have been used in making short, thin, wedge-shaped incisions on clay pipes, while the clay was still plastic. Part of the thin edge is serrated, with individual serrations of irregular spacing and depths. The other tool is a roughly trapezoidal sheet of lead one-twentieth of an inch thick, with one end bent at a right angle (311 a 118). The entire piece of lead, if straightened, would resemble a guitar pick. The two opposite and parallel sides are serrated, with what seems to be knife-cut marks, irregularly spaced and of non-uniform depths and widths. The serrated edges seem ideally suited to have made the rouletted designs found on some of the clay pipes, although this cannot be demonstrated on any of the pipe fragments found in the excavations. The two lead tools are shown in Figure 17b and c.

Pewter objects One conical object made of pewter (311 a 112) is either a pipebowl, or a pouring spout, made to be crimped inside a gin bottle neck and then stopped with a cork. It is illustrated in Figure 17a. It is 1 1/4" long, walls are 1/16" thick, and the diameter of the rim is 15/16". The exterior is corrugated, with individual corrugations 1/16" from center to center. The rim is roughly finished and is slightly concave when viewed from one side. A jagged hole in one side may be fortuitous, or it may indicate that the object had seen use as a pendant ornament before it was lost or discarded. A lead tobacco pipe was found in Structure 19A at Jamestown (Cotter, 1958), and three pewter pipes were found at Minisink Island in the Delaware River, (Heye and Pepper, 1915). The latter dates from the second half of the 17th Century, but none is just like the object found at Camden. Other pewter and lead pipes are reported from various sites in New York (Beauchamp, 1902). A pewter pipe bowl has recently been found in a colonial trash dump near Lightfoot, in James City County (Kelso, 1967).

Silver objects One silver coin (311 a 190) was found in Level 1 of Square -1B. It was identified by Mr. Vladimir Clain-Stefanelli (Civil History Division, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution) as a real, minted in Potosi, Bolivia in 1662. At the request of Mr. Pratt, this coin, the glass arrowpoint and the silver medallion described below, were given to the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, where they are displayed.

The silver medal illustrated in Figure 18 was sifted from the soil of Level 1 in one of the first squares dug at the site in the Fall of 1964. The exact square number is uncertain, but it was either 4E or 4F, which places the find-spot in the area of scattered refuse adjacent to the edge of the edge of the terrace on which the site lies.

The medal is 2 1/2 inches long and 1 3/4 inches wide. It is 1/16 inches thick, and it is made of coin silver (somewhat less pure than Sterling). One end is perforated to permit the object to be worn suspended as a pendant. The outer edge of the perforation is nearly worn through, indicating that the medal was worn for a considerable length of time. On one face is a variety of floral designs somewhat resembling the flower and ear of corn (Zea mays) and the words "Ye King of." One the reverse are additional floral
Each symbol represents a square in which jar fragments were found.

Scale

0  5 Ft.

Figure Thirteen: Horizontal distribution of Bellarmine jar fragments

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engravings and the word "Machotick." The flower resembles that of tobacco (Nicotiania tabacum), although the lower part of the plant has the anthropomorphic shape of the mandrake (Atropa mandragora). One senses that the flowers shown are not intended as exact resemblances, but that the spaces tastefully, which was a common art practice during the second half of the 17th Century.

The medal resembles in many respects a similar silver medal which has been in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society since 1834 (Figure 19). This medal was likewise found on the Camden tract, (in 1832) but its exact find-spot is not currently known. The latter medal is 2 1/2" long and 2 1/4" wise, somewhat more circular than the Machotick medal. It is likewise perforated, but the perforation shows almost no wear. The medal is engraved with floral designs resembling but not duplicating those on the Machotick medal, although the human-resembling lower part of the main flower on each side of the medal seem identical to that on the Machotick medal. This medal carries the inscription "Ye King of" and "Patomeck." The identity of the kings and the possible significance of the two medals having been found on the Camden tract will be discussed below.

The two medals were examined by an experienced engraver, Mr. John C. Lundin, of Richmond. He determined the medals to be of coin silver, with the following weights:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Carats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machotick</td>
<td>18 grams</td>
<td>90+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patomeck</td>
<td>18.4 grams</td>
<td>91.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He also determined by detailed examination that the two medals had not been engraved by the same person. This finding was based on the numerous differences in details of the designs and lettering on the two medals. He also stated that the engraving on each medal was of a poor quality, and that there were many extraneous lines in the designs which resulted from slips of the engraving tool, and that sometimes the floral design was changed to incorporate such slips into the design. The obvious mis-spelling in the name "Patomeck" and the insertion of the omitted letter are evidence of somewhat careless or hasty workmanship. The fact that the name "Machotick" is engraved on a small plate which was then riveted on the basic medal, is also evidence of careless work. The corrected name plate probably covers mistakes which were too gross to correct in the simpler manner. Although the basic designs are similar in many respects, Mr. Lundin is of the opinion that the designs were done by apprentices, possibly working side-by-side, copying from the same designs onto medals which were basically similar in shape and size. One the Machotick medal are two design elements resembling the letter "k" tipped forward, and these may be a mark of the individual engraver, although no comparable mark is noted on the Patomeck medal.

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DISCUSSION

The identity of the occupant of this site can with some assurance be stated to be an individual who had been King of the Machotick Indians or his heir. He may also have been heir to the chief of the Potomac Indians, but this cannot be stated with as much certainty. The large quantities of Potomac Creek types of pottery prove that the family or at least the woman of the family, was from the Potomac River Valley someplace between the Falls and the mouth of the river. In this area, Potomac Creek pottery is found on both the Maryland and Virginia shores, with most concentrations of the ware at the sites of Patawomeck at the mouth of Potomac Creek in Stafford County, Virginia (Schmitt, 1965) and at the site of Moyaone on the Maryland side of the river, just south of the mouth of Piscataway Creek, across Mount Vernon, (Stephenson, Ferguson and Ferguson, 1963). The prehistoric pottery typical of the Rappahannock River valley east of the fall-line is the shell-tempered pottery of the Chickahominy Series (Evans, 1955), from which the shell-tempered colono-Indian ware seems to have developed. (Noel Hume, 1962).

The Machotick Indians have not heretofore been well-known to students of Virginia history. They were not noted by Captain John Smith in 1608 in his explorations of the Potomac River, nor in writings of other early chroniclers. The earliest reference found is in a land grant of 600 acres to Capt. Thomas Davis in January 1652, one boundary of which is upper Mattchotig town. Numerous later land grants refer to Matchotick town, Matchotick path, etc. with a wide variety of spellings. A 1650 reference to Upper Machodoc Creek seems to be the first use of this geographic term. Latest reference to the town or tribe seems to be 1669, when they are listed in the Indian Census of 1669 jointly with the Nanzattico Indians, and their combined strength is shown as fifty bowmen (or hunters).

The Potomack Indians are known to have lived (1608-1634) at the mouth of Potomac Creek, between the Potomac River and the mouth of Accokeek Creek, at the site excavated by Judge William J. Graham and Dr. T. Dale Stewart in the late 1930's, and reported by Schmitt (1965). The extent of their territory is not know, but they are supposed to have dominated their neighbors down-river, at least as far as the present Upper Machodoc Creek. The Potomacs seem to have vacated their Potomac Creek village soon after 1634, but to what new site they may have moved has not yet been determined. The King of the Potomacs, Wahanganoche, was tried at Jamestown for treason and acquitted in 1662 (Gilliam, 1963). According to a letter written by Col. John Catlett in 1664, the "King of Potomacs died on his way home" from the trial at Jamestown. There is no record showing that there was ever a successor to the title of "King of the Potomacs." The identity and dating of the kings of Potomac and Machotick are important in ascertaining or fixing the dates of the two silver medals, as will be shown below.
There seems to have been two occasions on which silver medals or badges were made and given to the various Indian kings tributary to the Virginia colony. In March, 1662, the General Assembly (Hening, Vol 2, pp 138-143) passed several laws concerning the Indians. In one law, it was directed that "badges (vizt) silver plates and copper plates with the name of the town graved upon them, be given to all the adjacent kings within our protection." Such badges were to be used by the kings or their emissaries when they came into the settled parts of the colony, so that they could be identified as being friendly. While there is no record that such medals were actually made and presented, there are several cases later in which the Indians were rebuked for not wearing the identifying medals. Presumably, some sort of medals or badges had been issued to the Indians, but whether copper or silver, is not known. It appears likely, however, that the Matchotick and Patomeck medals are attributable to this period of Virginia history.

In May 1677 at the Treaty of Middle Plantation, following the close of Bacon's Rebellion, the Indians were given presents, including twenty silver badges with the names of the kings engraved thereon. See Appendix II for a fuller synopsis of the Treaty of Middle Plantation and the gifts to the Indians. Since no list of the Indian kings to whom badges were given has come down to us, we cannot know if either the King of Machotick or Patomeck were among the recipients. While we do know that neither was a signer of the treaty, we do not know but what they were represented by one of the other, more prominent kings, such as Pattanochus, King of the Nanzatticoes, Nanzemums and Portobaccoes, all of whom lived along the Rappahannock River not far from the Camden Site, during the period from 1650 until after 1700. In view of the lack of confirming data, as explained in Appendix II, the medals from Camden were probably not part of the twenty.

Since the second half of the 17th Century saw the decline and disappearance of many of the tribal groups in eastern Virginia, it is quite likely that the weaker, less populous groups were being absorbed into the more powerful groups, for their mutual protection. Even in such a situation, though, it is likely that the absorbed remnants kept some modicum of their former independence, and possibly their own chief or headman, at least for a while.

In any event, even though we cannot be certain of the date of presentation of the silver medals, we are reasonably confident that the occupation of the house-site was centered around 1680, possibly as much as ten years earlier or later. The evidence for this dating is varied, but it includes the two coins, dated 1662 and 1672, the evidence for a flintlock firearm, usually attributed to a post-1660 period, and the dating provided by the kaolin tobacco pipe stems and bowls.

MacCord: Camden
Figure Fourteen (left above): Nails, showing varieties of size and clinching
Figure Fifteen (left below): Iron files and knife fragment
Figure Sixteen (above): Objects of copper and brass

MacCord: Camden
We can be fairly certain that the occupants were Indians and not African slaves nor impoverished English. The refuse animal bones are from wild animals only, with no trace of domestic animals, such as pig, cow, chicken, etc., which would almost certainly have been part of the diet of even the poorest white or Negro family, at least on special occasions. The great abundance of Indian pottery, almost certainly made by the woman occupant of the house, seems conclusive proof that the woman was an Indian. The presence of a fire-arm and the coins can be construed as proof that the occupant was not a slave, either African or Indian. The only tenable conclusion is that the occupants were a free Indian family. The absence of children's playthings hints that the family was childless, possibly due to the age of the occupants. The smallness of the building also is evidence against a large family, although this of course is not conclusive proof.

Assuming that the house was occupied after 1670, we are faced with the matter of land ownership. We have many land-grants in the "freshes of the Rappahannock" from as early as 1650, and by 1665, both banks of the Rappahannock River, with the exception of named Indian towns (Portobacko, Nanzattico and Nanzemund), were taken up by English settlers, some of whom held large and numerous grants. Herrmann's Map of 1671 shows plantation houses every two or three miles on both sides of the river from the falls to the mouth, including one at or near the present Camden. Accordingly, we have to assume that the land now known as Camden was the property of an Englishman. Who the owner was cannot at this time be proven, but some evidence has been assembled in an effort to fix his identity. Since the early land-grants were somewhat vague as to geographic limits, the identification of the Camden Site whose names have not changed since 1660, and we can use these as "anchor points" in trying to plot the early land-grants. One creek is Port Tobago Creek, which enters Port Tobago Bay from the south, some 1.5 miles southeast of the site. The other is Peumensend Creek, which enters the Rappahannock River from the south, two miles west of the site. According to the abstracts of land patents published by Nugent, (1934) we have the following tracts patented in the Camden area at an early date:

1. 600 Acres (almost one square mile) granted to Henry Berry in 1664 and regranted to John Phipps in 1665. This tract was at the mouth of Peumensend Creek, and the tract was bordered on the east by lands of John Gillett.

2. 300 acres granted to Clement Herbert in 1657, deserted by him, and re-granted to Alexander Fleming in 1664. This tract was on the west side of Port Tobago Bay, and it was bounded by the west by lands of John Gillett.

3. John Gillett was granted 600 acres on April 21, 1657(Nugent, p 344). He died in 1659, and the grant was renewed to his widow, Jane, April 1, 1659.
The same lands were patented to Thomas Button in 1662 when he married the Widow Gillett. Button died about 1669. There is a record that Jane Button, widow of Thomas, married Thomas Gordon in 1674. On April 21, 1695 Captain John Battaile was granted "600 acres on south side of Rappahannock River, opposite the lower part of Nansimond Town; NW on Best's Creek, SE on Cedar Creek. Granted John Gillett 21 April 1657 and due Thomas Button, Gent. as marryng the relict of said Gillett, as by patent dated 18 March 1662; deserted and now granted for the improtation of 12 persons..." (Patent Book 7 in Abstracts of Land Patents, 1666-1732, p 399). The record for the next several decades is obscure, but the writer is confident that further, more intensive search would disclose the missing data.

The next reference to the Camden tract indicates that Oliver Towles owned the land in 1736. The next owner of record was Captain Edward Dixon, who died in 1779, probably leaving Camden to his son Harry, who died in 1784. His widow, Alice Fitzhugh Dixon, married John B. Pratt, in 1784, who thereby came into possession of Camden. The farm has been in the Pratt family ever since.

The Indian family residing at the site excavated in the current work, probably was a tenant family for one of the owners during the period between Thomas Button and Oliver Towlers. It would be interesting to know for certain who the land-owner was, because, if he were known, we might find some reference to an Indian tenant in his will or other papers. We know that Indians were frequently engaged to live on plantations to serve as hunters, trappers, fishermen, messengers, interpreters, and so on. In addition, some Indians were kept as slaves or as indentured servants. Some references to such diverse relationships are cited in Appendix I.

Since the Indian occupant of the house site possessed a fire-arm and had accumulated some "hard cash," it is unlikely that he was a slave. It is most probable that he was a tenant, living on the plantation to hunt, fish, oyster, etc. for the land-owner in exchange for powder and shot, clothing, iron tools, perhaps some food items, and possibly other considerations. Perhaps, too, some of the domestic products made by the woman of the household, such as mats, bowls, baskets, brooms, and pipes, were sold or traded to the plantation owner or to other non-Indian neighbors. The story remaining untold concerning these people and their activities would be extremely fascinating, if it could be learned. Perhaps additional archeological work in the area and further research into the documentary sources will in the future illuminate this picture better.

What eventually became of the occupants of the house is unknown. Since valuable objects, such as coins and the silver medal, were found in the household debris, along with other objects, including bent nails, which had probably dropped out of decaying wood, the impression is given of simple abandonment. No evidence suggesting a structural fire was seen, MacCord: Camden
and had the silver medal gone through a house fire, it is not likely to have survived. What seems most likely is that the occupant (or at least the male occupant) died or moved away abruptly, leaving the cabin still standing, perhaps with his medal and other valuables secreted in the walls. As time passed, the wood succumbed to rot and to termites, and the imperishable objects simply settled into the humus. Limited plowing of the site during the ensuing three hundred years mixed the humus and the artifacts to a depth of about ten inches, but cultivation was not of sufficient duration that the conspicuous artifacts had been found. A possible exception to this is the King of Patomeck medal, found on the Camden tract about 1832, although not necessarily at the exact site from which the Machotick medal came.

CONCLUSIONS

The Camden Site was the site of a single cabin, occupied about 1680 by an Indian family which had come to the site from the Potomac Valley. Assuming that the silver medal found in the site belonged to the occupant, we can identify him as the chief of the Machotick tribe. The family was in an intermediate stage of acculturation between the barbarism of prehistory and the civilized state of his European neighbors. The styles of tobacco pipes and domestic ceramics were undergoing change from prehistoric wares to the Colono-Indian wares, known to have continued in use well into the 18th Century in Tidewater Virginia. Stone tools were gradually being supplanted by European-made metallic tools, and the house or cabin was at least partially nailed together, as contrasted to the lashings typical of prehistoric wigwams. Since the custom of having Indian tenants on English plantations was widely followed, we can expect to find many similar sites in eastern Virginia in the future, and excavation of such sites will go far to round out our knowledge of this interesting period of Virginia's history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is indebted to many people for their assistance to him in studying this site and its ramifications. Many are named in the text, and we hasten to re-affirm this debt. In addition, we wish to thank Dr. George H. Reese and Mr. George H. S. King for their help in tracking down obscure genealogical and historical data. We also thank the Virginia Historical Society for allowing us to study and photograph the King of Patomeck medal. We especially thank Mrs. Barbara Willis for recognizing and bringing this site to our attention. Her intelligent appraisal of the site's worth is commendable. We are profoundly grateful to Mr. Richard T. Pratt for permitting us to work on this site and for his interest and concern in this study. We thank, too, the many members of the Archeological Society of Virginia who helped with the field-work. We apologize for the
four-year delay between the excavation work and the publication of this report and hope that whatever merit the report has will tend to offset this inconvenience. Special acknowledgement is due to Mr. Kirby Smith, of Richmond, who executed the site plan drawings and map.

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Figure Seventeen: Lead tools and pewter pipe bowl (?) (same size)
APPENDIX I

INDIAN SERVITUDE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

The Indians of eastern Virginia played many roles vis-a-vis the English colonists during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Their roles as friends, benefactors, converts to Christianity, enemies, refugees, vagrants, and lastly poor mixed-blood remnants surviving in the dominantly White culture are fairly well known. Less well known are their roles as hunters, fishermen, guides, interpreters, servants, tenant farmers, artisans, suppliers of everyday needs, and as scouts and rangers, which duties required the skills normally acquired by people living close to nature. In view of the likelihood that the occupants of the Camden Site occupied some such niche in the economy of the plantation, it is of interest to note a few of the many references to these practices in Colonial Virginia. The following examples from several documentary sources illustrate some of the many variations, including temporal and regional, which existed.

1619 General Assembly approves the hiring of Indians to "hunt, fish, beat corn, do other works."

1654 Giles Brent gives his wife, Mary, several servants, including one Thomas Conapesock.

1655 Surry County Records show an indenture, dated 1 December, 1654 between Robert Warren and Humphrye, the Indian - the Indian to be in his employ for three years, Warren promising to furnish him meat, drink, apparel, lodging, washing, etc.

1662 A Powhatan Indian unlawfully sold to Elizabeth Short by the King of the Wainokes ordered freed.

1665 Ned Gunstocker, an Indian, granted 150 acres of land in Rappahannock County, for transporting three persons. (Is the name Gunstocker the result of his trade?)

1668 General Court sentences an Indian to five years labor (rest of circumstances not given).

1668 General Court permit issued to David Mansell to keep two Indians to work and hunt for him.

1676 Indian slavery made legal by Bacon's Assembly, but repealed later in year. Again made legal in 1679, but repealed in 1691.

1682 General Assembly passed law making Indian women servants subject to tithes.
1685 Complaint to Governor that three Indians were being held as slaves by Roger Jones, when they rightfully belonged to a Mr. Crawford.

1691 William King, a Nanzattico Indian, servant to Vincent Cox of Westmoreland County, presumably taken prisoner during Bacon's Rebellion. Tribe begs that he be freed.

1691 Council orders county sheriffs to check on people keeping Indians without a license.

1691 Capt. Lawrence Washington ordered to certify that "his" Indian killed a wolf in Westmoreland County (in order to qualify for the bounty on wolves?).

1692 Pay to Rangers for "ranging" the frontier:
   One Indian - 8 1/2 months pay 561 lbs. of tobacco
   Owner of horse for the Indian 734 lbs. of tobacco
   Pay for ordinary soldier 2295 lbs. of tobacco each such soldier

1692 Lt. John Taliferro paid an Indian for eight months service as a Ranger:
   12 yards of duffel cloth
   3 barrels of Indian corn

1694 In Accomac County, an Indian slave woman, named Jenny, sentenced to death for killing her illegitimate child.

1695 Council encouraged hiring Indian men as Rangers, as they were better for the work than Englishmen.

1699 Gawen Corbin authorized to allow the Rappahannock Indians to live on his land.

1700 Jamey, an Indian slave, held in Surry County jail on a charge of murder.

1709 Pamunkey Indian, named Robin, trained as a showmaker, allowed to to live among the whites.

1711 Richard Littlepage asked for and got permission to hire a Pamunkey man to hunt and a woman to be a servant.

1709-1712 Diary of William Byrd of Westover contains numerous entries concerning Indian servants. Individuals named are Harry, Henry, Ned, and Peter. Examples of duties and treatment of Indian Peter (Redskin Peter) by Byrd are:
   1709 July 5 Brought mail from Williamsburg
   July 6 Took mail to Williamsburg
   Sept. 6 Brought message from Williamsburg

MacCord: Camden
1710 Aug 3 Took messages to Williamsburg
Aug 11 Brought messages from Williamsburg
1711 Jan 22 Feigned sickness, was made to wear a "bit"
Jan 27 Brought venison from the Falls
Mar 9 Took messages to Kecoughtan
1712 Jan 10/11 Feigned falling and injuring leg. Punished by wearing "bit"
Feb 16-24 Sick but got better
May 12 Feigned sickness, but was tied up by one leg and "cured."
Sept 7 Message brought by Peter, who was given medicine.

Diary for period 1739-1741 contains no references to Indian servants, indicating a change in the availability of Indians, possibly.

1722-1726 Register of vital statistics of St Peters Parish contains several entries:
1722 Oct 9 Charles, an Indian belonging to Capt Goodrich Lightfoot died.
1723 Oct 18 Indian Will, a slave belonging to Mr Ebenezer Adams died.
1726 Dec 15 Enoss, Indian died at Robert Moore's

Other, similar records may be found which illustrate the role of individual Indians in the economy and life of Colonial Virginia. The subject is one which might well justify a more intensive study. Anyone wishing to pursue this subject further is urged to begin with the book: "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States," by Almon Wheeler Lauber, published in 1913 by Columbia University as Number 134 of the series, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Additional data may be gleaned from Philip A. Bruce's, "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," published in 1896.
APPENDIX II

THE TREATY OF MIDDLE PLANTATION, MAY 1677 -
- Its circumstances and aftermath.

Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 is a landmark event in Virginia history. The social, economic, military, and political repercussions of this brief civil war have been the subjects of many studies. For an excellent study done without bias, the reader is referred to Wilcomb E. Washburn's "The Governor and the Rebel," published in 1957. The impact of this relatively brief period of disorder on the Indians of eastern Virginia was extremely painful. Even such staunch friends of the English as the Pamunkeys were harried, persecuted and killed, and the Pamunkey Queen herself sought refuge in the swamps along the Piankatank River's headwaters.

When the rebellion collapsed following the death of Nathaniel Bacon, peace and stability were restored, at first by the harsh measures of Governor Berkeley and then through the efforts of the three Commissioners, sent from England to investigate the rebellion and its causes.

Among other acts of the Commissioners was a move intended to restore feelings of amity and security between the Indians and the Colonists. To this end, the rulers of the Tributary Indians were invited to attend a meeting at the military camp at Middle Plantation (the present Williamsburg) and there join in a renewed treaty signing. The meeting took place on May 29, 1677 and lasted most of the day. Presumably all of the Tributary Indian tribes were represented there, either by their own chiefs or by the chief of a larger, more powerful tribe to which the weaker tribes had subordinated themselves. The text of the treaty provided for many specific actions by the Indians and assurances by the colonists. The text is not duplicated here but can be read in its entirety in Vol. 14, No. 3 of the Virginia Magazine for History and Biography, published in 1907. It is also copied in the DeJarnette Transcripts #108, in the Virginia State Library.

The treaty was signed by the following chiefs, using the marks indicated:

The Signe of the Queen Pomunckey on behalfe of herselfe, and the severall Indians under her Subjection

The Signe of the King of the Nottowayes

The Signe of Capt John West Sonne to the Queen of Pamunkey

The Signe of Peracuta King of the Appomattox

MacCord: Camden
The Signe of the Queen of Wayonoake

The Signe of the King of the Nanzemund Indians

The Marke of Pattanochus King of the Nanzatticoes, Nanzemunds, and Portobachoes

The Signe of Shurenough King of the Manakins

The Signe of Mastegonoe young King of the Sappones

The Signe of Tachapoake Chief man of the Sappones

The Signe of Ununtsquero Chief man of the Maherians

The Signe of Horehanna Next Chief man of the Maherians

Shortly after May, 1677, two of the Commissioners, Sir John Berry and Col. Francis Moryson, petitioned the king to award presents to the Indian leaders who had signed the Treaty at Middle Plantation. This petition was presented to the King when the two Commissioners reached England, and they also carried with them a letter from the other Commissioner, Herbert Jefferys, who remained in Virginia as Acting-Governor, as well as Commander of the troops. The Petition presented by the two Commissioners follows: (It is copied from Winder Papers, Vol II, p 398-402, Va. State Library)

To the Kings most excellent Majesty:

Most humble proposals on behalfe of the Indian Kings and Queens, now tributary to your most sacred Majesty within your Colony of Virginia.

That seeing by the late peace concluded with the Neighbor Indians there, the severall Indian Kings and Queens included in that Treaty have been brought to acknowledge, and by the Articles of Peace doe expressly owne to have their immediate dependance, to owe all subjection and allegiance, and to hold their crownes of and from your Majestie (to whom they most justly give the name and title of the great King) more than was ever stipulated of, or owned by them in any former treaty had, or peace made with them.

QUARTERLY BULLETIN, ASV, 9/69
It is therefore most humbly offered, that as they all own to hold their crowns immediately of your Majesty, that your Majesty will please to bestow small crowns or coronets with false stones of various colours with this or some other circular inscription "A Carolo Secundo Magnae Britanniae Rege" to import that they actually as well as confessarily hold these their very crowns from your Majesty that they may have also each a purple robe of strong cloath sent to them ready made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES</th>
<th>PRESENTS</th>
<th>CHARACTER (sic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For the Queen of Pamunkey who was robbed of her rich matchcoat by the rebells.</td>
<td>One Crown and robe together with a striped Indian gown of gay colours and a bracelet of false stones.</td>
<td>She is of a meane or indifferent stature and somewhat plump of body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That the Prince her son and successor (John West) who also subscribed to the Articles of Peace may have:</td>
<td>A scarlett coate belayed with gold and silver lace with breeches, shoes and stockings, hatt, sword and belt suitable, and a pair of good pistoles.</td>
<td>He is a good brave young man pretty full of stature and slender of body, a great warr capitaine among the Indians and one that been very active in the service of the English and for your Majesty's interest in Virginia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That Seosteyn, Chief Councillor to the Queen of Pamunkey may have:</td>
<td>A purple garment or mantle and as much cloath as will make a suite for Dabany (Cornelius Dabany) the Queen's Interpreter.</td>
<td>He is a man of a goodly presence and long of stature in great esteeme with the Queen and her people and a constant lover and friend to the English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the Queen of Waonoke (Weyanoake) subscriber to the late peace.</td>
<td>One crowne and purple robe.</td>
<td>A woman of a most exact proportion of parts pretty tall of stature and slender of body, also of a pleasing aspect and demeanor. On her coming to us we asking her by what name she distinguished herself she demanded to know of us by what name our Queene was called and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MacCord: Camden
For Serrahohque, King of the Nottoways a subscriber to the press
A crowne and purple robe.

For the King of Nancemond
A crowne and purple robe.

He is a very old man and one that govern his people with prudence and good discipline, so that they are very obedient unto him and inoffensive to the English. He is a big-boned man straight and tall of stature.

He is of indifferent stature and very friendly Indian and much conversant amongst the English.

It was also to be wished that small silver Badges to the number of twenty with the names of your Majesty and the Tributary Princes inscribed be made and sent over to be worn for distinction by the Indians as by their former peace was enjoined, and now desired by those of Virginia to be renewed by which means the former peace was and the present peace may by much preserved by reason it served to denote the several Nations of Indians that come in, one of which Nations being always obliged to wear a Badge in company with the rest, by means wherefor upon any breach of the peace, theft, murder or outrage committed the badge was still a discrimination to other Indians and distinguished our friends from our enemies.

Now may it please your Majesty these matters being but of small charge, the whole not exceeding above 120$ it will not only greatly exalt their sense of your Majesties favour and indulgence towards them most infinitely endeare your Royall name and memory amongst them, but begett
a reverence to them from their own people as well as your Majesties
subjects in Virginia when they shall see thereby that they are in your Rouall
esteem as well as protection, and may tend to the making of the Peace the
more firm and inviolable. The Indians accounting gifts a kind of sacred
pledge of friendship, which that there may ever be betwixt them and your
Majesties subjects of Virginia is the earnest desires as well as endeavors of:

The most humble proposers
Your Majesties ever Loyall and
Obedient Subjects and Servants,

John Berry
Fra. Moryson

(End of transcript)

Along with the foregoing proposal, the two Commissioners brought to
England the following letter from the third Commissioner, Herbert Jefferys
to Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State:

"Right Honorable,

I hope your Honour will be pleased with a short Relation of this late
solemnitie in Virginia of the Indian Peace, with which we celebrated the
most joyful Birthday of His sacred Majestie at the camp at Middle
Plantation. The severall Indian Kings and Queenes being come to the Place
assigned, wee received them at the New Guard-house there, which I caused
to be fitted for this occasion, where my Fellow-Commissioners and
Councill being Present and silence Proclaimed, the Overtures of Peace
were openly read over before them, and the Interpreters sworne to expound
every distinct Paragraph to them, which proved very acceptable to the
Indians and satisfactory to all Present. After they were all well informed of
the severall Articles of this Treatie, the Queene of Pomunckey (being invited
to come within the Barr of the Court to signe this Treatie on behalfe of
herself and those scattered remnants of Nations anciently and now againe
united under her subjection) performed the same with all cherefulness, and
having signed the Instruments of Peace, on her knees with the rest, in
great Reverence delivered up the same all of them Publickly acknowledging
to hold their crownes and landes of the Great King of England. I then signed
on his Majesties part to the Indians, and informed them that that Paper
(under the seale of this Colony) was to bind this Peace strongly betwixt us,
which they (all kneeling again) received at my hands as from his Majesty;
of their owne accord kissing the most acceptable Instrument from hand to
hand. This being Finished (with the day) the Field Pieces were all
discharged several rounds with Volleys of small shott, and general
acclamations of Joy, and so having Entertained them that night the next day
MacCord: Camden 49
our Indian friends went to their severall homes, well satisfied with this treaty, which comes home with my fellow-Commissioners at their Returne."

Your most humble Servant

Swanns Pointe the
11th of June, 1677
Herb. Jeffreys


What actions, if any, were taken on the treaty and its ratification during the summer and early fall of 1677 are unknown. On 18 October 1677, the treaty was read in the regular meeting of the Committee of Trade and Plantations at Whitehall, and on 19 October, the treaty was favorably reported to the King. The treaty was read in the King's Council on 20 October and ordered to be printed and copies sent to Virginia "for the better publication and observance thereof."

On 1 January, 1678, the Earl of Arlington, using the King's authority, directed the Right Honorable Ralph Montagu, Master of His Majesty's Wardrobe (or his deputy) to have made and delivered to John Jeffrey of London, the articles enumerated in several papers annexed to the memorandum. The memorandum bears a marginal note that the items are "presents to Indian Kings and Queens," and another note states "The silver crowns and badges are to be prepared by the Jewel House, for which I have given my warrant." This paper apparently pertains to the presents to be sent to Virginia pursuant to the request made by the Commissioners Berry and Moryson.

Subsequently, bills were presented to be paid by the Lord Chamberlain's Department, and these are recorded in the Bill Books for this Department for the years 1676-1679, as follows:

No. 87 November 1679 Thomas, Lord Culpeper
Presents for the Indian princes in the Colony of Virginia.
For the Queen of Pamunkey, bracelets and necklaces of false stones 7. 0. 0.
For the said Queen's son, a pair of pistols richly inlaid with silver 8. 0. 0.
For making several robes for the Queen of Pamunkey, the Queen of Waonoke, the Kings of Nazymond and Nottowayes 3. 19. 0.

(12 December, 1679)
No. 88  November 1679  Nicholas Fownes.
Presents to the Indian princes in the Colony of Virginia
For the Queen of Pamunkey:
   8 yds. purple manto at 11s to line a robe;
   7 1/2 yds. gold and silver brocard at 20s for an Indian gown;
   3 1/4 ells cherry colored sarcenet at 12s to line the gown.
For the said Queen's son,
   5 yds. sky morella taby at 10s to line a coat.
For the said Queen's concellor,
   7 1/2 yds. scarlet shalloone at 5s. to line a robe.
For the said Queen's interpreter,
   3 1/2 yds. scarlet shalloone at 5s. to line a coat.
For the Queen of Waonoke and the Kings of Nottowaze and Nazemond:
   22 1/2 yds. scarlet shalloone at 5s. to line 3 robes, and 3 ells
      white sarcenet £1. 10. 0.
(16 December, 1679)

No. 89  November 1679  James Smithsbey.
For the Queen of Pamunkey,
   5 yds. scarlet cloth at 26s for a robe.
For the said Queen's son, 3 yds. scarlet cloth at 26s for a coat and
   breeches.
For the said Queen's councellor, 4 1/2 yed. purple cloth at 15s for
   a robe.
For the said Queen's interpreter, 3 yds. grey cloth at 12s for a coat
   and breeches.
For the Queen of Waonoke and the two Kings of Nottowaze and
   Nazemond, 13 1/2 yds. purple cloth at 15s. for 3 robes.
(16 December, 1679)

No. 90  November 1679  Thomas Templer.
Presents from His Majesty.
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son in Virginia, a pair of fine scarlet
   worsted £1. 5. 0. stockings with large tops to them and stitched
   all down the leg with black silk.
For the said Queen's interpreter,
   a pair of scarlet worsted stockings.  £0. 8. 0.
(16 December, 1679)

No. 91  November, 1679  Daniel Deive
Presents likewise to Virginia
For the Queen of Pamunkey, Queen of Waonoake, King of the
   Nottowayes, King of Nazemond, for 4 crimson velvet caps furred
   with ermine and 4 ermines,  £4. 0. 0.
For making an Indian gown for the Queen of Pamunkey. 0. 10. 0.

MacCord: Camden 51
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son: gold and silver buttons
for the coat and breeches 1. 10. 0.
For 2 oz. of gold thread 0. 12. 0.
For making new screws and fastening several stones
in the crowns 0. 10. 0.
For canvas packing and for a large chest to put the
presents up 1. 10. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 92. November 1679 William Terrey
A present from His Majesty
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son, a white beaver hat
with a gold and silver band 4. 0. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 93. November 1679 John Hill, cutler
Present from His Majesty.
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son, a rich sword with a gold and
silver hilt and false scabbard 4. 0. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 94 November 1679 William Hart
Present from His Majesty.
For the queen's son, a belt richly embroidered with gold and
silver 3. 10. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 96. November 1679 William Gostlin
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son in Virginia,
67 1/2 oz. of gold and silver lace at 5s

In another portion of the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts there are
Jewel House Warrant Books, covering the period from 1677 to 1709. One
of these warrants (page 8 in the Warrant Books) lists the following:

p. 8 "Crowns, etc. for 4 Indian Kings and Queens. Warrant 18
January, 1678, to prepare and deliver to John Jefferys, Esq., of
London, the following:
4 small crowns or coronets of this silver plate, gilt and adorned with
false stones of various colors, with the inscription "A Carolo Secondo
Magna Britanniae Rege," designed by His Majesty as presents for
Indian Kings and Queens now tributary to His Majesty in the Colony
of Virginia.
20 Small silver badges with His Majesty's name and the names of the tributary princes, vizt, the Queen of Pamunkey, the Queen of Waonoke, Serrapohque King of the Nottoways, and the King of Nansemond.

A necklace and pair of bracelets for the Queen of Pamunkey, of false stones."

The foregoing presents were assembled late in 1679 and delivered to Lord Culpeper, who had been named Governor General of Virginia. In the MacDonald Papers, Vol. V, pp 295 (copy at Virginia State Library) there is a long set of instructions dated 6 June 1679 from the King to Lord Culpeper. One of the instructions is as follows:

Item 12 (page 298) "And whereas we have thought fit to take the Native Indians into our especial protection and in testimony thereof have directed you to deliver unto them our Royal Presents. You are therefore to take care that they be allowed the same measure of justice in matters relating to the English and our other subjects as by law is due and belonging unto them, from the Indians in like cases."

In a marginal note to the foregoing instructions, apparently entered by Lord Culpeper following his return to England in 1680, there is the following:

"Did exactly execute all but only the Coroners (coronets) which by advise of Council there I did not deliver and which were cast away with my goods. Did exactly execute Justice to the Indians' content a great inducement to their quiet since."

Lord Culpeper departed from England in the spring and arrived in Virginia 3 May 1680. One of his first acts was to call a General Assembly, which convened at Jamestown on June 8th. On June 9th, the Governor addressed the Assembly and set forth some of his instructions from the king and some of the policies he would follow. Among other statements, Lord Culpeper stated his duty towards the "Indians, to severall of whom on the return of Sir John Berry and Col. Moryson I am to deliver presents from his Majesty."

Following this session, the Council of Virginia sent the following petition to the Governor: (19 June, 1680)

"Whereas his most sacred Majesty upon the Representation of the Affaires of this Colony by his Honorable Commissioners Sir John Berry and Coll. Fran. Morrison and their advice and Council thereupon, in relation to the articles made by them with the Indians here ... was pleased to send four rich Coronets with Robes Silver badges, and severall other presents to four Indian Kings and Queens here so called, which accordingly this day his Excellency brought hither with intent to deliver to them accordingly. The Councill being all present and considering, and fearing those people may be
heightened thereby especially by such Marks of Dignity as Coronets, which they humbly conceive ought not to be prostituted to such mean persons, doe therefor crave leave to offer their opinions to his Excellency in this weighty Affaire, and do unanimously desire his Excellency at least to forbear the delivery of the said Coronets until his Majesties Pleasure be further known which they conceive will be an acceptable service to his Majesty and tend to the Welfare of this his Colony. This Country haveling in its minority received from the Indians fatal returnes for considerable presents given unto them, and it hath always been found a wrong way of manageing of those people they esteeming presents to be the effects of fear, and not kindness besides which severall other Neighboring and more considerable Indian Nations who have deserved of the English at least as well as the called Queen of Pamunkey or any of the rest, will be infinitely dissatisfied therewith, and if not to the English themselves will shew their Resentment at least against them which is almost as bad, Wee being by the Articles of Peace bound to protect them will necessarily involle us againe in their defence, in a most dangerable and chargeable Warr."

It appears from the foregoing sequences, therefore, that the presents authorized by King Charles to the signers of the Treaty of Middle Plantation in 1677 were finally brought to Virginia in the summer of 1680. Since Lord Culpeper departed from Virginia on August 11, 1680, it appears that he made the presentations to the Indian chiefs sometime between the 20th of June and August 10, 1680. The four coronets were never presented to the Indians but were lost in the sinking of a ship carrying Lord Culpeper's baggage back to England. Except for the coronets (crowns), the remaining gifts seem to have been presented as planned. Since no record has come to light attesting to this fact, this necessarily is only an assumption. It would be interesting to know more about these events, and one also wonders whatever became of the sword and the pair of good "pistoles" presented to John West, the son of the Queen of Pamunkey.

A silver badge or frontlet (made to be worn as part of a hat or a head-band) has survived and is displayed in the National Park Service Visitor's Center at Jamestown. This frontlet is owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which acquired it about 1900 from the Morson family, which had owned it for the previous century or so. How it had come originally into the ownership of the Morson family is not known. Presumably it had passed from the Queen of Pamunkey at her death to her son, John West. The lack of available data on the Virginia Indians during the 18th and 19th Centuries exasperatingly hampers the study of many matters such as these.

There is a strong likelihood that the Queen of Pamunkey badge is one of the twenty made and distributed to the rules of the Tributary Tribes, although this cannot be conclusively proven at this time. Since the 20 small silver badges prepared as gifts to the Virginia Indian carried the King's name or arms, and since there is insufficient evidence to link either the king of Matchotick with the Treaty of Middle Plantation, we are forced to
conclude that the silver medallions from the Camden Farm were not part of the twenty badges authorized and made as part of the treaty settlement. We can hope, though, that future research will bring to light new evidence to completely prove or disprove these conclusions.

Figure Eighteen: Machotick medal, slightly reduced
Figure Nineteen: Patomeck medal, slightly reduced
This is the first of three reports of excavations conducted by the Archaeology Club, of which I am the sponsor, at Richard Bland College in Petersburg, Virginia. For the past two years the Club has spent many weekends at Lee Hall in Hague, Virginia. An account of the work here will be ready sometime next year. As we were finishing at Lee Hall, however, surface finds in near-by Burnt House Field indicated two small trash deposits. With several free weekends ahead, and winter not quite upon us, it was decided to excavate both deposits. The chief factor in this decision,
however, was the knowledge that those who lived at Lee Hall and the Burnt House Field were brothers and we succombed to the lure of comparative data.

The first deposit, of which this is the report, was indeed small and was excavated in one weekend. The other deposit was larger than anticipated, but by persevering through snow flurries, we finally completed the excavation.

A detailed history of the site will be included with the report on the second deposit, which yielded considerably more than this first one. For the present it is adequate to note that the Burnt House Field is one of the better known sites in Virginia and is well marked with several signs on the roadside in Hague. The home which stood in the field was built in about 1666 and was destroyed by fire in 1729, Thomas Lee and his family barely escaping their lives.

The site is now owned by Mr. Paul Lewis of Lottsburg. He has been most generous in giving the Archaeology Club permission to excavate. Even when the field was seeded, Mr. Lewis has allowed surface collecting. On one occasion plowing took place at a time convenient for the members of the Archaeology Club to be present. With the exception of the old family cemetery, enclosed by a brick wall, the whole area is under cultivation. It is hoped we have not been a bother to Mr. Lewis, and that he will find this report of our activities on his property of some interest.

Needless to say, little could have been done without the able (and able-bodied) members of the Archaeology Club. In some ways the Club is an offspring of my advanced class in early American history, and in several cases I have found that history in the field can prove more stimulating than history in the classroom, particularly for those students with a bent for social and cultural studies. This may explain why the Archaeology Club has never lacked for members, and it is to them that whatever success we may have must be credited. Whatever faults may be uncovered on the other hand must be laid at the door of the Club’s sponsor. Hopefully, these will be few.

Their work was so essential for this brief report, that I do not wish to relegate their names to a footnote. Assisting in the excavations of this particular deposit were Mr. Robert Harris; Mr. Ray Norton, President of the group; and Mr. Neil Mangum. The girls were, alas, not with us this particular weekend, but they rendered yeoman service in helping to prepare the illustrations. In this respect the Club is particularly indebted to Miss Alyce Musgrove and Miss Carol Tomlinson.

Probing enabled us to determine the dimensions of the deposit. A twelve-foot square was deemed sufficient to excavate the entire deposit and to permit several people to work simultaneously without crowding. As things
turned out, it was more than sufficient as the deposit was limited to the northwest quadrant of the square. A north-south baulk (fig. a; A-B) and an east-west baulk (fig. a; D-C) were retained for a stratigraphic section. It was soon clear as work progressed that the deposit had no consistent measurements. The pit at its greatest extent was only four by six feet with a maximum depth of one foot and seven inches.

The stratigraphy was quite simple (fig. b). It consisted of only two layers - the plow zone of about seven inches and the stratum of deposit. The pit was probably filled in a matter of days, and judging from the limited nature of its contents may have been dug exclusively for the purpose of disposing of the trash we unearthed. Ned Heite of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission visited us while we were working and through the pit might have been a root hole. This is possible, but whether natural or man made, it was agreed the pit was quickly filled. Its location about 120 feet northwest of the cemetery and about half this distance west of the traditional site of the house, and its location a short distance from the area where surface finds are concentrated, further support the view that the deposit was made either all at once or, at most, over a few days.
The dating evidence clearly points to the early eighteenth century. Unfortunately the dated seal (fig. e) was found in the plow zone, but as there was no evidence of trash on the surrounding surface, the seal might well have come from the pit. Nineteen pipe stem fragments were also found, but nearly all in the plow zone and those that were not were so close as to raise doubts. They too were thus assigned to the upper stratum. Nevertheless, the Binford formula yielded a mean date of 1712. The bottle fragments are plainly in this period (figs. c-d). The moulded pedestal fragment (fig.f) is probably of slightly later date, but the combined evidence is sufficient to conclude the pit was filled sometime during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. A mean date would be 1714, keeping in mind the seal (1704); the pipe stems (1712); and an assigned date of 1725 for the pedestal fragment.

The artifacts consisted chiefly of wine bottle fragments totaling slightly above five hundred pieces, but no more than about a dozen bottoms and an equal number of necks. The more interesting of these, with the glass stem and seal, are among the illustrations that follow. Five bricks, of which only two were whole, were also in the pit. Several of these fragments were almost wholly encased with thick globs of shell mortar, and there is no evidence they were anything but discards. One of the complete bricks of coarse reddish-brown clay has in spots some crudely applied glaze, while the other whole brick is completely free of it. The former measures 8"x4"x2"; the latter, 8.25"x4"x3".

Illustrations

Fig. C:-

1. Wine bottle bottom. Olive-green glass, considerably decayed. This bottom had the most pronounced kick-up of those found, measuring two inches high. This represents a change from the earlier squat body form where the basal kick was minimal. About 1710-1730.


3. Wine bottle bottom. Green glass, black in reflected light. A bottom of rather unusual dimensions, the glass nearly an inch thick at the pontil scar tapering off on the sides to 1/8 inch. The walls obviously extend beyond the base, while the basal kick is but a slight indentation less than an inch in diameter. I am inclined to give it an earlier date than the others.

4. Wine bottle. Lower half. The most complete example found in this deposit. Light olive green glass, nearly transparent. Kick-up is 1 3/8 inches high. Glass quite thin throughout not more than 1/8 inch at the shoulder. About 1705 - 1720.
Fig. D:-

1. Wine bottle neck. Olive-green glass, slightly iridesced. Roughly applied string rim close to mough. The tallest neck found, it is a possible example of the squat bottle with a long neck, though it could also be a transitional piece between the squat and the early cylindrical types. About 1710 - 1730.


3. Wine bottle neck. Dark olive-green glass. String-rim 1/4 inches below slightly everted mouth. This glass ring is most unevenly applied. Glass thickness at shoulder about 1/8 inch, not differing substantially from preceding necks. About 1705 - 1720.
4. Wine bottle neck. Dark olive-green glass, slightly iridesced. Glass rather thick and heavy; at shoulder measuring 1/4 inches. String rim appears down-tooled, but is not consistently so. Mouth diameter is not unusual, though larger than the first item which has a diameter of 5/8 inches and is the smallest we found. This neck might be slightly earlier than the others. About 1685 - 1715.
Figure D: Wine Bottle Necks

1. [Image of wine bottle neck 1]
2. [Image of wine bottle neck 2]
3. [Image of wine bottle neck 3]
4. [Image of wine bottle neck 4]
Fig. E:-

Wine bottle seal with initials MCS and below the initials the date 1704. Attempts to trace down the initials have not been successful. The task being doubly difficult as the initials might well indicate a husband or and wife combination, and if so it is impossible to tell whether C or S stands for the last name. A search through Wills of Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1654-1800 (Augusta B. Fothergill, comp., 1925) yielded nothing as did a random search through some arbitrarily selected records of Westmoreland County in the Virginia State Library.

Fig. F:-

Fragment of "silesian" stem, six sided. Thr shoulders are diamond topped. See plates 63-64 in Glass Through the Ages (E. Barrington Haynes, 1948). Several similar pieces are discussed and illustrated in Historical Archaeology 1968. Haynes gives such glass a date of about 1720; Noel-Hume, about 1730.

References

Augusta B. Fothergill, comp., Wills of Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1654-1800, 1925.


Blair: Burnt House Field 63
Salvaging The Hardage Site

John H. Wells

As one drives over the Interstate 85 approaches to the Roanoke River he may well be riding over the assorted remains of a small Indian Village that was formerly located on the south bank of the River near where the new bridges span Gaston Lake. While this portion of Interstate 85 was being surfaced, sand was removed, sometimes to a depth of six feet, from a large area adjacent to the river for use in the asphalt mixture. Sand was stripped from the higher elevated area west of the bridge and considerable evidence of Indian occupation was revealed over an area of more than an acre (Figure 1).

The sand was passed through a large screen, and it has been reliably reported that workmen at the scene recovered large numbers of Indian artifacts from the screen during this operation. As the sand passed through the screen, the larger relics were caught and discarded while smaller objects passed through to end up in the asphalt mixture.

Mr. James R. Hall, one of the workmen, recovered a number of artifacts from the screen, two of which are miniature clay vessels (Figure 2). The larger is comparable in size to a coffee cup and has incised lines and round indentations on its outside surface. The incised lines are also found inside the bowl in the same pattern. There are two small holes in the rim for suspension. The smaller vessel is about the size of a half-grown lemon and has no decoration.

News of the finds was learned only after the sand removal operation had destroyed approximately ninety percent of the site. On the first visit to the site during the sand removal, a very dark, twelve inch humus layer that contained a heavy concentration of pottery was noted in the cut. The humus or midden layer was under an overburden of sterile flood-deposited sand that ranged in depth from twenty to twenty-four inches and showed no indication of surface disturbance by the heavy machinery.

Examinations of the side of the five-foot-high bank area showed no evidence of occupational layers either above or below the twelve-inch humus layer. A pottery sample, totaling 176 sherds, was removed from
the exposed layer at this time. There was no visible stratification within the dark layer and all types of pottery recovered from the layer were intermixed. It was carefully noted, that no pottery was found either above or below the dark midden layer.

One sherd, a rim portion of a small saucer-shaped bowl, Figure 3, has the finely executed head of a bird protruding nearly an inch over the rim. It is interesting to note that the Hardage Site is two miles downstream from where a pottery tube was reported from a small site in the vicinity of the Steel Bridge (Traver 1963).

On the surface of the excavated area, along with numerous pottery sherds, were scattered deposits of fresh-water mussel shells and fire-cracked rocks. Considerable quantities of animal bones were found and a few scattered pieces of human bone were recovered. The majority of the animal bone proved to be deer; however, the human bone was either too decomposed or fragmented to determine either sex or age.

It was impossible to locate features as the sand was stripped well below the midden layer over the entire excavated area. Undoubtedly, the Archaic material found in the screen was from levels lower than the twelve inch midden; however, these earlier inhabitants left no visible occupational levels in the section of bank that was examined. The aforementioned section of bank, which totaled twenty feet in length, was available for examination on only one visit as it was leveled by the following weekend.

A comparison of pottery from the midden layer with that of a larger sample (487 sherds) from the disturbed area shows practically the same distribution as to surface treatments (Table I and II). All pottery was sand tempered and varied from fine to coarse with the addition of small gravel added to thirty percent of the sample.

Projectile points recovered show a predominance of Archaic types. It is probable that the larger points were caught in the screen, while the smaller, Woodland points passed through (Figure 4 and Table III).

Unfortunately, only one collection from the sand screen, that of Mr. Hall, is available for examination. Certainly, definite conclusions can not be drawn as all recovered material, with the exception of the pottery from the exposed bank, was completely out of its original context and mixed by the action machinery. If the site could have been examined slowly and by archeological methods, it is likely that several cultural levels might have been found and defined beneath the ceramic level.

The Hardage Site (Mc108) is located on the Roanoke River about halfway between the Clarksville (Miller, 1962) and Gaston (Coe, 1964) Sites where extensive examinations of ceramic remains have been conducted. It can not be conclusively stated, based on this small sample, that the Hardage...
Site is identical with either the Clarksville or Caston Sites. However, definite similarities do seem evident to the untrained eye and it may be hypothetically ventured that the Hardage Site was either an overlapping or an extension of the cultures found at Clarksville and Gaston. The ceramic traits of the Hardage Site appear nearly identical to those at Smith Creek Island, located two miles directly downstream. (Unpublished data, based on 1966 excavations at Smith Creek Island.)

One may surmise that the Hardage Site was occupied intermittently by a people whose cultural development spanned portions of the Archaic and Woodland Periods. One factor that influenced this choice for a campsite was the presence of shallows in the river at this point. This location was excellent for either fording the river or for gathering shell fish.

Appreciation is expressed to Mr. L. B. Hardage, of Norlina, North Carolina for his permission to visit the site and to Mr. James R. Hall, of LaCrosse, Virginia, for permission to examine his collection from the sand screen.

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**ROANOKE RIVER or GASTON LAKE**

**Sand Stripped Area**

**THE HARDAGE SITE**

**FIGURE 1**
### TABLE I

Distribution of Pottery from the Surface of the Excavated Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Surface Treatment</th>
<th>Number of Sherds</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fabric &amp; Textile Impressed</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamped &amp; Cord Marked</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combed Surface</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain, untreated</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>487</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE II

Distribution of Pottery from the undisturbed Midden Layer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Surface Treatment</th>
<th>Number of Sherds</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fabric &amp; Textile Treatment</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamped &amp; Cord Marked</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combed Surface</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain, untreated</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>176</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure Two: Miniature vessels, three-fourths actual size.
A: Hole for suspension; B: Round indentations and incised lines

Wells: Hardage Site
TABLE III

Artifacts from the screen and from the disturbed surface of the excavated area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>Quartzite</th>
<th>Quartz</th>
<th>Chert</th>
<th>Slate</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Projectile Points—According to Coe, 1964)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrow Mountain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah River</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17 1/2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17 1/2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilford</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Triangulars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS &amp; PERCENTAGES</td>
<td>8-47%</td>
<td>2-12%</td>
<td>4-23%</td>
<td>2-12%</td>
<td>1-6%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chip Analysis</td>
<td>43-47%</td>
<td>26-29%</td>
<td>9-10%</td>
<td>12-13%</td>
<td>1-1%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrapers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground Celt (polished)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>greenstone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chipped Ax</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steatite potsherds</td>
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Figure Three (above): Rimsherd with head of a bird, beak broken off.

Figure Four (right): Morrow Mountain and triangular points.

Wells: Hardage Site
(Lecture delivered before the Greater Richmond Chapter of the Archeological Society of Virginia, May 24, 1969. This paper was supported by Public Health Service Research Grant RC/MH12875 from the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Bethesda, Maryland.)

ON THOUGHT IN PRIMITIVE MEDICINE

BY

WALTHER RIESE, M. D.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second paper published in the Quarterly Bulletin by this noted scholar. His earlier paper, which dealt with another aspect of primitive medicine, is available from the Treasurer. Dr. Riese is retired from the faculty of the Medical College of Virginia, and now devotes his time to research.
Before undertaking an inquiry into the most general laws which govern the collective ways of thinking of primitive societies, it would perhaps not be useless to define briefly the essential characteristics of these ways of thinking and thus guard against almost inevitable ambiguity. The terminology used in the analysis of mental functions is adapted to these functions as the philosophers, the psychologists and the logicians have observed and defined them in our society. As long as one admits that these functions are identical in all human societies, there is no difficulty at all: the same terminology can serve everywhere, with the reservation that "savages" have the mentality of children rather than adults. But if one renounces this postulate—and we have the strongest reasons for considering it ill founded—then the terms, the divisions, the classifications used for the analysis of our mental functions are no longer suited to functions which differ from them, and become, on the contrary, a source of confusion and error. For the study of primitive mentality, which is a new study, a new terminology would perhaps be necessary. It would at least be indispensable to specify the new meaning which a certain number of accepted expressions would take on when applied to a subject which differs from the one to which they formerly referred.

In current psychological language, which classifies phenomena as emotional, motor and intellectual, "representation" is placed in the last category. We understand by that a phenomenon of knowledge, in so far as the mind has simply the image or idea of an object. It is not to be denied that in the reality of mental life, any representation involves, more or less, the inclinations and tends to produce or inhibit some movement. But, by means of an abstraction which is not at all excessive in many cases one neglects these elements of representation and retains only its essential relation to the object that it makes known. Representation is essentially an intellectual or cognitive phenomenon.

This is not the way in which the collective representation of primitive peoples should be considered. Their mental activity is too little differentiated for it to be possible to consider in it the ideas or images of objects apart from the sentiments, emotions and passions which evoke these ideas and images or are evoked by them. Precisely because our mental activity is more differentiated and also because the analysis of its functions is familiar to us, it is very difficult for us to realize, by an effort of the imagination, more complex states in which emotional and motor elements are integral parts of representations. It seems to us that these states are not truly representations. And, in fact, to keep this term, it is necessary to modify its meaning. It is necessary to understand by this form of

1) For much of the background material the author is indebted to the work of Lévy-Bruhl, translated from the French with the assistance of Mrs. Louise W. Morton.
mental activity in primitive peoples, not an intellectual or cognitive phenomenon which is pure or almost pure, but a more complex phenomenon, in which what is for us "representation" proper is found still confused with other elements of an emotional or motor character, colored, penetrated by them and implying, consequently, a different attitude towards the represented objects.2

"...primitive mentality may be called pre-logical as well as mystical ... Pre-logical must not, however, be understood to mean that this mentality constitutes a sort of stage prior, in time, to the appearance of logical thought. "Levy-Bruhl questions whether there have ever existed human or pre-human beings whose group thought has not obeyed the laws of logic. "We do not know," he says, "but it is in any case unlikely." 2a In calling the mentality of primitive societies pre-logical, Lévy-Bruhl means only that, unlike our thought, it does not shrink from contradiction. It obeys above all the law of participation.

The causal link, as we understand it, unites phenomena in time, in a necessary way, and arranges them in an irreversible series. Moreover, the series of causes and effects are infinitely extended and interwoven. All the phenomena of the universe, as Kant says, exist in a reciprocal universal action; but, however complex the network, our certainty that these phenomena always dispose themselves, in fact, in causal series, constitutes for us the order of the world and, in a word, experience.

For the primitive mentality, it is a very different matter. Everything, or almost everything that happens, is ascribed by it to the influence of occult or mystical powers (sorcerers, the dead, spirits, etc.). In doing this, it doubtless obeys the same mental impulse that we do. But while, for us, cause and effect are both given in time and almost always in space, the primitive mentality permits (only) one of the two terms to be perceived at any moment; the other belongs to the company of invisible and imperceptible beings.

...the visible world and the invisible world are but one, and the events of the visible world are constantly subject to the influences of the other. Whence the place held in the lives of primitive peoples by dreams, prophesies, divination in a thousand different forms, sacrifices, incantations, ritual ceremonies, magic. Whence the practice of neglecting what we call secondary causes and concentrating their whole attention upon the mystical cause, the only truly effective one. A man succumbs to an organic disease, to snake bite, he is crushed by a falling tree, devoured by a tiger or a crocodile: for the primitive mentality, it is not the disease, the snake, the tree, or the tiger or the crocodile that killed him. If he perished, it was doubtless because a sorcerer had doomed him and surrendered him. The tree, the deadly animals were merely instruments. Lacking one, the other would have served the same purpose. They were, so to speak, interchangeable at the will of the invisible power which used them.
For minds so oriented, there is no purely physical fact. No question related to natural phenomena, therefore, presents itself to them as it does to us. When we wish to explain one of these, we search in the very series of phenomena for the necessary and sufficient conditions. If we succeed in determining them, we ask nothing more. Knowledge of the law satisfies us. The attitude of the primitive man is quite different. He has perhaps noted the constant antecedents of the fact which interests him and, when acting he pays the greatest attention to his observations. But the real cause he will always seek in the world of invisible powers, beyond what we call nature... In short, our problems are not his, and his are foreign to us.

...the mystical powers which continually intervene in the visible world...always exert their action immediately. They are the sole and veritable causes; those perceived in the visible world are merely instruments or occasions. 30

It is for the same reason that in primitive mentality no room is left for an interrogatory of the sick. Since nothing can be learned from the patient himself regarding the history of the disease and its symptomatology, no clinical history is taken in primitive medicine. But we must be prepared to learn that in the so-called inferior societies the dead are subjected to an interrogatory. Nothing seems indeed more foreign to our own thought, nothing more absurd than the interview of the dead.

Among the immediate facts of his experience, primitive man is concerned above all with those which proceed from the invisible world and which reveal to him the dispositions of the mystical powers with which it is peopled. The prosperity of the social group, the health and life of each of its members depend constantly upon good or bad influences exerted upon them. As long as they are not certain that not one of these mystical forces is effectively opposed to it, they cannot hope to carry any enterprise through successfully. Whence the imperious need to know that these forces are on their side and that they will succeed.35

By means of the dream, living man communicates with the dead and, in a general way, with the mystical powers in the simplest and easiest manner. During sleep his state is very close to that of the dead. The barrier which separates him from them in the waking state is momentarily lowered. He sees them, he hears them, he speaks with them; he addresses his demands to them and receives theirs.

Even when solicited and provoked, the dream may be lacking. The primitive mentality will then have recourse to other means of communication with the powers of the invisible world. The simplest and most effective of these is direct interrogation...It is used with the dead, whose lines of communication with the living are not completely broken, and especially with the recently dead...The interrogatory can take place even before
death, as we understand it, is final, that is, in that interval during which
the "soul"... has already left the body, but the dying man has not ceased
breathing his heart ceased beating.

In primitive societies, in which death is never, or almost never
"natural," the family of the deceased needs to know who is responsible for
the malefic of which he is the victim. No one knows better than this
victim himself and no one will reveal it more surely. In asking him the
question, the survivors achieve two purposes at the same time. They
unmask the sorcerer, whose murderous activity is a perpetual menace to
the social group and, at the same time, they show the newly deceased that
they are not forgetting the responsibility for avenging him. Thus they
protect themselves against the anger which he would not fail to make them
feel if he believed himself neglected.

...different names are pronounced to see whether they produce any
effect upon the corpse...the spirit of the deceased is called in a loud voice
and asked the name of the one who bewitched him. If there is no response...
the name of a suspect person is pronounced, and the whole circle listens.
If no response is heard, another name is pronounced, and so on until
finally a sound is heard...at the moment that a certain name is called:
decisive proof that this is the guilty one.

As a rule, the term primitive medicine is used synonymously with
magic medicine and the one stands indeed for the other. But it is not at
all easy to define term and concept of magic, which in the eyes of some
writers is indistinguishable from religion, in the eyes of others, sharply
demarcated from it, in the eyes of still others, an inferior branch of
religion. The definition of magic has been undergoing a significant change
in the last 150 years, a change embodied in the great encyclopedias, from
the famous French encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert (1778), to the
various editions of the Encyclopedia Britannica. In the first edition of the
Encyclopedia Britannica (Edinburgh 1771) magic is defined as the knowledge
of the more sublime parts of philosophy; but as the magi likewise professed
astrology, divination and sorcery, the term magi became odious, being
used to signify an unlawful diabolical kind of science, acquired by the
assistance of the devil and departed souls. A psychological definition of
magic is to be found in the last, the 14th edition of the Encyclopedia
Britannica (1955); this definition, indeed, seems as significant of our time
as the earlier one reflect the intellectual structures of the periods in which
they originated. Magic, we now read, is born of the emotional tension of
specific situations. All of the three criteria and components of magic,
i.e., the spell, the rite, and the magician, are also encountered in
primitive medicine, under the guise of incantations, charms, expelling,
and other procedures undertaken by the medicine man.
The structure of primitive medicine becomes intelligible in the light of one of the most significant modes of thinking which have been discovered in primitive societies. According to the law of participation, one being may enter another one or take possession of it in order to influence, to direct or to use the latter. As a rule, the invading guest is an invisible spirit, a ghost, the spirit of the dead, becoming accessible to sensual experience after its incarnation. In primitive societies there is no reasoning in the sense of our own logic. Abstractions and generalizations are not encountered or only exceptionally, thought remains on a concrete and intuitive level and does not reach the conceptual one.

Without entering into a critical discussion of the method used and the results obtained by certain scholars...it is necessary only to indicate in a few words the consequences, entailed for their doctrine, by their belief in the identity of a "human mind" perfectly consistent, from the point of view of logic, in all times and all places. This identity is admitted by the school as a postulate, or rather as an axiom. It has no need to be proven, nor even to be formally stated; it is a principle always taken for granted, and too obvious for anyone ever to have stopped to consider it. Consequently, the collective ways of thinking of primitive peoples, often so strange to us, the no less strange associations to be noted among them, present no problems whose solution might enrich or modify the conception that we have of the "human mind." We know in advance that this mind is no different in them than it is in us. All that remains to be questioned is how these mental functions identical to ours could have produced these ways of thinking and these associations. Here appears the general hypothesis dear to the English school of anthropology: animism.

Frazer's *Golden Bough*, for example, clearly shows how animism accounts for many beliefs and practices fairly widespread in primitive societies, and of which many traces survive in our own society. It will be noted that the hypothesis breaks up into two factors. In the first place, primitive man, surprised and moved by the apparitions which present themselves in his dreams—in which he sees the dead and the absent, speaks with them, fights with them, hears and touches them—believes in the objective reality of these representations. For him, therefore, his own existence is two-fold, like that of the dead and the absent who appear to him. He admits at the same time his actual existence as a living and conscious individual and his existence as a separate soul, capable of becoming external and manifesting itself as a "phantom." This would be a universal belief among primitive peoples, since all of them would experience the inevitable psychological illusion which is the origin of this belief. In the second place wishing to explain to themselves the natural phenomena which strike their senses, that is, to assign a cause to them, they immediately generalize the explanation that they have given themselves for their dreams and their hallucinations. In all beings, behind all natural phenomena, they see "souls", "spirits," "forces" similar to those that they think they have observed in themselves, in their companions, in animals. A native
logical procedure, but no less spontaneous, no less inevitable for the primitive mind than the psychological illusion which preceded it and upon which it is based.

... the attention attracted by corpses or, more generally, by human remains, suffices to show that human conduct in respect to death is primitive and consequently basic. From the beginning, obviously, this conduct implied a feeling of fear or of respect; in any case, a strong feeling which looked upon human remains as something different from other objects. This difference is from the outset the opposite of the animal lack of interest. For the first time, man's conduct with regard to the dead indicates the presence of a new value: the dead, or at least their countenances, fascinated the living, who took pains to forbid an approach to them and who limited the ordinary traffic which any object allows. It is this fascinated limitation, imposed by man upon the movement of beings and things, that constitutes taboo. Objects set apart by such a terrified feeling are sacred. Man's very ancient attitude toward the dead marks the beginning of the fundamental classification of objects into those that are sacred and taboo and those that are considered as profane, usable and accessible without restriction. This classification dominates the movements which are essentially human, with which we are faced when we consider those remote times of which Lascaux will remain the crucial moment, that of complete man.

Though prehistoric man should be considered as primitive in the sense of living inferior societies of our own anthropological age, and though no contribution can be made to the knowledge of the state of medicine in prehistoric man, the structure of his mentality and that of his experience imply constituents which we encounter in primitive medicine among contemporary tribes. They imply the knowledge of the two sexes and their symbolic value, expressed by animal figures and by more or less abstract signs; they imply the distinction between profane and sacred objects, the fear of death and above all, the knowledge and practice of sympathetic magic. The stone man as a hunter going down into a cave to paint a wounded bison on the walls is interpreted as incontestable evidence of sympathetic magic--perhaps to make game more plentiful, perhaps to help the hunters with their stalking and aiming, perhaps to render the entire universe more fecund and more kindly disposed toward his people. Reproducing the image of pregnant mare is interpreted as a magic procedure to secure fertility of the game he hunts.

According to an eminent French scholar, Bataille, the Neandertal man had not reached as yet the full human figure. We learn that he was a transitional stage in the early history of man, fabricating tools and useful objects out of stone, only to be surpassed by the Aurignac man who, according to our author, was man in his finished state. I believe that it was one of the most original and uplifting conclusions drawn by Bataille to
consider the artistic productions left by the Aurignac man on the walls of 
the famous decorated caves, 20,000 to 30,000 years ago, as criteria of his 
maturity, anthropologically speaking. It seems that at least to some of the 
explorers and interpreters of palaeolithic art, man as homo faber had to pass 
from the fabrication of useful objects to useless ones, and to figurative reproduction of animals, to reach the state of recent man. Thus, art—
as a rule considered and evaluated as one of the highest and latest achievements of the human race, stands here at the origin not ending but opening the earliest history of man. From the very beginning, man's evolutionary history seems to be linked with artistic and, for that matter, spiritual and noble ingredients.

It would be impossible to emphasize too strongly the fact that, before the age of the reindeer, human life, in so far as it differed from animal life, differed only by labor. At least in principle, we have not in fact preserved a trace of other important human activities. Hunting was not labor in the sense in which the word implies the calm calculation of application; it was the extension of animal activity. Apparently, in the times which preceded art (representation), hunting essentially was human only in the weapons employed. It was only by work with stone that man was distinguished then, in an absolute manner, from the animals. He became distinguished from the animal to the extent to which human thought was given to him by work. Labor projects into the future, in advance, that object which does not yet exist, which is being made and simple in view of which the work is being done. From that moment there exist in man's mind two kinds of objects, some of which are present and some of which are to come. The past object at once completes this already double aspect, and thus the existence of objects is outlined from one end to the other in the mind. Distinct language, beyond the baying of desire, is possible from the moment when, designating an object, it refers implicitly to the manner in which it is made, to the labor which abolishes its original condition and assures its use. From then on language fixes it forever in the flight of time. But that which designates the object snatches it from immediate perceptibility. Man recovers the perceptible if, by his work, he creates beyond useful works, a work of art.

REFERENCES

1a Ibid., p. 28.
2a Ibid., pp. 78-79.
2b Ibid., pp. 7-8.
3a Ibid., pp. 511-512. 3d Ibid., p. 186.
3b Ibid., p. 219 3e Ibid., p. 187.
3c Ibid., p. 172

Riese: Primitive Medicine 77
A THEORY TO EXPLAIN THE USE OF BAR GORGETS ... H. P. Hobbs

Some of the stone artifacts described in books and articles as gorgets were clearly designed as ornaments to be dangled from a string around the neck. But many so-called gorgets seem to have been designed for some other purpose. Among these is a standard model known as the bar gorget. It is pretty obvious that this type of artifact -- a thick, symmetrical, elongated stone (usually soft, such as slate), flat on one side and convex on the other, wide in the middle and tapered toward the ends, with two conical holes near the center -- was never intended to be worn as a pendant. Its purpose is generally considered problematical.

The following is an attempt to explain how the bar gorget could have been used for a practical purpose consistent with its characteristic form.

First, a cavity the same shape as the bar gorget was carved lengthwise on the underside of a wooden duck decoy. A cord was then passed through the holes in the gorget and tied so that the free end of the cord extended from the convex side of the stone. The flat side of the stone was coated with hot pitch or spruce gum (the same waterproof glue that was used to caulk birchbark canoes) and the stone was glued to the wood. The flat surface and vertical edges of the stone fitted snugly into the cavity, and the convex face of the stone conformed to the roundness of the duck's belly. Thus the bar gorget served as ballast, and also provided the means of attaching the decoy to an anchor.

What other use for the bar gorget would account for every detail of its design?
A COMMENT UPON INDIAN BROWN CLAY PIPES......Westwood Winfree

In his excellent article on pipes in the March 1969 issue of the Quarterly Bulletin, Michael Pawson has the following to say regarding Pipes Reflecting English and Indian Influences: "The question of whether these pipes were made by Indians copying European shapes, or settlers copying Indian varieties, is still unanswered."

I would like to suggest the answer as to Pawson's first five pipes pictured in Figure 8 of his article. At the Haddon Site in King William County, Virginia, excavated by the writer and reported in the September 1967 issue of the Quarterly Bulletin, were found numerous fragments of pipes of that type, the smooth-surfaced bowls being ornamented by designs made by tiny dots pricked in the wet clay. Some of these fragments are illustrated in the Haddon report in Figure 13 (the top three rows). Their similarity to those noted above reported by Pawson from the Knowles Collection seems obvious.

Since the Haddon site yielded only a trace of artifacts made by white settlers or Europeans, but yielded over 17,000 Indian pot sherds and about a thousand Indian artifacts of stone, it could fairly be called a pure Indian site. It therefore seems to me a reasonable conclusion that the pipes identified above were made by Indians, the shapes perhaps being influenced by kaolin pipes of European or colonial manufacture; but the decorations being Indian designs, some of the designs having been used by Indians in other areas and possibly having some symbolic significance.

A QUESTION OF NAIL SIZES ................................. E. F. Heite

Nails, like bricks, are among the commonest and least demonstrative of artifacts. Most of us, and I am one, are fuddled by the seeming complexity of nail description.

Nails have been classified by "penny" since the Middle Ages. Over the years, this classification system has changed, but its basic units of measure have remained reasonably consistent. Like all artifacts of English origin, and especially building hardware, nails should be described in inches, rather than centimeters. The metric system has no relevance to the subject, and its use is merely an indication that the author is trying to appear erudite.

Since nail size is rather consistent, I suggest that we use modern penny-sizes in describing nails. A convenient collection of specimens for size comparison is relatively obtainable, and the modern sizes are close enough to earlier scales. A good graduated scale of nail sizes was published by Popular Science Publishing Company in 1966, and may be obtained by writing to 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302. Some encyclopedias contain nail-size tables. Another source is the S. D. Kimbark catalogue, 1876, reprinted in the Florida Anthropologist, vol. XVIII, no. 3, part 2. This invaluable work cites dozens of nail forms by name and size; it is particularly useful in describing specialized nails of the nineteenth century. The most convenient reference, of course, is a graded set of wire nails.

Comparative Material 79
A Preliminary Checklist of TOBACCO INSPECTIONS 1680-1820

BY E. M. SANCHEZ-SAAVEDRA

This preliminary list represents a first attempt at listing these warehouses, and I hope that later researchers will treat it as such. I do not doubt but that other warehouses will be uncovered and that errors will be found in this listing. It is intended merely as a point of departure for further work.

NATURE OF THE WAREHOUSES LISTED: The warehouses in this inventory are only those used as public inspection stations, at which two inspectors were appointed by the county courts per year under bond and oath. No attempt has been made to include private warehouses, a task which would entail compiling every tobacco farm in the state and colony for a period of 150 years. Most of the warehouses herein began as private barns, however.

INTENTIONAL OMISSIONS: By an act of February 1632/3, five tobacco "storehouses" were authorized at Shirley Hundred, Denbigh, Tindall's Point, and at the mouth of the Southampton River. These were not built, although three of them materialized after another act of 1680.

SOURCES:
Virginia State Library auditor's items 210 and 237, consisting of warehouse inspectors' accounts and annual reports.
E. G. Swem, Virginia Historical Index, under "Tobacco" and "Warehouses".

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, The William and Mary College Quarterly, and
The Calendar of Virginia State Papers.

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<td>Anderson's</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
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<td>Appomattox</td>
<td>Prince George County, after 1735</td>
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<td>Aquia</td>
<td>Stafford Co., after 1735</td>
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<td>John Bolling</td>
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<td>Boyd's</td>
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<td>King George Co., est. 1730</td>
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<td>Brandon</td>
<td>Prince George Co., est. 1730</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cartersville</td>
<td>Cumberland Co., extant 1790</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cary's</td>
<td>Chesterfield Co., est. 1776(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catpoint (Rappahannock Creek)</td>
<td>Richmond Co.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four Mile Creek
Henrico Co. extant 1760

Frazier’s
King William Co, extant 1780

Fredericksburg
Fredericksburg City est. 1730

Friend’s
Campbell Co, extant 1780’s

Fulgham’s Point
Isle of Wight Co, extant 1753

Gibson’s
King George Co, est. 1730

Glascock’s
Richmond Co, est. 1730

Gloucester Town
Gloucester Co, est. 1730

Gray’s Creek
Surry Co, est. 1730

Great Bridge
Norfolk Co, est 1730

as Norfolk Warehouse

Great Falls
Louisa Co, est. 1790

Great Hunting Creek
Prince William Co, est 1730

Guilford
Accomack Co, est. 1730

Hampton
Elizabeth City Co, est. 1730

Harrods Ldg.
Mercer Co., Ky, est. 1787

Hayes’
Gloucester Co, extant 1739

Henderson’s
Albermarle Co, est. 1789

Hickman’s
Lincoln Co., Ky., est. 1873

High Hill
Dinwiddie Co,

High Street
Petersburg City, est. 1789

Hobbs Hole (Tappahannock)
Essex Co, est. 1680

Hogan’s
Fayette Co., Ky, est. 1787

Hog Neck
James City Co, est. 1730

Hood’s
Prince George Co, extant 1753

Hornby’s
Richmond Co, est. 1748

Horseley’s
Buckingham Co. est. 1791

Hungra’s
Northampton Co, est. 1730

Hunting Creek
Fairfax Co, est. 1765

Indian Creek
Lancaster Co, est. 1730

James River Canal Public Warehouse
Richmond City, est. 1801

Jamestown
James City Co, est. 1633

Jerse’s Plantation
Elizabeth City Co, est. 1680

Johnson’s
Chesterfield Co, est. 1790

Jordan’s
Prince George Co, extant 1740’s

Kemp’s
Middlesex Co, absorbed into

Urbanna before 1738

Kemp’s Ldg.
Princess Anne Co, discontinued 1760

Kennon’s
Charles City Co, est. 1742

King’s Creek
Northampton Co, est. 1680

Kinsale
Westmoreland Co, est. 1736

Lawrence’s
Nansemond Co, est. 1730

Layton’s (Lawton’s)
Essex Co., est. 1730

Lee’s
Fayette Co., Ky, est. 1783

Leeds
Westmoreland Co, before 1778

Liberty
Campbell Co, est. 1805

Liberty
Halifax Co,(?)

Limestone
Bourbon Co., Ky, est. 1787

Littlepage’s
New Kent Co, est. 1734

Low Point
Surry Co, est. 1781

Lowry’s
Lancaster Co, est. 1755

Lynch’s
Lynchburg City, extant 1786

McRae’s
Dinwiddie Co, est. 1792

Machodoc
King George Co, extant 1730

Manchester
Chesterfield Co, est. 1781

Mantapike
King and Queen Co, est. 1730

Marlborough
Stafford Co, est, (as Pease Pt.)

Martin’s
Lynchburg City est. 1801

Matchotique
Westmoreland Co, extant 1780’s

Mattos (Maddox)
Westmoreland Co, est. 1730

Maycock’s
Prince George Co, est. 1734

Mayor’s
Richmond City est. 1805

Meadsville
Halifax Co,

Meaden
Mecklenburg Co, est. 1792

Megginson’s
Amherst Co, extant 1788 (Became
Camdens in 1796)

Meriwether’s
Hanover Co, est. 1730

Micol’s
Essex Co, est. 1765

Milner’s
Suffolk, Nansemond Co, extant 1765

Moore’s
Petersburg City

Morgantown
Monongalia Co., W, Va., est. 1789

Morton’s
King George Co, extant 1742

Mumford’s
Prince George Co, est. 1730, discontinued
1734

Munford’s
Prince George Co, est. 1734 (same as above?)

Nassawaddox
Northampton Co, est. 1730

Naylors Hole
Richmond Co, extant 1730’s

New (formerly Pohick)

Prince William Co, after 1735

New Landing
Westmoreland Co, est. 1762

Nicholas’
Albermarle Co, est. 1789

Noble’s
Prince George Co, extant 1766

Nomeiny
Westmoreland Co, est. 1680

North Howard
Norfolk Co,

North Wicomico
Northumberland Co, est. 1730

Nottoway
Southampton Co, est. 1787

Occoquan
Fairfax Co, est. 1748

Occupia
Essex Co, est. 1748

Osborne’s
Chesterfield Co, extant 1748

Page’s
Hanover Co, extant 1734

Pannel’s
Pittsylvania Co,

Parker’s
Nelson Co, est. 1789

Pates Field
Isle of Wight Co, est. 1680

Pease Point (Marlborough)

Stafford Co., est. 1680, later absorbed by Aquia

Persimmon Point

Stafford Co,

Petersburg
Petersburg City est. 1780’s

Peyton’s
Prince William Co, discontinued 1759

Piping Tree
King William Co, est. 1748

Piscataway
Essex Co, extant 1765

Pitts
Accomack Co, est. 1730

Planter’s
Campbell Co,

Pohick
Prince William Co, discontinued 1735

Poropotank
Gloucester Co, est. 1730

Port Royal
Caroline Co, extant 1784

Portsmouth
Norfolk Co, est. 1784

Potomac Creek
Stafford Co, est. 1748

Powells Creek
Prince George Co, est. 1730

--- To Be Continued

EDITORS NOTE: The warehouses listed in this article
are, in many cases, important archeological sites. We
urge our members to be particularly observant of these
sites in the course of survey. Anyone who has information
regarding the locations of such warehouses should write to
the author of this article.
The Archeological Society of Virginia was formed in 1940 and incorporated in 1963 as a non-profit organization. Contributions to the Society are deductible for Federal income tax purposes. The tenets of the Society are:
1. To promote the study of archeology and anthropology, especially (but not limited to) the prehistoric and Colonial periods in Virginia.
2. To work for the proper conservation and exploration of archeological sites and materials.
3. To encourage the scientific study of artifacts and to discourage careless, misdirected, or commercial collecting of artifacts.
4. To promote the spread of archeological knowledge through the media of publications, meetings, lectures, exhibits, etc.
5. To collaborate with other organizations and agencies which serve the stated purposes of the Society.
6. To serve as a bond between individual members and as a link with similar organizations in other states.

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