

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF MIACOMET

by Elizabeth A. Little

NANTUCKET ALGONQUIAN STUDIES #12

Nantucket Historical Association

Nantucket MA 02554

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The Town of Miacomet was an area on Nantucket Island inhabited by one of the last Nantucket Christian Indian communities. By the mid-eighteenth century the Miacomet Indians, many of whom were whalefishermen, lived both in English-style houses and in wigwams, and had built a meeting house with a cemetery nearby. Most of the 222 Nantucket Indians who died in an epidemic in 1763-64 were buried in the Miacomet cemetery, with the help of authorities of the Town of Sherburne.

After 225 years, the unmarked cemetery was discovered in 1987, during construction of an Elderly, Handicapped and Family Housing Project of the Nantucket Housing Authority, Augusto Ramos, chairman. In order to preserve the cemetery under the provisions of the state laws on unmarked burials (Massachusetts General Laws as amended by Chapter 659 of the Acts of 1983), an archaeological and historical project supervised by Brona Simon, the Massachusetts state archaeologist, in consultation with John Peters of the Massachusetts Indian Commission, has been initiated to locate its boundaries. Mitchell Mulholland of the University of Massachusetts Archaeological Services is overseeing the project and Catherine Carlson is undertaking the locational archaeological survey. In this report I summarize the history of the Town of Miacomet, and, in particular, examine the documentary evidence for the location of boundaries, houses and the Meeting House.

I am grateful to Dena F. Dincauze for discussions on the use of the term, village, which does not prove helpful in clarifying the Nantucket Indian settlement patterns.

THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF MIACOMET

INTRODUCTION

On December 21, 1987, a backhoe dug a utility trench for a unit in the Nantucket Housing Authority's affordable housing development south of Surfside Road at Nantucket. Subsequently, while finishing the trench with a shovel, a plumber uncovered the top of a human skull, and called his supervisor. After 225 years, the Christian Indian Cemetery at Miacomet had been rediscovered. Because the recent state unmarked burial laws require the preservation, if possible, of unmarked burials, an archaeological and historical project has been initiated by the state archaeologist, Brona Simon, to locate and describe the cemetery, which will be preserved. This report summarizes the geography of this area of the island and the history of the Indian town of Miacomet.

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND.

Glaciation. The Cape Cod Bay lobe of the last Wisconsinan ice sheet at its maximum extent covered most of the island (Figure 1; Appendix 11); it is interesting to note that east of Miacomet valley some land, including the cemetery region, may have been ice-free. In retreat to the north by 16,000 years ago, the ice front and meltwater laid down a sequence of outwash plains and ice-contact deposits. The channel or "Pamet" (Woodworth and Wigglesworth 1934) which is the valley of Miacomet may have been formed in unvegetated sandy outwash by rain or snow melt under conditions of high water table and possibly permafrost. In this process, called "spring sapping", valley edges collapse into ponded water and valley growth is uphill (Oldale 1988, personal communication). Miacomet valley is now too permeable to support surface waters except where the valley floor is below the water table of the island (Oldale 1981, 1982, 1985; Walker 1980).

Sea Level. When the ice front was at its maximum advance, sea level was perhaps 100 meters lower than today, and a large amount of the continental shelf was dry land. Evidence for this is given by mammoth and mastodon teeth dredged up by fishermen on Georges Bank and elsewhere off the coast of Massachusetts (Oldale 1976, 1987). As the ice has melted, sea level has been rising and the sea has been transgressing and eroding the shores at Nantucket for the past 5000 years (Oldale 1985, 1986; Gutman et al. 1979). Nantucket, once a high place on the mainland with fresh water lakes to the north, is today only a small unstable sandy island surrounded by the sea. Storm seas, however, also bring useful resources, such as live surf clams, scallops, quahogs, fish, lobsters, drift whales and driftwood to island beaches, especially on the south shore (Little and Andrews 1982, 1986).

Soils. The soils which developed on the post-glacial surface (Langlois 1977) show the influence of the glacial substrate. For example, the sand and gravel outwash deposits are very porous and too droughty for agriculture. A very limited number of well-watered patches of agricultural land exist on the island, none of which is near Miacomet Pond.

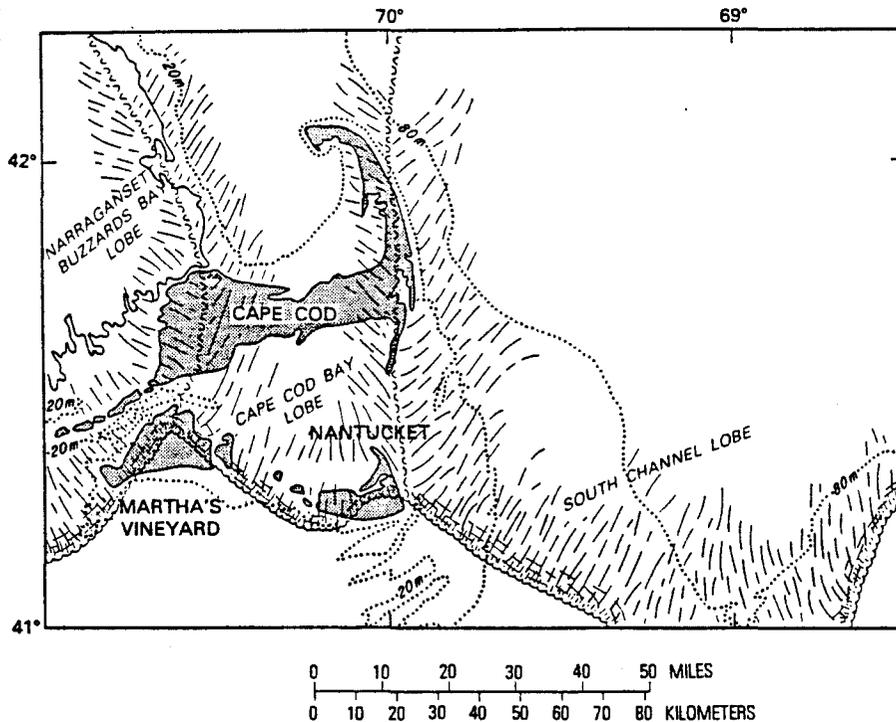


Figure 1. Map showing location of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Cape Cod; the glacial lobes; and inferred limit of the late Wisconsin ice (Oldale 1985).

Pollen Studies. Peter Dunwiddie, from pollen cores at Nantucket, reports that mixed oak forests were the dominant vegetation on the island throughout most of the Holocene. Coastal heathlands and grasslands probably existed only in exposed areas with poor soils, and following fire or forest clearance by humans. After European settlement about 1660 A.D., rapid forest clearance and extensive grazing by animals is reflected in the pollen record by increases in grasses, composites and other agricultural weeds (Dunwiddie 1988).

Archaeology. Archaeological studies, including a survey funded by the Department of the Interior through the Massachusetts Historical Commission in 1978 (Little 1979; Luedtke 1980) have provided a substantial database for research and cultural resource management. Sites have been located, collections inventoried, and analysis begun (Little 1983, 1980c). All styles of known northeastern projectile points are found here, including eastern Clovis, with an emphasis on Middle and Late Woodland. The sites predominantly have southeast aspects, with protection from the northwest winter winds (Little 1984). Particular attention has been given to shell middens, which are found along the shores of estuaries, and also contain evidence of fish, crab, birds, turtles, deer and seal (Little 1984, 1986; Little and Andrews 1986). At present the only carnivores on the island are snakes and hawks; since deer and rabbits have been reintroduced, historical records suggest that the only native mammals are mice and voles. Probably most of the lithic materials used by prehistoric Nantucketers for stone tools, except soapstone (steatite), Onondaga cherts, and Pennsylvania jasper (Luedtke 1987), could be obtained locally in glacial drift.

Water Resources. A dome-shaped lens of fresh water floats on underlying salt water in the sandy substrate of the island (Walker 1980; Appendix 10), and the water table is fairly accessible at depressions such as kettle holes and valleys.

From early English settlers' records, we learn that the Indians respected age, kept dogs, burned their planting fields in April, planted corn, harvested in October, used reeds and flags and beach grass for making mats and baskets, caught fish in weirs and owned bows (Nantucket County Records; Starbuck 1924). A sachem or sachemess ruled with the advice of chief men and women and endeavored to manage his or her town's affairs by means of love and redistribution of valuables (Little 1976). After a dispute between the sachems and the English over haying and pasturing rights, the English gave each of four sachems rights to keep about 17 horses on the commons (Little 1976). These, called horse commons, were exchanged between and among Indians and English and provide data which are uncommonly useful in reconstructing sachemships (Figure 3; Appendix 8).

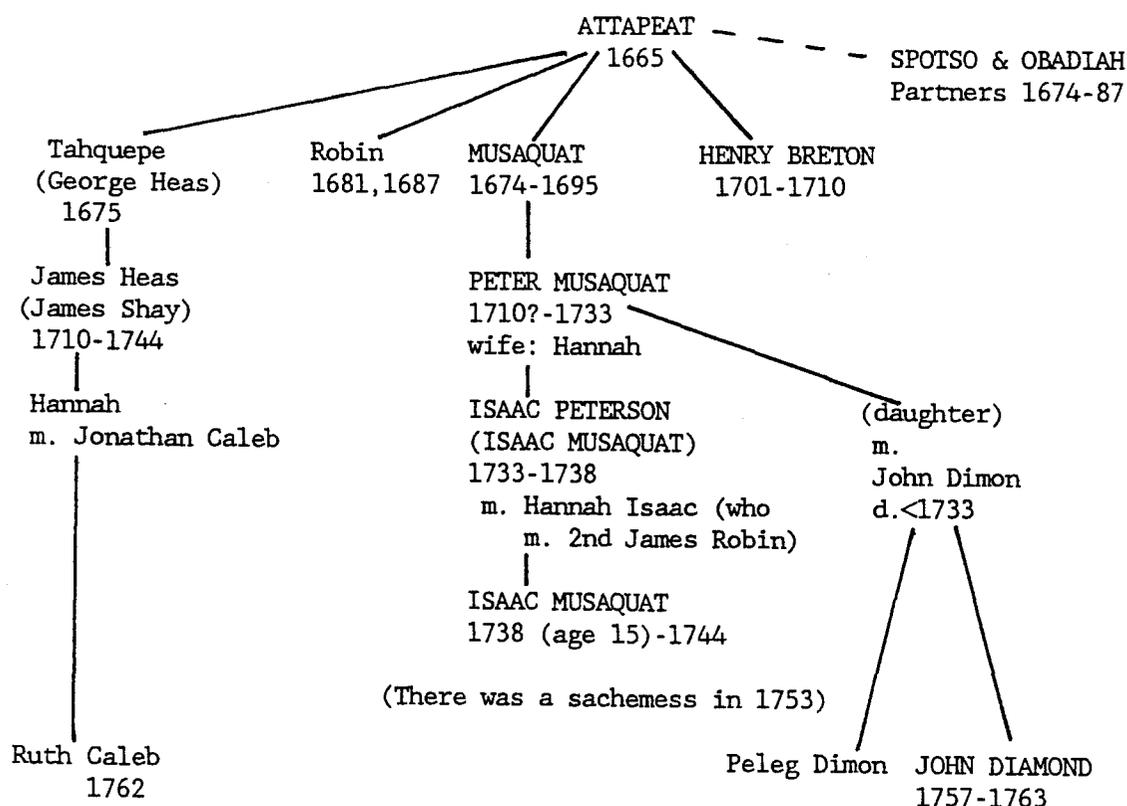


Figure 3. The Sachemship of Attapeat (sachem's name in caps, years documented shown) (after Little 1981b).

King Philip's Drift Whalers: The Western Partnership.

Legends and memoirs refer to there being two hostile tribes on Nantucket when the English arrived (Little 1982). One of the most colorful is the Montague/Capulet love story between a sachem of the west and a daughter of a sachem of the east recorded in 1807:

"The two tribes were hostile to each other. Tradition has preserved a pleasing instance of the force of love. The western tribe having determined to surprise and attack the eastern tribe, a young man of the former, whose mistress belonged to the latter, being anxious for her safety, as soon as he was concealed by the shades of night, ran to the beach, flew along the shore below the limit of high water, saw his mistress a moment, gave her the alarm, and returned by the same route before day-break: the rising tide washed away the traces of his feet. The next morning he accompanied the other warriors of the tribe to the attack: the enemy was found prepared; and no impression could be made on them. He remained undetected, till several years after peace being restored between the two tribes, and the young man having married the girl, the truth came to light" (Freeman 1807).

However, current anthropological thinking rejects the term "tribe" for the sachemships or towns which were the primary political, social and economic groups found on the Cape and Islands (Salwen 1978). Deeds show that there were at least five sachemships on Nantucket. In Figure 2, the upper case initials "A,S,O" show lands sold to the English in 1674 by three sachems, Obadiah, Spotso, and Attapeat in partnership. Careful analysis of deeds and memoirs suggests that these three were western sachems who originally came from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket in the mid to late seventeenth century to carry on drift whaling, i.e., extraction of oil and baleen from the carcasses of dead and stranded whales (Little and Andrews 1982). Such whale products may have been sold to the English since under the laws of New York, Indian whaling, in contrast to English whaling, was tax-free. Massasoit (Ussemequin) of the Wampanoags had a role in assigning the rights to drift whales, rights documented by deeds and court records (Appendix 2). Drift whales today wash up only on certain beaches, chiefly along the west part of the south shore, the same beaches mentioned in the ancient records (Fig. 2, Fig. 4). Table 1 gives the names of many of the western Nantucket drift whalers. By tradition, "Attapeot was call a grat waryor, and got his land by his bow" (Macy 1792b).

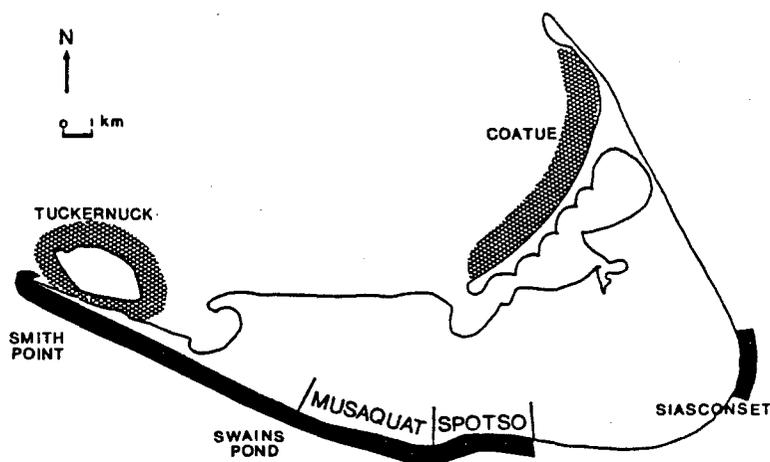


Figure 4. Beaches assigned in shares for drift whaling (black), and others on which drift whales were found (hatched) (Little and Andrews 1982; Appendix 2).

TABLE 1. NANTUCKET INDIAN DRIFT WHALERS (LITTLE 1982).

Akeamough (Wakieaman) 1681	Pattacohonnet, before 1712
Brittain, Henry (Harry) 1701	Pattacohonnet's son, Jacob 1712
Canpokanet (George Nanahuma) 1673	Paunes (Pawnes) 1712
Desire 1676	Peetotoquay 1686
Duchman (Cachahumma) 1712	Quchpatown 1691
Harry, Mr. 1676	Scotsbonnet 1712
Jeptha, 1691	Sowacha (Dick) 1712
Johnboy 1712	Spotso 1677
Koskuhtukquaeinin 1728	Wanaquin (John Hoyt) 1673
Matakekīn (Peteson) 1696	Wapskowit 1673
Mooney (Pattacohonnet) 1712	Washaman 1673
Musaquat 1673	Wequash 1677
Nehemiah 1712	Womhommin 1673
Obadiah 1673	

Now, consider what happened when Wanachmamack and Nickanoose sold the West End to the English in 1660. A good number of Indians claimed sachem rights to that land, and the English had either to pay a sum of money, or to require Wanachmamack to provide land and whale rights, without tribute requirements, for the displaced gentlemen, as they were called (Little 1976). Whether we believe court records or legends of battles, it is a reasonable assumption that Attapeat was an off-islander.

Support for the hypothesis above is given by the following records. Philip (Metacomet), Massasoit's and Wamsutta's heir, came to Nantucket July 4, 1664, and "declared he had no claim to the land of Nantucket; but only power, in point of government, over some Indians not belonging to the island" (Freeman 1807). Again, in May 10 of 1665, "At a publike meeting of the town Attapeehat signified the himself with all the Tomokommoth Indians doth subject to ye English govenment of Nantuckket. Do owne themsleves subjeck to King Chales the second, this was done in the presense of Metocom alias Philip Sachem of Mount Hope (NCD 1b:6)".

At the onset of King Philip's War, August 5, 1675 "Old marchant, Skyper, mioaksso, George hayes, Cross Harry, Peteson, Sapachasit, and moosahquat [Attapeat's son]...did com to the Court, and did Disown Phillip, and Did frely subject themselves, to King Charles the Second. They also brought in som Armes, and left with the court as a Testimony of ther fidelity to the English... Skipper brought in one gun for himselfe, and his s-- Tho:Saquatta one gun Cross harry one gun, Moosahqu-- one bow (NCD 2b:3).

Nickanoose and Wanachmamack were clearly not involved in these loyalty oaths. In fact, around 1678 there are records and legends of disputes and past murders and battles over the boundary line between the western and eastern sachems (Little 1980a; 1982). Finally, in 1678 it was ordered by a General Court that "Moosequit [Attapeat's son] shall have the like priviledge of government within his precincts as the other sachems have in theirs yet so far as to be subject to the English government" (MVD 1:63). That seems to have settled the disputes between the eastern and western sachems. However, perhaps it was after all the marriage of Sachem Spotso of the west and Sachem Nickanoose's daughter, Askammapoo of the east, which finally brought peace.

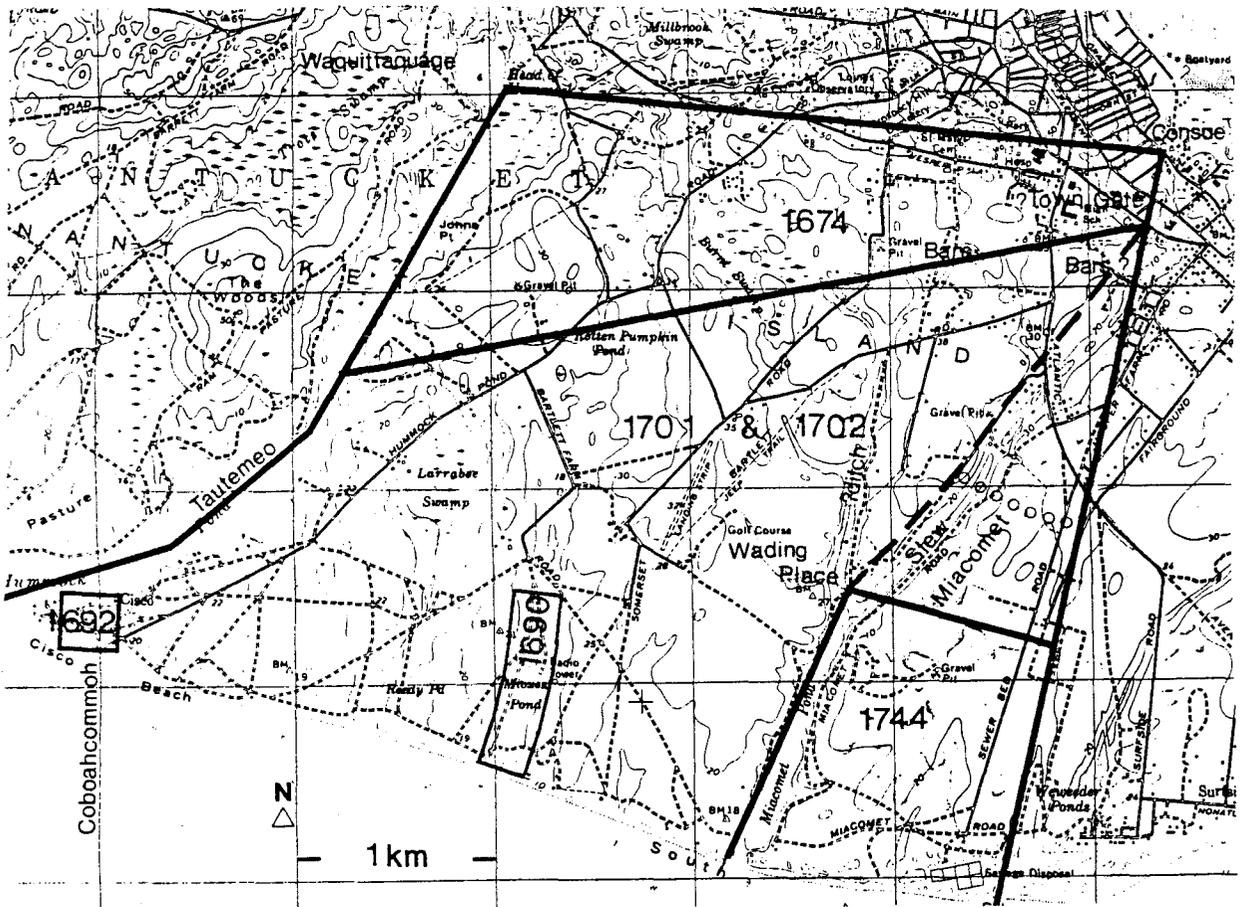


Figure 5. Lands sold the English by Attapeat and heirs by 1744, indicated by date sold (Appendix 1; Macy 1792b). Because of inexactly known locations of the Town Gate, Bars and Miacomet Bars, the northwest boundary of Miacomet is shown dashed. Line of circles marks a maximum southerly position for O. Macy's Miacomet cemetery one mile from Nantucket town (Starbuck 1924:612).

Whaling Along-Shore with the English.

After Nantucket was transferred in 1692 to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay (which did not tax whales), the English purchased land from Musauat (and others) for whaling stations (Figure 5; Figure 6; Appendix 1) and organized whaleboat crews consisting on the average of five Indians and one Englishman, to man lookout masts at four stations at the South Shore in the winter right whale season. A small framed "whale house" (Forman 1966; Little 1981f) served as a whale-hunting camp for the six men. When a whale was sighted, the crew launched the whaleboat into the surf and rowed after the whale with their harpoons and "drugs" (rectangular wooden blocks attached to the harpoon line to slow and tire the whale), lances to kill the whale and tow warps with which to tow the dead whale back to shore.

"After the whale-fishery was introduced, the Indians were employed in that service; and they made excellent oarsmen, and some of them were good endsmen" (Freeman 1807).

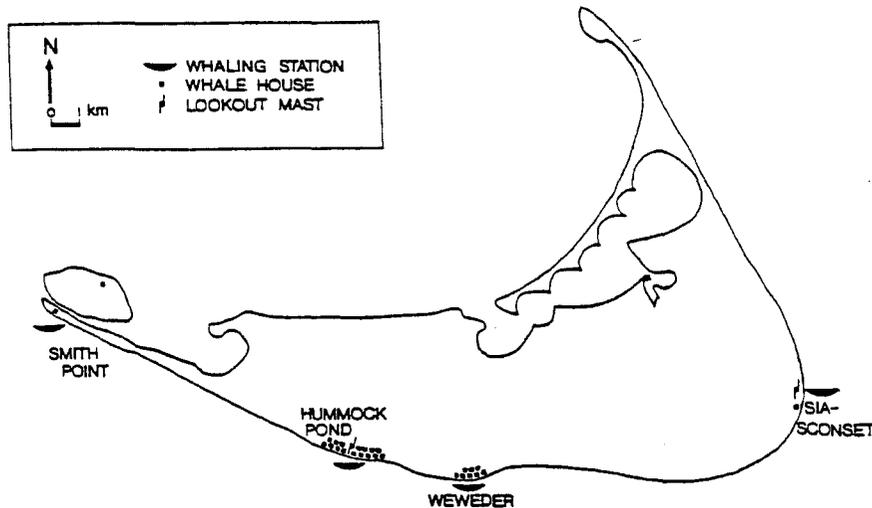


Figure 6. Sites of Whale Houses and Lookout Masts on Nantucket 1690-1760 (Little 1981f).

The Indians and English Nantucketers became very successful whalers; in the peak year 1726 there were 28 whaleboats which caught 86 right whales (Little 1981f). With their profits, the Indians purchased English material goods such as yard goods, sewing tools, carpenters tools, horses, etc. By the mid-eighteenth century, probate inventories of Indian possessions can barely be distinguished from English inventories (Little 1980b; Appendices 5, 6, 7). Corduda, John Diamond, Peleg Duch, Obed Japhet, Jonathan, Mattakachame, and Peter Micah, James Shay, Barney Spotso, and Isaac, John, and John, Jr., Tasheme were whalefishermen with connections to Miacomet (Little 1981f).

By 1760 right whales along shore had become scarce (Macy 1792a), but by 1730 Nantucketers had begun sailing in sloops carrying two whaleboats each as far as Greenland for whales (Little 1988a). In 1763, having overexploited whales to the north, Nantucket ships began to whale off the coast of Africa. That summer an epidemic began among the Indians which in six months killed 222 out of the 358 living on the island (Little 1988b).

Praying Indian Churches.

The history of the conversions of the Indians of Nantucket is a part of the history of Christianity on Martha's Vineyard (Hosmer 1865). The "first light of the gospel that came to [Nantucket]" (Mayhew 1674 in Gookin 1970), was by means of Thomas Mayhew, his son Thomas, and Hiacommes of Martha's Vineyard.

Letters of Mr. Cotton and Thomas Mayhew in 1674 (Gookin 1970) state that John Gibbs, alias Assasammough, was pastor of the Indian church near Gibbs Pond at Nantucket, with Caleb, alias Weekochisit a sagamore's son, Joseph, and Samuel as school teachers. About 300 Indians prayed to God and met to worship at three places (Fig. 2): Oggawame or Jephtha's town (northeast of Gibbs Swamp); at Squatesit in Polpis, probably Spotso's meeting house in 1686 near Masketuk Creek (B₂ in Fig. 2) (O. Macy 1835; Little 1985b, 1981c); and at Wammasquid, location uncertain. Wammasquid or Wamasquid resembles

Quidnet (a likely site in Nickanoose's town), Aquidnese (Abram's Point) or even Wequittaquage (Hummock Pond). Zaccheus Macy (1792b) suggested in a garbled passage, that Wamasquid may have been an old name for part of Attapeat's territory. Although each of the above '-quid-' sites, like Miacomet Pond, is or surrounds a peninsula, we really have as yet no evidence for a Miacomet meeting house in 1674.

In 1694 and 1698 there were five assemblies or congregations of praying Indians, and three churches; two Congregational, and one Baptist (John Gardner's 1694 Letter in Gookin 1970; Rawson and Danforth 1698). Preachers were Job Muckemuck, who succeeded John Gibbs, John Asherman (alias, John Spoonmerchant), Peter Hayt, Quequenah, Netowah, Wunnohson, Daniel Spotso (grandson of Spotso), Codpoganut (a man of Nickanoose's town), and Noah. Certainly one of the churches was at Oggawame or Plainfield (Ewer 1869; O. Macy 1835), where a framed meeting house was being erected in 1698 (Rawson and Danforth 1698), and Nickanoose's and Spotso's meeting houses seem still viable. Miacomet and a location near Abrams' Point are possible additional sites.

The first reference I can find to Miacomet is dated 1695 and refers to the pond (NCD 1:66). However, the western Nantucket Indians noted above in 1698, Peter Hayt and John Asherman, probably were preaching at Miacomet between 1693 and 1701 (NCDeeds; Macy 1792b), because in the eighteenth century Zacara Hoite and Asherman's grandson, Benjamin Tashame were Miacomet preachers (Z. Macy 1792b). Zaccheus Macy (1792b) also stated that "theare habitation was moyaucoumet which Signefies a meeting place & ther meeting house they Call it Moyaucamor".

The Reverend Timothy White was called to Nantucket in 1725 as the first Congregational preacher at Nantucket, and he agreed in 1728 to lecture to the Indians at the request and with the support of the "Commission^y for the Indian Affairs" at Boston (Dudley 1898). In 1732 we find Josiah Spotso contributing money for boards to build an Indian Meeting House, probably the one which stood at Miacomet until 1782 (Little 1981:14; Appendix 9). White's account book, fortunately, has been published, and records some details of his daily financial dealings, the number of Indians who came to his lectures (through 1748), a list chiefly of elderly Indian women, lists of his students, mostly English but including Peter Micah, and other notes as preacher to both the English and the Indians (Dudley 1898; Chase 1988).

Zaccheus Macy recalled, "oure old native Indians they ware very Solid and Sober at there meetings of worship & Caryed on in form of the Prasbetarens [see Chase 1988]...I have ben at there meetings many times & Saw there devotion...and they allways placed us in a Sutabel Seat...& they ware not put by by oure Coming in but reather appered glad to See us Com in...[W]hen the meeting was don they would take there tinderbox and Strike fire & light there pipes a Short pipe & mabe would draw three or foure wifes and Swollow the Smook & then blow it oute of there noses & So hand there pipe to there next neighbor...they would say Tawpoot which is I thank yee it Seamed to be don in a way of kindness to Each other..." (Macy 1792b).

The only place called a cemetery was "at Miacomet about one mile south of the Town, without enclosure or paling to denote what it really was, except some of the small hillocks among a spot of bushes of perhaps two or three acres.... The greater number of those who were buried there died in the Indian sickness in the year 1763.... Their principal, or last, Meeting house was situated within a short distance of the aforesaid burying place, and was standing until about the year 1782. In this they held their meetings for Divine worship and had ministers of their own nation...." (Macy 1842 in Starbuck 1924:612).

TABLE 2. LIST OF INDIAN HOUSES AT OR NEAR MIACOMET (Little 1981c).

Christian Indian Meeting House. The first reference to Myacomet Pond was in 1695 (NCD 1:66). Miacomet may be translated as, "a meeting place" (Macy 1792b). Timothy White arrived about 1725 to lecture to the Indians (Dudley 1898), and shortly after we find Josiah Spotsco in 1732 buying 1500 feet of boards "for your Indian Meeting house" (Starbuck 1683-1768:133). The Meeting House, mentioned in 1762 (NCD 6:474) and 1763 (NCD 6:342), stood at Miacomet until 1782 (Macy 1842 in Starbuck 1924).

Cadoode, Eben. In 1736, Eben Gardner sold to Eben Cadoode a dwelling house at Miacomet, formerly of George Monkey (NCD 5:176), and Eben and his wife Dill sold their dwelling house at Miacomet to John Potter in 1750 (NCD 5:177).

Caleb, Jonathan. Caleb married Hannah, a daughter of Peter Musaquat (NCP 1:180). His dwelling house at Miacomet in 1757 went to his widow, and then to his daughter Ruth Caleb in 1763, when it was sold to Josiah Coffin (NCD 6:29, 470).

Dimon, John. A whale fisherman (Starbuck 1683-1768:138), Dimon was a son-in-law of Sachem Peter Musaquat (NCP 1:180), and subsequently a sachem of Miacomet himself. He had a dwelling house in 1762 near the Meeting House and John Mooney's house (NCD 6:474). In 1729 he had bought materials for building a hovel (Starbuck 1683-1768:138).

Duch, Peleg. Peleg and Bethiah Duch's dwelling house at "Miohcomet", southwest of the dwelling house of Eben Cadoode, was sold in 1747 to Eben Cadoode (NCD 5:118; NCP 2:2). In 1759, Mark Cadoode, Eben's son, sold the dwelling house of Duch to Peter Micah (NCD 6:231). Finally, in 1778, Peter Micah sold the "land whereon my dwelling house formerly stood" to the proprietors (NCD 9:414). Peter Micah was a whalefisherman, as were many Miacomet inhabitants.

Micah, Jonathan (at Nobadeer). In 1768 Peter Micah of Miacomet gave the dwelling house of his father, Jonathan Micah (I), at Nobadeer to his son Jonathan Micah (II) (NCD 7:263; NCP 3:35,36). Since Nobadeer lies between Madequecham and Miacomet Ponds, Jonathan Micah's (I) house probably had been inherited from his father, Mattequichame Micah (NCD 2:35,36) in 1740. Thankful Micah married Seneca Boston and was the mother of Absalom F. Boston, a 19th Century whaling captain and merchant (Cary and Cary 1977). Here's a first family: five generations of Micahs, most of them whalefishermen, and their descendants the Bostons, who were also leaders at Nantucket.

Mooney, John. He had a dwelling house at Miacomet in 1762 (NCD 6:474). In 1712, a Mooney called himself Pattacohonet (NCD 3:62; Appendix 8).

Musaquat, Peter, sachem at Miacomet, had a dwelling house in 1733 (NCP 1:180), the cellar of which was located northwest of the pond edge in 1789 (on a piece of land bounded: N 30°E 9 rods, then S31°E 22Rods to the pond, then S52°W 16 rods, thence N31°W 22 Rod, then N50°E 16 rods, or two acres [NPR 1:162]). His son was Isaac Musaquat (Peterson), and grandson was Isaac Musaquat (NCP 1:180; 2:15; 2:21).

Orange, Micah. Orange's house was at Miacomet on and north of the way between Wesco (Sherborn) and Weweder in 1767 (NPR 1:115). See also Micah Apatas who in 1731 bought shingle nails and square edge board (Starbuck 1683-1768:138).

Secunnet, Joseph (1763-66) had a house near the Meeting House (NCD 6:342; NPR 1:113; Appendix 8).

The Native People of Nantucket.

"The Indians upon this island sow English as well as Indian corn, spin and knit stockings, and are more industrious than many other Indians. The truth is, the Indians, both upon the Vineyard and Nantucket are poor; and, according as the scripture saith, do more readily receive the gospel and become religious.... For schools, sometimes there are some; sometimes, not. But many can read and write Indian; very few, English; none, to great purpose; not above three or four; and those do it brokenly" (Mayhew 1674 in Gookin 1970).

"...the Indians of those islands, that usually every summer come up to our parts, about Boston and the towns adjacent, to work in harvest labour and other employ" (Cotton 1674 in Gookin 1970).

"The natives of Nantucket were a kind people, and very friendly to each other. There were no poor persons among them. For when any of them grew old and helpless, and went to a neighbour's house, they were made welcome to stay as long as they pleased. If the English entered their houses, whilst they were eating, they would offer them such as they had, which sometimes would be very good. At their feasts they had several sorts of good food, and very good strong beer" (Z. Macy 1792a).

"When more Englishmen came, the land began to be ploughed. The Indians would with delight, for whole days together, follow the traces of the ploughshare; and they earnestly entreated the English to plough their land for them. Their request was complied with. The Indians were religiously punctual in rewarding them for their labour. The first portion of corn collected in the autumn was laid by in baskets, to pay the English for their ploughing; another parcel was reserved for seed. Neither of these portions would they touch in winter however severe the famine might be; so honest and careful were they at that period" (Freeman 1807).

"The better sort among them were quiet, peaceable and industrious, and occupied the land around their dwellings with gardens, wherein they raised corn and vegetables of various kinds, some of which they sold to the English. They frequently had fruit trees in their gardens and near their houses" (O. Macy 1842 in Starbuck 1924:612).

"...the posterity of [the aborigines] still live together in decent houses along the shores of Miacomet pond...." (Crevecoeur [1782] 1971:101,102).

The Indian Sickness of 1763-64 (Little and Sussek 1979; Little 1988b).

"...in the year 1763, there were but three hundred and fifty-eight left on the island. In that year an uncommon mortal distemper attacked them. It began the 16th of the eighth month, 1763, and lasted till the 16th of the second month, 1764. During that period two hundred and twenty-two died. Thirty-four were sick and recovered. Thirty-six who lived among them, escaped the disorder. Eight lived at the west end of the island, and did not go among them; none of them caught the disease. Eighteen were at sea. With the

English lived forty, of whom none died. The Indians are now reduced to four males and sixteen females.

Before this period and from the first coming of the English to Nantucket, a large fat fish, called the blue fish, thirty of which would fill a barrel, was caught in great plenty all round the island, from the 1st of the sixth month till the middle of the ninth month. But it is remarkable, that in the year 1764, the very year in which the sickness ended, they all disappeared, and that none have ever been taken since. This has been a great loss to us" (Z. Macy 1792a).

During the Indian sickness of 1763/4, the English "assisted in burying their dead. This care was taken by the authority of the town..." (Macy 1835).

THE LOCATION OF DWELLING HOUSES AND THE MEETING HOUSE IN THE TOWN OF MIACOMET.

According to current and historical usage in Massachusetts, a town is a political unit associated with a well defined region of land (Worth 1904:155). Currently, the town of Nantucket consists of the entire island and is congruent with the county of Nantucket. The Town of Miacomet, after 1744, was the triangle of land and its people governed by the sachem of Miacomet (Figure 5). Table 2 lists the known English-style houses (eight dwellings and a meeting house) at Miacomet. For wigwams, the Nantucket proprietors' records used only euphemisms like, "where Old Smug used to live at Polpis", or "Moodowes Country", or "land at Squam lately in the occupation of Richard Keapee" (NPR 1:97,112,117,127,147). Can we locate at Miacomet either a concentrated group of wigwams and English-style house sites, a dispersed collection of dwelling sites, or dwelling sites located in patterns according to type of dwelling or geography? In a more general way, what were the historic and prehistoric settlement patterns at Miacomet town?

Hypotheses Concerning Settlement Patterns at Miacomet.

Estuaries. At Cape Cod, McManamon and Bradley (1986) propose that dispersed sites on estuaries, with high concentrations of shell midden, lithics and bone, represent the year-round village of Nauset, described in the summer of 1605 by Champlain and as early as 3500 B.P. by archaeological evidence. The borders of all estuaries at Nantucket also hold dispersed large shell midden sites (Figure 7), but I argue (Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, in press) that large Late Woodland shell concentrations, all of which face SE at Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Nauset, were chiefly winter sites.

Estuaries, indeed, can be associated with specific territories or towns of specific sachems. This is true for the four sachemships on Martha's Vineyard, for the parts of Cape Cod ("Francis, the Nauset sachem" [NCD 1:5]), with which I'm familiar, and for the traditional "two tribes" on Nantucket, although with time the sachemships are divided

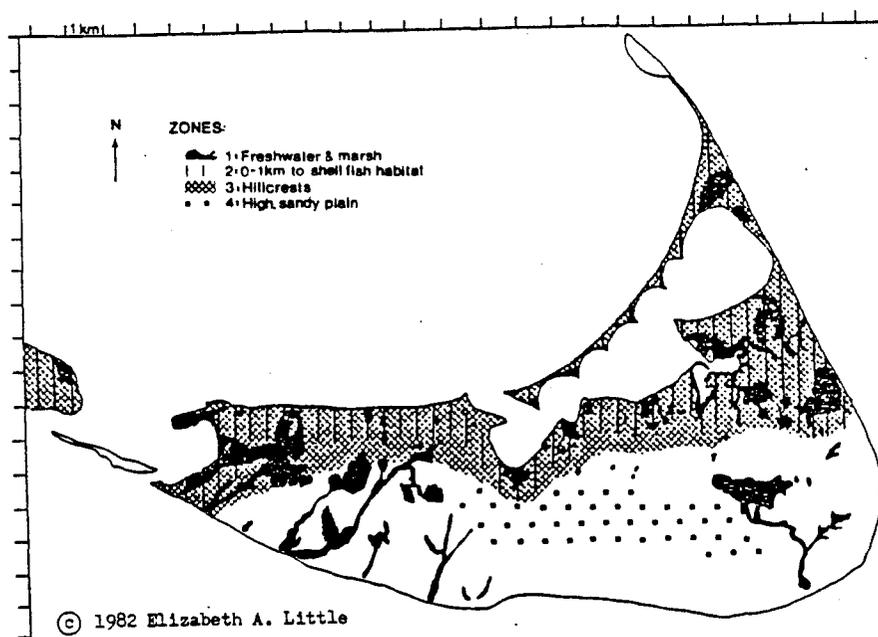


Figure 7. Map showing zones of high prehistoric site density on Nantucket (Little 1983). Zone 1: less than 200m margin from freshwater; Zone 2: less than one km from shellfish beds; Zone 3: hill crests near Zone 1; Zone 4: high sandy plains.

among heirs, and boundaries move (Little 1982). If Nantucket winter sites were on the borders of estuaries (Fig. 7, Zone 2), then the western sachem's winter sites would have been at Madaket Harbor or at the site of today's town of Nantucket. However, the sachems of Nantucket sold most of their estuary borders to the English between 1659-1674 (Figure 2). Therefore, the obvious place to find winter sites, on the harbor to the north of Miacomet, is outside of the Miacomet Town bounds.

Fresh Water. Interior sites exist in a number of areas of the island less than 200 m from fresh water (Fig. 7). Many Levanna-like triangular stone points were found at Ram Pasture I, for example. This interior site with a C-14 date of 1010 AD is on a peninsula nearly surrounded by a pond and swamp and has a small amount of shell in pits, but no shell midden (Stockley 1965, 1982 personal communication). The peninsula between the two arms of Miacomet Pond resembles Ram Pasture but has open water only at its southern tip today. However, because Crevecoeur (1971) in 1782 described "houses along the shores of Miacomet pond", we must consider the edges of the pond (Fig. 8). It is notable that the only dwelling on the pond itself documented in town records was Sachem Peter MUSAQUAT's cellar hole (Table 2), which indeed was on the east side of the peninsula.

Although the outwash sand and gravel of the project area greater than 200 m from fresh water seems good only for burials, there were "wells at Manna" in 1692 (NCD 3:48), a location in the outwash plain about two km northeast of Miacomet (Appendix 16). The water table in depressions is very close to the surface (Walker 1980; Appendix 10). Also, the natural water table level on the island may not be the same today as it was in the past, and in addition, man has probably altered the drainage in Miacomet valley. With a dome shaped water table, small barriers to trap the water draining the top of the water

dome would have provided a series of ponds at decreasing elevations along the length of the valley. How much ditching has been done to eliminate all but temporary flooding from the upper valley? Jean Allen (5/23/88, personal communication), a Hooper Farm Road resident, pointed out to me the lack of buildings in the valley today and recalled a 12 foot lake in the upper valley about 19 summers ago. Although the low parts of the valley would not be an appropriate place for dwellings, might not the valley bottom be good agricultural land?

Winter Wind Protection. Another feature which was important for inhabitants of Nantucket in the winter is northwest wind protection (Little 1985a). The predominance of SE aspects for Nantucket shell midden sites suggests the vigorous NW winter wind. At Nauset and Martha's Vineyard, every Late Woodland concentration excavated was southerly facing (Little, in press).

Sites in Miacomet Valley above the valley floor and at the western edge of the "Slow" (Appendix 1) would be excellent for northwest wind protection. A "slough", pronounced 'slau' as in 'loud' (English, 17th C., i.e., Bunyan's Slough of Despond), or 'slew' (American, after 1821, and therefore less likely), means 'a piece of soft, miry, or muddy ground' (The Oxford English Dictionary 1971), and it's sides would be excellent for wind protection.

Discussion.

Zaccheus Macy (1792b) stated that Attapeat's east line ended at Consue Spring/Pond (Fig. 5). Henry Britten's deeds (Appendices 1, 3 & 4) mention bars and the town gate on the north of Miacomet. There were bars south of the Prospect Hill cemetery, and bars or the town gate may have at one time existed at Pleasant Street at Atlantic Avenue (Little 1988b), at Pleasant Street near FINAST (Worth 1904; NCD 2:8 in Appendix 1), and at Orange Street near the rotary (Worth 1904). There are so many uncertainties that the heavy lines of Figure 5 have confidence limits at best of plus or minus 200 m in the town gate area.

Figure 5 shows an arc of circles originating at Pleasant St. and the Fire Station defining a maximum for Macy's 1842 statements that the cemetery was one mile south of the town of Nantucket, and that the meeting house was within a short distance of the cemetery (Starbuck 1924:612).

From deeds and town records (Table 2; Appendix 1; Figure 8), about 1760 sachem John Diamond and John Mooney had houses on the northwest side of a valley, from which a road crossed the valley to the Meeting House on the east side of the valley, a configuration shown in Figure 8. These houses would have had good northwest wind protection, and water in the valley wetlands. Although the east-west road across the Miacomet Valley to the Meeting House may have been the dirt road just south of Miacomet cemetery (Fig. 5, south of Atlantic Ave.), it could also have been a road in the place of today's Atlantic Avenue which passes just north of the cemetery. In either case, the Meeting House would have been near the cemetery.

The house of Hannah Caleb in 1757 at the Proprietors' Fence cannot be located east and west or north and south exactly, and Joseph Secunnet's cannot be located east and west, but if we place the west edge of Miacomet town along the west edge of Miacomet's east valley, i.e., at the top of the slough, then Caleb's and Joseph Secunnet's houses could have been, like Diamond's and Mooney's, below the top edge at the west side of the valley.

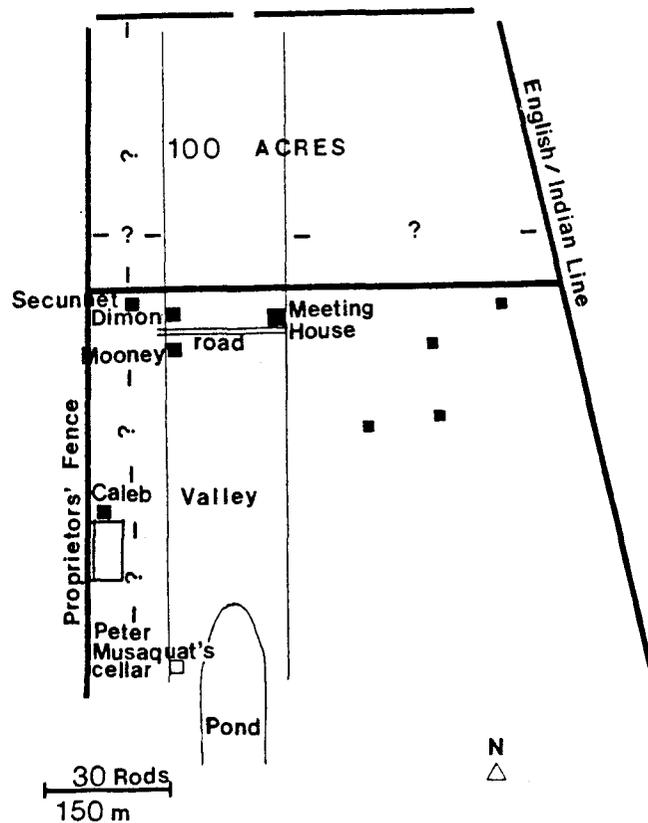


Figure 8. Map showing houses, fences, valleys and ponds in Miacomet Town as accurately as possible from deeds, maps and memoirs presented in this paper (Appendix 1; Appendix 12), without archaeological evidence.

This configuration is consistent with Joseph Secunnet's house in 1761 being less than 5 meters to the north of Diamond's. If we allow a bit more open water in Miacomet slough (it now supports cattails), we will have identified four English-style houses and a cellar-hole along the west shore of Miacomet Pond, a pattern suggested in 1782 by Crèvecoeur (1971).

The English/Indian line on the east of Miacomet is at some distance east of the Meeting House. Also, we now know there is a two to three acre cemetery just east of the meeting house, and a map of 1764-1775 (Appendix 12) surveyed by Samuel Holland for the British Admiralty in 1776 (Appendix 13) shows four little square dots indicating houses approximately in the middle of the cemetery area to the east of the valley. The coincidence of four deeded houses and four house dots on a map suggests that there may have been only four houses, all lived in by sachems or heirs of sachems (Figure 3; Appendix 8), and that we are picking up the English invisible-wigwam bias already noted (see especially Brenner 1980). In other words, if all the rest of the Indians who attended church at Miacomet, or the "common" people (Worth 1904:118), were living in wigwams, where were these wigwam sites? At Miacomet town? At Nobadeer (see Micah, Table 2)? On the commons elsewhere on the island (Worth 1904:158)? To proceed beyond this background documentary research, we shall need archaeological field work.

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NPR Nantucket Proprietors' Records. Registry of Deeds, Nantucket.

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APPENDICES:

ABSTRACTS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO MIACOMET.

- Appendix 1. Abstracts of Nantucket County Deeds to Miacomet Territory.
- Appendix 2. County Records of Indian Drift Whale Rights in Sachem Attapeat's Territory (Little and Andrews 1982).
- Appendix 3. Deed from Henry Britten to John Gardner 1701 (NCD 3:23).
- Appendix 4. Deed from Attapeat, Musaquat, and Harry Brittain to George and James Heas (Little 1981d).
- Appendix 5. Inventory of Estate of Peter Musaquat (Little 1981d).
- Appendix 6. Inventory of Estate of James Codode (Little 1981d).
- Appendix 7. Inventory of Estate of Peleg Duch (Little 1981d).
- Appendix 8. Sachemship of Tuckernuck (Little 1981d).
- Appendix 9. Account for building Indian Meeting House 1732 (Starbuck 1683-1768:113).
Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.
- Appendix 10. Miacomet section of Nantucket Island Water Resources Map (Walker 1980).
Five foot contour intervals indicate height of fresh water table above sea-level.
- Appendix 11. Nantucket Island portion of Geologic Map of Cape Cod and the Islands, Massachusetts (Oldale and Barlow 1986, reduced in size). Qno₂ (the lightest area) and Qno₁ (the darkest area) represent the younger and the older outwash, respectively. Note that the boundary between them lies along the Miacomet Valley.
- Appendix 12. Holland, Samuel, nd, probably 1764-1775, Chart of Coasts and Harbors of New England, showing four houses east of Miacomet Pond. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Original at Library of Congress, Map Division. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.
- Appendix 13. Des Barres, I. F. W., 1776 no title [Map of Nantucket]. [Appears to be based upon Holland's chart (Appendix 12) with topography added]. Published June 1, 1776, according to Act of Parliament. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Original at Library of Congress, Map Division. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.

- Appendix 14. Prescott, J. Lt., 1831, Portion of Map of the Town of Nantucket showing no houses in vicinity of Miacomet. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Original at Massachusetts Archives, Boston. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.
- Appendix 15. Mitchell, William, 1838, Portion of Map of the Island of Nantucket, including Tuckernuck, showing only sheep pens in vicinity of Miacomet. Surveyed by Wm. Mitchell. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.
- Appendix 16. Ewer, the Rev. F. C., surveyor and cartographer, 1869, Portion of Historical Map of Nantucket (reconstruction), showing approximate locations of Indian Village, Old Indian Meeting House, and Old Indian Burial Ground in vicinity of Miacomet. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.
- Appendix 17. Schofield Brothers, Inc. 1976, The Town and County of Nantucket, Mass. Portion of Nantucket Assessor's Atlas Sheet #67 (200 feet: one inch), showing project area.

APPENDIX 1. ABSTRACTS OF NANTUCKET COUNTY DEEDS TO MIACOMET TERRITORY.

- 1674: Obadiah, Indian Sachem, in partnership with Spotso and Attapehat, sachems upon the Island of Nantucket, sell to Richard Gardner, John Gardner, Sen., Thomas Macy, Sen., and Edward Starbuck and company, all my interest or propriety... Masaaque, son of Attepehat deceased,..., within the bounds of our sachemship, being one fourth part belonging to me... bounded...with the Spring at Shimmo on the East from thence unto the Cart Way, at the South end of Monnamoy, that lyes in a little valley there, and on the north and west with the harbour, and from the cartway of Monnamoy unto Waquittaquaug Pond that part of it as is halfe way between the brooke running into sayd pond a little to the south of the house of Mr Starbuck, and the beach at the South Sea, except Spotso divide it otherwise... (NCD 2:8). [Monamoy was the name of the Creeks and Consue Pond and the southeast bound of the English lands in 1674; Waquittaquaug Pond was the name of Hummock Pond].
- 1683: Musaahquet, a sachem on the island of Nantucket, for 14 pounds sold to the English of Nantucket, "all that Meadows, Marshes, [Ponds], Creeks and Creek grass begining at the Spring called Ashimmoo, all those meadows lying to the wesward and northwestward of the Creek that goeth up to the Spring and also all those meadows marshes creeks Creek grass that lyeth at Monomoy onely Reserving to myself two akers of Meadow and Creek grass lying on the Southward side of the meadows at Monomoy..." (NCD 3:54).
- 1684: Daniel Spotso to English, land east of Musaquat, from middle of south end of Weweder Pond north to New Town Gate (NCD 2:77 [1695]; 3:49 [1684]).
- 1689: Musaquat agreement with John Gardner, Musaquat gives up herbage, grass and winter feed, in return for rights to keep 15 cattle, neat cattle or horses, 8 on English lands, 7 on his own lands (NCD 2:69).
- 1690: Mussaquat a sachem on Nantuckett in the Collony of new york, sells the English for 30 shillings, "al the low swampy moweable ground adjoining to that pond called Myoaks Pond... to the north and eastward adjoining to the said pond,..with liberty to Cut and Carry away al that gras that from time to time may be growing there...for 16 years...paying yearly...unto the said Mussaquat one knife of thre pound vallew" (NCD 2:65).
- 1692: Mussaquat, sachem, sells to Wm Gayer and Stephen Hussey, land at Coboahcommoh, by a cove that runs East and North from the Pond [southeast of Hummock Pond] (NCD 2:69).
- 1695: Musacut to Desire (Metanaham), west of Myacommet Pond, bounded west and north with (illegible) of the Rayles and north with the wading place, south with the sea (NCD 1:66, 68).
- 1701: Henry Britten, a Sachem on the Island of Nantucket, sells to the English land on the southern part of Nantucket bounded on the eastward side with Moyacommet pond from the sea or beach to the wading place, from thence by a Swamp Side lying northeasterly eighty pole [402 m] to a Ditch and from thence to Moyacommet bars and from thence by the Town fence untill you come to the English bounds near the Town gate, on the south with the Sea, on the west and north with the English

land, for 30 pounds (NCD 3:23).*

- 1702: Henry Britton a Sachem on the Island of Nantucket for three pounds sells to John Gardner and Company land on the south side of Nantucket or at the head of Miacumet Pond which I reserved in my last deed, being bounded by the Slow from the Myacomet wading place to the Bars on the South and by the English bounds at the west and north (NCD 3:56).
- 1712: Cachahuman or Duchman of Tuckanuck, whose father Scotsbonnet, in partnership with Jacob Pattachohonets son, who is now dead and Mooney is called Pattacohonet, sells to Sowacha or Dick the head of drift whales (NCD 3:62).*
- 1712: Paune or Pawnes jointly with Johnboy owned head of drift whales in sachemship of Mussacut, dec. Johnboy had two daughters, married to Duchman and Nehemiah. Paune now gives Duchman and Nehemiah the rights of Johnboy (NCD 2:68).*
- 1728: Dorcas Peto[x]son of Edgartown to John Moomenquen of Nantucket, 10 acres of my father Peto[x]son [Matakekin] (NCD 4:63).*
- 1738: Isaac Musaquat owned 20 a at Miacomet (NCP 2:15).
- 1739: James Shay (Hays, Heas) married to Jemina, daughter and heir of Cain, sells all lands except 20 a for himself. He owned 70 acres "near our town bars to the eastward and southward somewhat near the fence (NCD 2:13).
- 1742: Musaquat plowed lands at Weweder (Court Records Book 1).
- 1744: Isaac Musaquat, sachem, to the English, land, at the sea on the east from Weweda pond 240 rods [3960 feet or 1207 meters] North, then west to Myacoonet pond, then to sea on south (NCD 5:63).
- 1757: John Diamond, Indian, sold to English, land in Miacomet beginning 15 rods to the southward of Hannah Caleb's house, then running 30 rods southerly by the Proprietor's fence, then 12 rods and a half easterly at right angles, then 30 rods northerly at right angles, then 12 rods and a half westerly to the first bound (NCD 6:29).
- 1758: James Robin and Hannah (widow of Musaquat, sachem), power of attorney to Z. Macy (NCD 6:74).
- 1761: John Diamond of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Indian Sachem of that Part of the town of Sherborn...called & known by the Name of Miacumet...sells to Zacheus Macy, who paid a valuable consideration to Isaac Masaquit my near kinsman & predesessor, the Late Sachem,...who died before Z. Macy obtained a deed of conveyance,... and also has paid me 20 Dollars or six pounds lawful money,...land in Miacumet", from Jo Secunnets & runing easterly to the north side of the Indian meeting House within about ten Rods of sd House on the north side & so to the line between the English & Indian land & then to the northward as far as the Indian land extends taking in all my right of lands to the northward of Jo Secunnets & the Meeting House, 100 acres (NCD 6:342).

1762: John Dimon, Indian Sachem of Moyacumet on Nantucket, Whalefisherman, for 20 shillings, sell to Zacheus Macy, "four acres of land in the Place called Moyacumet...in the Valley to the eastward of my house & to the westward of the Indian Meeting house & adjoining on Each Side of the Road that Runs along between my house & John Mooney's house (NCD 6:474).

Appendix 2. County Records of Indian Drift Whale Rights in Sachem Attapeat's Territory
(Little and Andrews 1982).

"July:13:1668" - "Edward Starbuck and Peter Foulger were empowered to make a bargain with the Indians concerning all whales that shall come on shore on the Island, on the Town's behalf" (NCD 1:8).

"June 20, 1672" - "Ahkeiman laying claim to part of Tuckernuck his claim thereto is found no other but as he was a duke or principal man upon Nantucket; the Nantucket Sachems, together with his father, having sold Tuckernuck it is ordered that he shall have such a part or portion of land for his use at Nantucket of the present Sachems as will become one of such quality, and a portion of the whales" (Worth 1902:137).

"July.19.1673" - "The Court do order that the Rack or drift whales in that bounds of the bech upon the playnes from the Pond of Richard Swayn to Smyth Poynt shal be Divided into Eight shares - Washaman, Womhommin, Masaquat, Wapskowitz, Wanaquin, Kanpakanit, Wequakesoo, Obadiah" (NCD 2(b):2).

"July:21:73" - "...all the whal fish or other Drift fish belong to the Indian sachims" (NCD 2(b):4).

"March 29th 1676" - "At a Court held at Sherbourn it was Concluded that Washaman is to have the head of the Drift whale for his share, and Desyer is to have halfe, along with him, And when Washaman is heer at this Yland, then he is to go master of the share, but when he is absent then Desyer is to go master of the share" (NCD 2(b):2).

"June 27th, 1676" - "Mr Harry complayns against Spotsoo and Masaqua for taking away or Disposing of his share of whale without his order" (NCD 2(b):8).

"June 27th-1676" - "It is ordered that no Rack whale that com ashore in any Sachims bounds, shal be Cut up until al the Masters of the shares that belong to that whale Do Com together, upon the penalty of Twenty shillings fine, to any that shal cut up and despose of any part Contrary to the order aforesayd, and also if any master be of the Yland and leave no man to Act for him, he is to loose his share of whale for that time" (NCD 2(b):8).

"June 5, 1677" - In a division of land between Spotso and Moosoquet, "...the beach and what whales come ashore shall belong to him on whose right it falleth" (Worth 1902:138).

"June 5, 1677" - "Wakieaman is ordered to have such a part of whale out of Moosoquits whale as he can make appear that he used take by Ussamequi(a)s order while sd whale was in the possession of WaquakesooWequash shall have such a part of whale on the Nantucket land as did belong to his ancesters in so much that it appeareth that he obtained the right thereof from the Sachems. Ordered that George Nanahumoo, Mahtakegin and Obadiah with their Companies shall have the whale from Goodman Swains pond to Smiths point according to their former custom and so to be divided" (Copy) (Mass. Sup. Ct. Jud. #92741).

"24:4:78" - "At a court of Sessions held in the Town of Sherburne the 24:4:78 it was ordered by the Court that Waquakeso, Nicanoose, Spotso and Musaquat shall have full power to choose each sachem ten men as a comit(ee) for the finding out the partickular Rights in whalle of all men and having so don then this Comitty to give and account to oe Court and from thence it shall transmitted to the Generall Court for Confirmation and If in cause any partickular men should be wrounged by this Comitee the have thare liberty by petition to the General Court where the may be herd if it be done before Confirmation" (NCD 2(b):13).

"29th-12th-79" - In Musaquat's complaint against Eleazer Folger for "(?) or taking away his whale," the verdict of the court was a fine for the defendant and cost of court for the plaintiff. The plaintiff appealed to the General Court (NCD 2(b):24).

"March 6, 1681" - The Coffins "desclaim any rights or interest in any whale by virtue of the land on Tuckernuck but do make over any Right that may belong unto them unto Ackeamoug and Jacob, sons of Pattacohnet...including liberty of saveing of their whale that may come on shore on that island..." (NCD 2:38).

1684 - Summary of Indian lands sold to the English, "except what dead whales shall be cast on a shore that to belong to the Indians according to former custom" (NCD 3:73).

1701 - English purchase of land previously belonging to Musaquat (Figure 2) from sachem Henry Brittain; "memorandum, the drift whale is not hearby sold" (NCD 3:23).

1712 - Cachahuman and Mooney to Sowacha, "all the head of Drift whales that may be stranded" or "come ashore any where nigh Tuckanucket," which Cachahuman's father, Scotsbonnet, had possessed in partnership with Pattacohonet. Upon the death of Pattacohonet, his half right had passed "successively" to "Jacob pattacohonets son," and upon his death to "Mooney now Called Pattacohonet" (NCD 3:62).

1712 - Paunes gave half "the head of all drift whales that from time to time and at all times should come ashore or be Stranded within the Sachemship or Jurisdiction of Musacut, late Sachem...", to the sons-in-law of his late partner, Johnboy (NCD 3:68).

1728 - Matakekin sold to Koskuhtukquaeinin his rights in "whale" ("pootop") (NCD 4:62).

Appendix 3. Deed from Henry Britten to John Gardner 1701 (NCD 3:23).

This Instrument of Bargain and Sale made the Twenty ninth day of April one Thousand seven Hundred and one by Henry Britten a Sachem, on the Island of Nantucket Witnesseth that I Henry Britten aforsaid have Bargained for and Sold unto John Gardner Esqr and company the Inhabittance freholders on the Island of Nantucket according to their Respective Shares and Proportions and enjoyments on the Island of Nantucket aforsd a Certain tract of Land on the Southern part of Nantucket aforsd being bounded as followeth, on the Eastward side with Moyacomet pond, from the Sea or beach, to the wading place, from thence by a Swamp Side Lyeing North Easterly eighty pole to a Ditch, and from thence to Moyacomet bars, and from thence by the Town fence, untill you come to the English bounds, near the Town gate, on the South with the Sea, on the West and North with the English Land, all which tract of Land I Henry Britten aforsd have bargained and sold unto John Gardner and Company aforsd for the Just Sum of Thirty pounds, payd by John Gardner and Received by me Henry Britten to my ful Satisfaction and Content the receipt whereof I do herby acknowledge before the Signing and sealing these presents, I Henry Britten have therefor sold and doe hearby sell Aleine Ratified and confirm the said tract of Land as above exprest and bounded unto John Gardner and Company as above to them there heirs, and Assigns for ever with all the profits priviledges, and immunitys, their unto belonging or in any ways appertaining to them, John Gardner and Company as above their Heirs & assigns for ever TO HAVE AND TO HOLD and peaceably to enjoy the same according to the bounds as above for ever, memorandom the drift whale is not hearby sold, hereby binding me my heirs and assigns for ever, to warant life and deffend said sale against all persons what so ever Laying Claim therto by from or under me any heirs and assigns for ever In witnes hear unto I have set my hand and sale, the day and year above written

Signed seald and delivered Before Isral, Mahetabel Gardner

The mark of Henry Bretten

William Gayer, Justice Peace

Appendix 4. Deed from Attapeat, Musaquat, and Harry Brittain to George and James Heas (Little 1981d).

Know all men that we wampatuck Quichpattowne Tuckanuck Dave do testifie that Attapeat did say in our hearing that he had given Tahquepe his Son who was Called by the English George heas an hundred akers of land where he should Chuse onely Excepting other mens fields: within his bounds and further we say and testifie that we have heard Musaaquat say that his brother Tahquepe alias George heas had one hundred acres of land and that he might Chuse where he pleased and further Tester and Abel did testifie before us that Harry Brittain did Consent and allow that James heas should have seventy acres near our town bars to the Eastward and Southward somewhat near the fence and this was testified by the persons above mentioned the 12th day of March in the year 1710/11 before us

James Coffin

William Worth

Justices of the peace

Daniell Spottso did testifie that George heas did Give his land to James heas and that Harry Brittain did say he should have the land Some near our bars at or near Myahcoomet this he affirmed in presence of us. James Coffin

William Worth

Recorded May the 23rd 1713

Appendix 5. Estate of Peter Mussaquat (Little 1981d).

Estate of Peter Mussaquat:

To the honourable George Bunker Esqr Judge of Probate &c for the County of Nantucket.

We the subscribers Children of Peter Mussaquat late of Nantucket Deceased having well Informed ourselves of the Estate left by the sd Deceased and also of the Debts Just & Due from sd Estate to several persons to prevent the Charge and trouble that might arise thereon have by our Mutuall and voluntary Consent and agreement Concluded to divide and order the Same among our selves in Manner following of the Debts which we find to be about fifty pounds we have agreed that Isaac Peterson shall pay about fourty nine pounds and Jonathan Calep in behalf of Hannah his wife one of the Daughters of the sd Deceased about twenty shillings and we have concluded agreed & consented that Isaac shall have the Dwelling house and fence & a Kettle four old Chairs a Chest and bedstead a platter a trammel and two turkies and Hannah the wife of Jonathan Calep shall have a kettle a table an old box tongs two Chairs a bason a platter Six wooden Spoons and whereas the sd Peter Mussaquat had two grandsons by another Daughter wife of John Dimon who Deceased long since and During his last sickness he gave Peleg the Eldest twenty acres of land therefore we pass him by and to the younger of sd Grandsons we give and allow fifteen shillings and this agreement we have made and done with the consent and approbation of Hannah the widow of the sd Deceased and without predjudice of her right of Dower praying it may be Received as a full and final settlement of sd Estate In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the Eighteenth day of January in the seventh year of his Majesties Reign Annoque Domini 1733/4

Appendix 6. Inventory of Estate of James Codode (Little 1981d).

An Inventory of the personal Estate belonging to James Codode
of late Deceased at Sherborn on Nantucket April y^e 5 1748 apprized
by Thomas Jenkins & Bethuel Gardner in money old tenor

1 bed and bolster L 19,2"0 bedstead and curtains Rods 70^s- - 22"12"0
a pair of blue curtains 57^s/ 1 large platter 44^s/ - - - - - 5" 1"0
1 Small Good platter 25^s/ an old Deep platter 24/9 - - - - - 2" 9"9
1 large Bason 44^s/ a Small bason & 2 plates 30/ - - - - - 3"14"0
3 Spoons 3^s/ a warming pan 50^s/ Maple Table 90^s/ - - - - - 7" 3"0
1 pewter quart 20^s/ 1 stone mug 5/ an Iron Skillet 5/ - - - 1"10"0
a felt Hat 15^s/ candlestick 2/6 Glass bottle 2/6 - - - - - 1" 0"0
a looking Glass 30/ flesh fork 8/ 2 Ink Jugs 3/ - - - - - 2" 1"0
a lamp 4/6 a large wodden Tray 8/ Ditto 1 pecked 4/ - - - - 0"16"6
a long Dish 1/6 2 Round ones Ditto 1/6 wood Spoons 1/6 - - - 0" 4"6
a ladle and Skimmers 3/ 2 milk pans 5^s/ Stone pot 7/6 - - - - 0"15"6
a pair bellows 15^s/ a pair of tongs 25/ Shovel 5/ - - - - - 2" 5"0
2 low Chairs 14/ 3 three back Chairs 36/ a white Chest 55/ - -5" 5"0
a Clock Reel 25^s/ a Great Chair 20/ a large pot old 35/ - - - 4" 0"0
a Churn 5/ an old table 10^s/ a pair of AnIrons 70^s/ - - - - - 4" 5"0
a Lignum vita Morter 50/ Iron Spit 20^s/ - - - - - - - - - 3"10"0
1/2 a morticing ax 12/6 Ivory headed cane 20^s/ - - - - - - - -1"12"6
a Stone Pestle 8/ a linnen wheel 20 old ax 10^s/ - - - - - - - 1"18"0

one cow - - - - - - - - 18" 0"0

88" 2"9

Tho^s Jenkins

Bethuel Gardner

April y^e 4th 1748 the above Inventory was taken on oath
before me Jer^h Gardner

Appendix 7. Inventory of Estate of Peleg Duch (Little 1981d).

An Inventory of the Estate of Peleg Duch Deceased:

To the Dwelling house - - - - - 150- 0- 0
to 1 Table 20/ Ditto 1 Table 5/ 1 Joynt Stool 10/ - - - - - 1-15- 0
to 6 Chairs 15/ to 2 wheels for Spining 20/ - - - - - 1-15- 0
to a Reel 8/ to 1 Chest 20/ to a box 4/ - - - - - 1-12- 0
to 1 Chest 12/ to a pr of Bellows 10/ - - - - - 1- 2- 0
to a Spit 15/ to a pair of Andirons 43/ - - - - - 2-18- 0
to a fire Shovel 10/ to 1 Trammel 16/ Ditto 1 Trammel 14/ - - 2- 0- 0
to 1 pot 35/ Ditto 1 Small pot 10/ - - - - - 2- 5- 0
to a Kettle 15/ Ditto 1 Smal Kittle 6/ pair of Stilyards 10/- 1-11- 0
to 2 quart pots 15/ to 3 platters & 2 basons 15[#]/ of the best- 3- 7- 6
to 4 basons 1 platter and porrenger 13¹/₂[#] old pewter - - - - - 1- 7- 0
to 1 Tin Tunnel 2/6 to an Iron Ladle 3/6 a hame 1/ - - - - - 0- 7- 0
to 3 Earthen plates 10/ To 4 Glass beakers 10/ - - - - - 1- 0- 0
to 2 planes 6/ to an Iron box and heaters 8 - - - - - 0-14- 0
to 2 Earthen pots 1/4 to 1 Earthen pan 1/ - - - - - 0- 2- 4
to 10 wooden Dishes 10/ to 20 Trenchers 3/4 Sugar box 6/ - - - 0-19- 4
to 2 wooden Ladles & a wooden Skimmer 2/ to 1 large Trey 1/6 - 0- 3- 6
to 6 barrels 25/ to 2 gimblets 1/8 to one bible 12/ - - - - - 1-18- 8
to 1 hat 6/ to a Saddle 75/ to a line 7/ to 1[#] powder 4/6 - - - 4-12- 6
to 1 bedstead 20/ Ditto Small bedstead 4/ - - - - - 1- 4- 0
to a Small bed and 2 blankets 40/ y^e bed [#] 7-0-0^{S d} with y^e pillow - 9- 0- 0
to 1 large bed [#] 10-0-0^{S d} to a bolster and pillow 20/ - - - - - -11- 0- 0
to 2 blankets & Coverlet 60/ to 1 bedsted 10/ ditto 1 small
bedstead 10/ - - - 4- 0- 0
to 4 barrels and 2 hogsheads 8/ to 20 [#] feathers 50/
to 1 Tray 6/ - - - 3- 4- 0
to 2 Sicles 4/ to a Cart Saddle 5/ to a pair of hames 3/ - - - 0-12- 0

(Peleg Duch's Inventory, Cont'd)

to (<u>ie</u> ?) Swivels 2/ and a Sturgeon Iron 2/ - - - - -	0- 4- 0
to 13½ bone at 8/ & Some undivided unto Solomon Sassey - - - -	5- 8- 0
to 2 Stubing hoes 20/ Ditto 2 hoes 6/ ax 4/ - - - - -	1-10- 0
to a horse Cart 4-0-0 ^{S^d} to the fencing stuf about the house 4 [#] -	8- 0- 0
to Timber and plank 4-0-0 To a hog 40/ horse 40/ - - - - -	8- 0- 0
	<hr/>
	231-11-10
to Cash - - - - -	10- 8- 2
	<hr/>
	242- 0- 0
Court Charges Deducted - -	2- 7- 6
	<hr/>
	239-12- 6

Clear Estate 247-12-6

Andrew Gardner

Nathaniel Allen

By George Bunker Judge of Probates

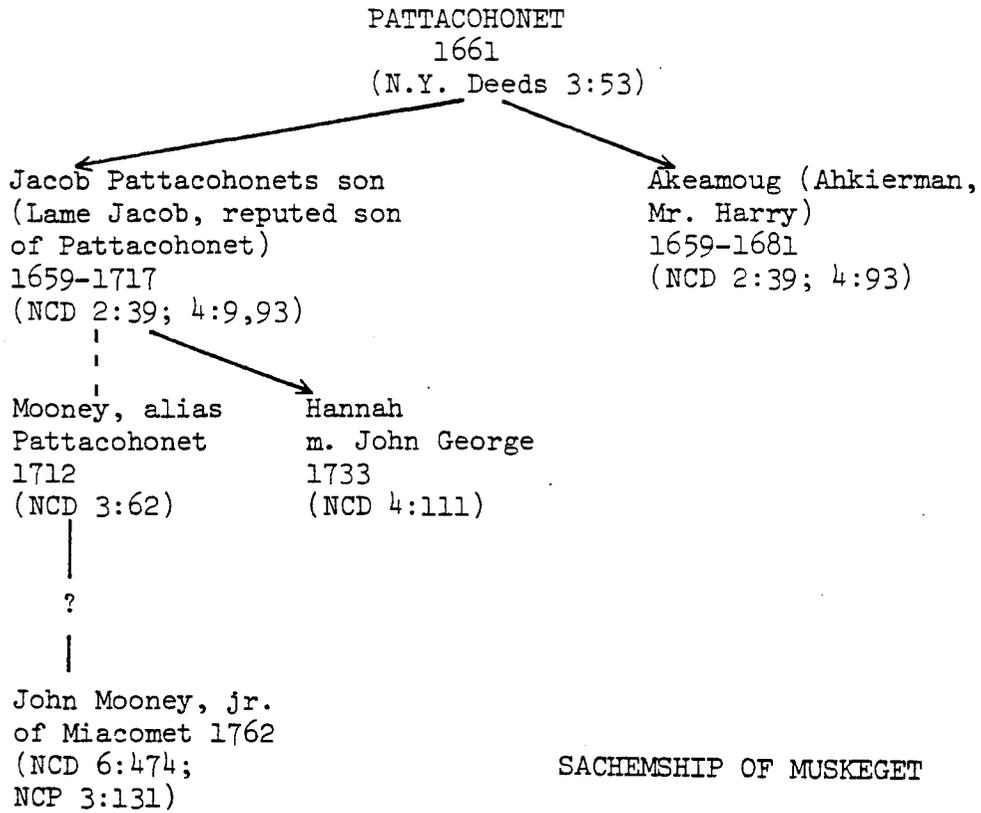
Ebenr Calef

On the second Day of September 1737 Thomas Brock & Daniel Bunker administrators on the Estate of Peleg Duch presented the above Inventory and made oath that it is a true Inventory of said Estate so far as is come to their knowledge and that if more appear hereafter they will cause it to be added.

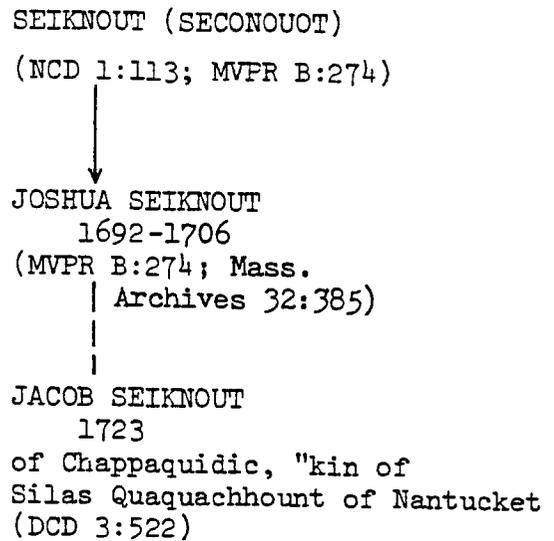
Eleaz^r Folger Regr

George Bunker

Appendix 8. Sachemship of Tuckernuck (Little 1981d).



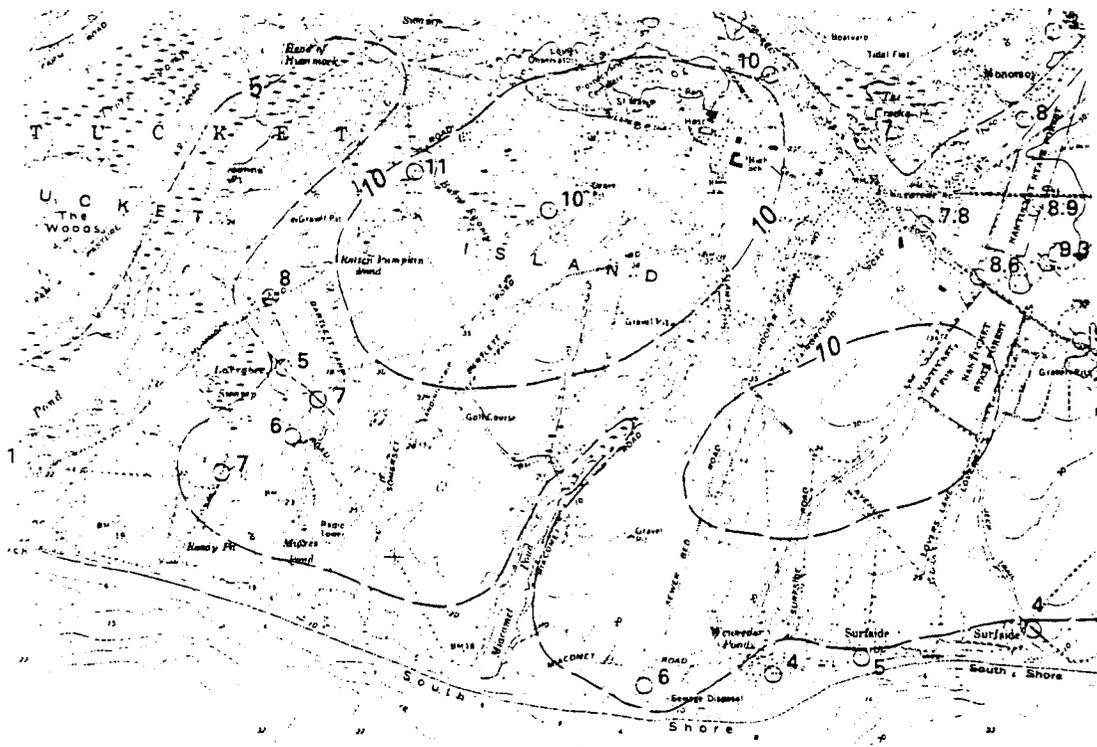
SACHEMSHIP OF MUSKEGET



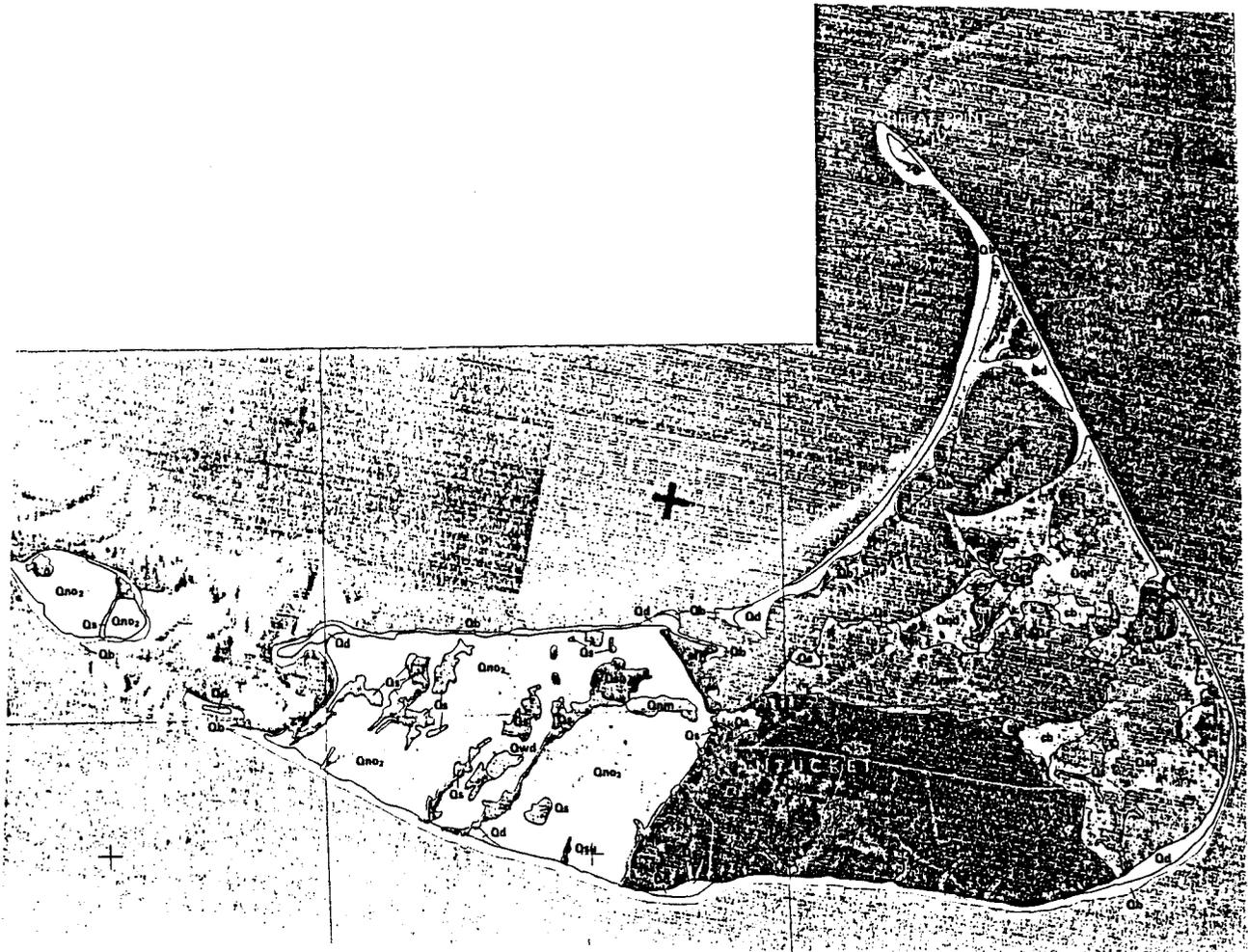
?
Joseph Secunnet
1763 of Miacomet
(NCD 6:342)

178	Josiah Spetro Dr to y ^l bills of our accts in our book	29	08	06
179	To 2 bushel (corn) 3/4. 2 bushel rye at 3/9. 7 1/2 lbs salt meat 3/5	00	14	07
179	To Sundries at 1/2 what 5/7. 2 bushel salt. 6	03	03	00
179	To Cash 10/ bill & Sundries as 9 th day book	11	13	08
	To of casting a box for G. Flupoy being a for former	16	03	
179	Then Received with Josiah & he gives me to bly	25	00	08
9 th 20	To 2 hoes 1/6. Malasses 1/2. 2 m ^l Stubbs 6. 4 large Sleepers 2 1/2	02	08	03
6 th 1792	To Cash pd. Parsons for 1500 feet of boards for our Indian Meeting H ^{se}	16	06	
	To m ^l plow iron & 2 land iron 10/6. 2 buckles 2/6. 2 1/2	18	10	
6 th 1793	To m ^l plow iron 14/9. 2 land iron 10/6. 2 1/2	3	7	9
	To 2 iron hinges 3/6. 11 bundles of string 2 1/2	5	5	2
11 th 9	To 2 1/2 feet of boards at 20/ shillings 7/6. ditto 5/6. 1 lock for door	1	18	6
	To hinges 7/6. belt 1/6. 2 1/2	0	12	
12 th 9	To 2 1/2 feet of boards at 20/ shillings 7/6. ditto 5/6. 1 lock for door	3	11	1
9 th 1794	To 1 hoe 8/6. 2 1/2 Flupoy 1/6. ditto 7/6. ditto 11/6. a piece of 26	2	7	
	To 2 1/2 feet of boards 2/6. 2 1/2	1	18	3
1795	To hasps 2/6. 2 land iron 6/6. 12/9. 3 pieces of lead from a cow	4	10	9
5 th 16	To 1 peck corn 1/9. a forked tongue tree head of 1/2 Co 18/6. 2 1/2	4	2	4
10 th 9	To 2 sheep skins 1/2. m ^l stubbs 3/6. m ^l plow iron 25/6. Penanish 3/9	2	03	3
1796	To m ^l plow iron 19/6. ditto at Josiah's shop 15/6. 2 1/2	1	15	0
9 th	To 1 cord wood at 27/3. 2 bushel salt 3/6. 7 timber	1	17	6
1797	To 2 bushel oats 10/6. 2 1/2	2	13	6
	To a sheep skin at 3/6. Cash 3/6	2	13	
		77	19	10

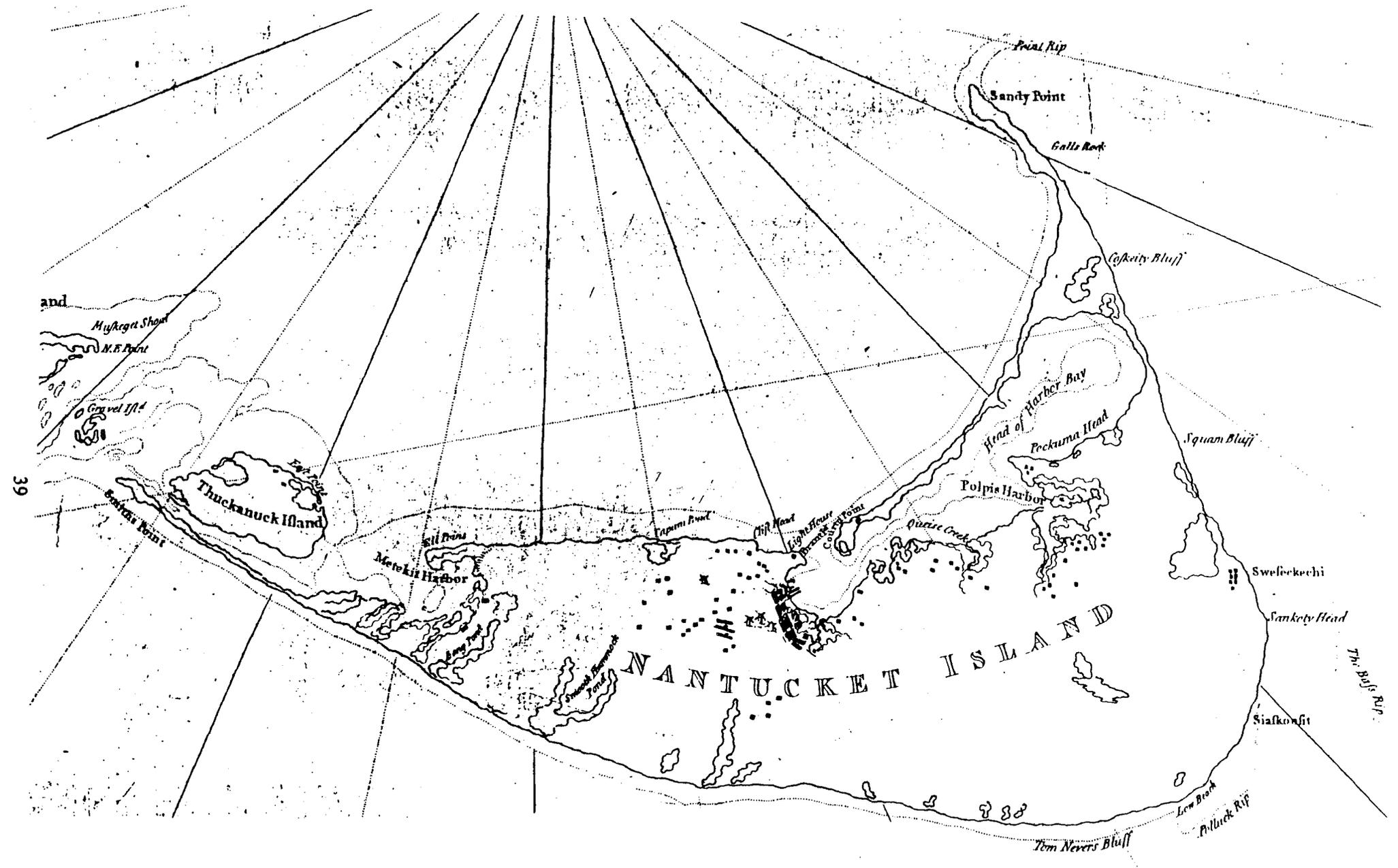
Appendix 9. Account for building Indian Meeting House 1732 (Starbuck 1683-1768:113). Courtesy Nantucket Historical Association.



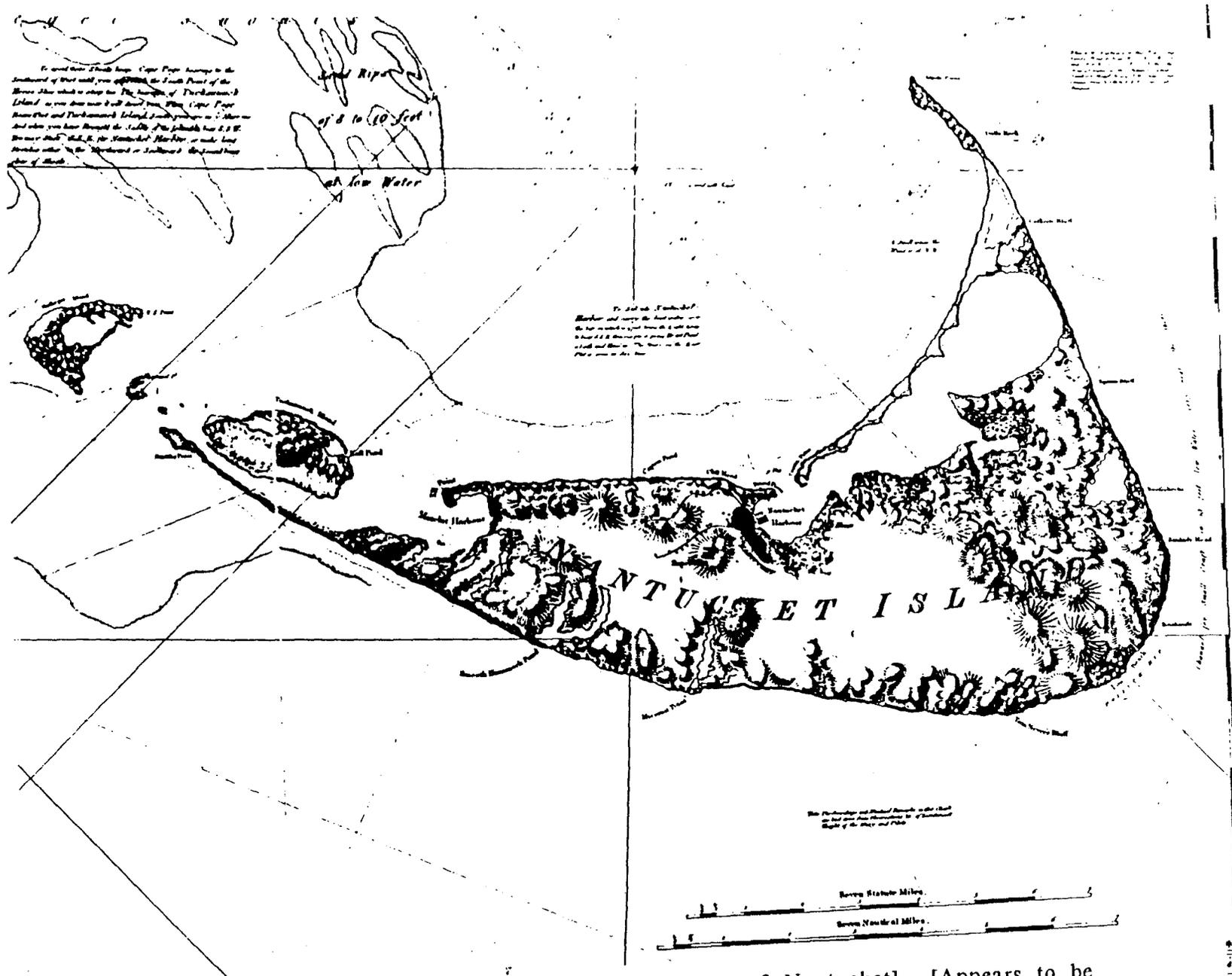
Appendix 10. Miacomet section of Nantucket Island Water Resources Map (Walker 1980).
 Five foot contour intervals indicate height of fresh water table above sea-level.



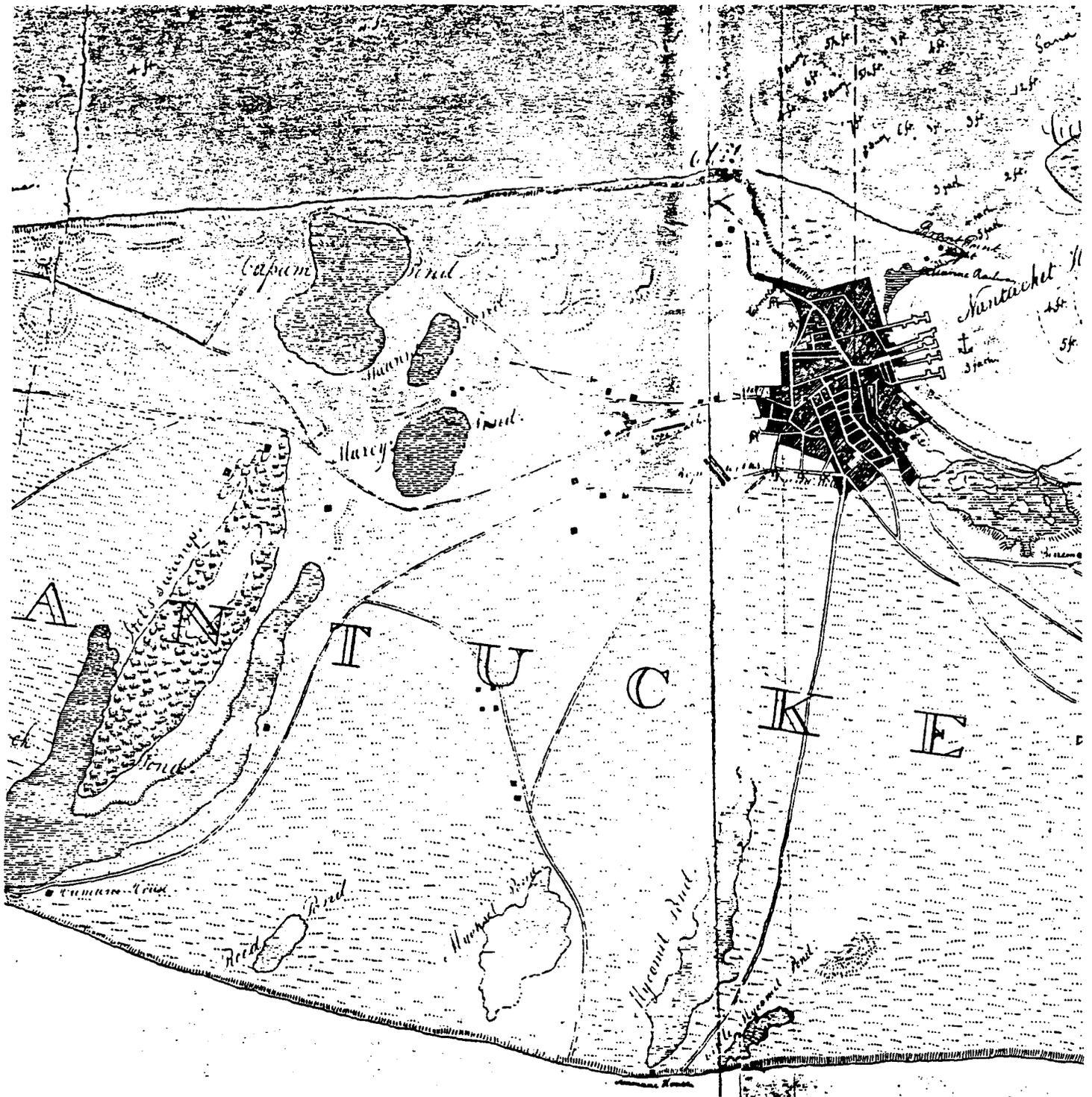
Appendix 11. Nantucket Island portion of Geologic Map of Cape Cod and the Islands, Massachusetts (Oldale and Barlow 1986, reduced in size). Qno₂ (the lightest area) and Qno₁ (the darkest area) represent the younger and the older outwash, respectively. Note that the boundary between them lies along the Miacomet Valley.



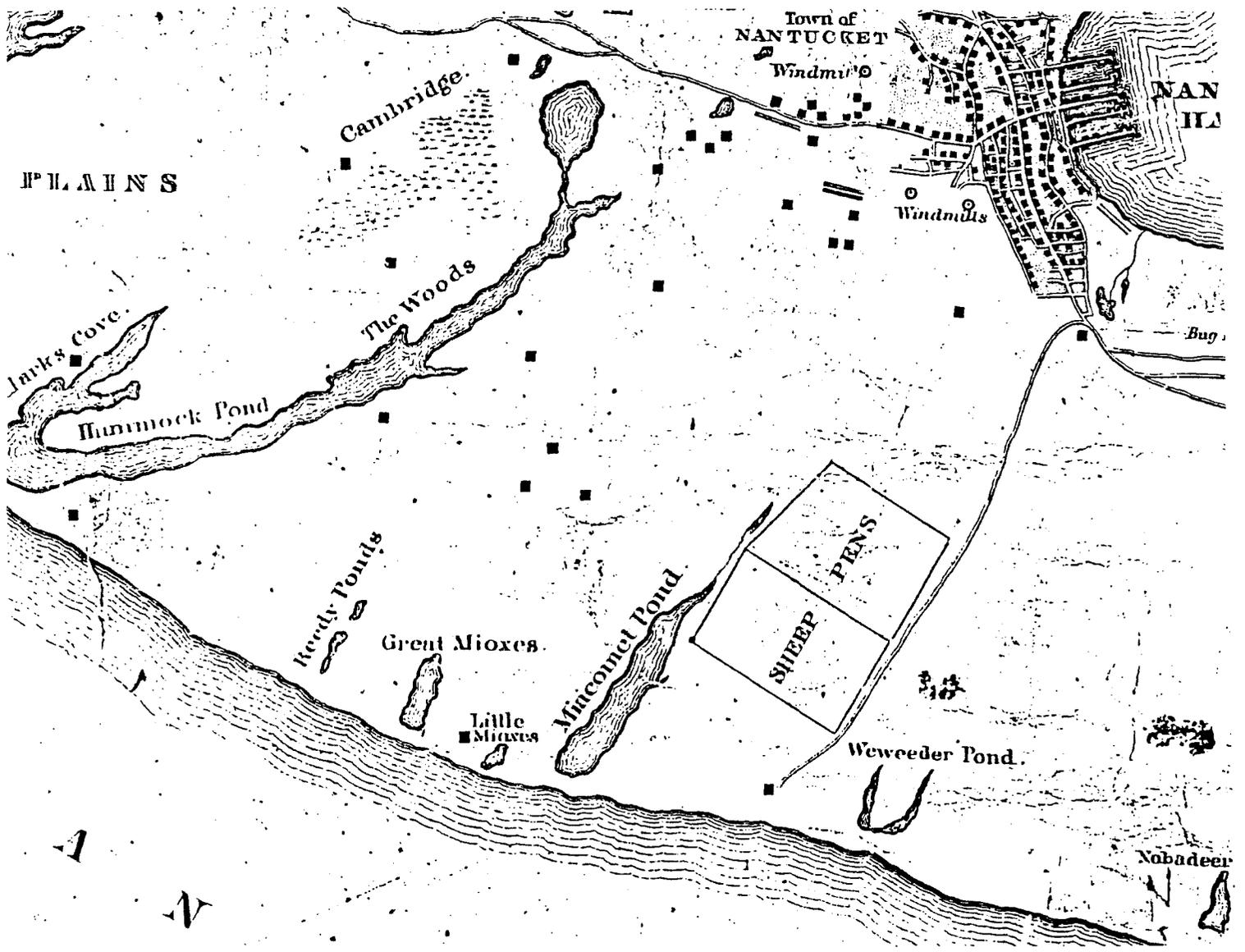
Appendix 12. Holland, Samuel, nd, probably 1764-1775, Chart of Coasts and Harbors of New England, showing four houses east of Miacomet Pond. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Original at Library of Congress, Map Division. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



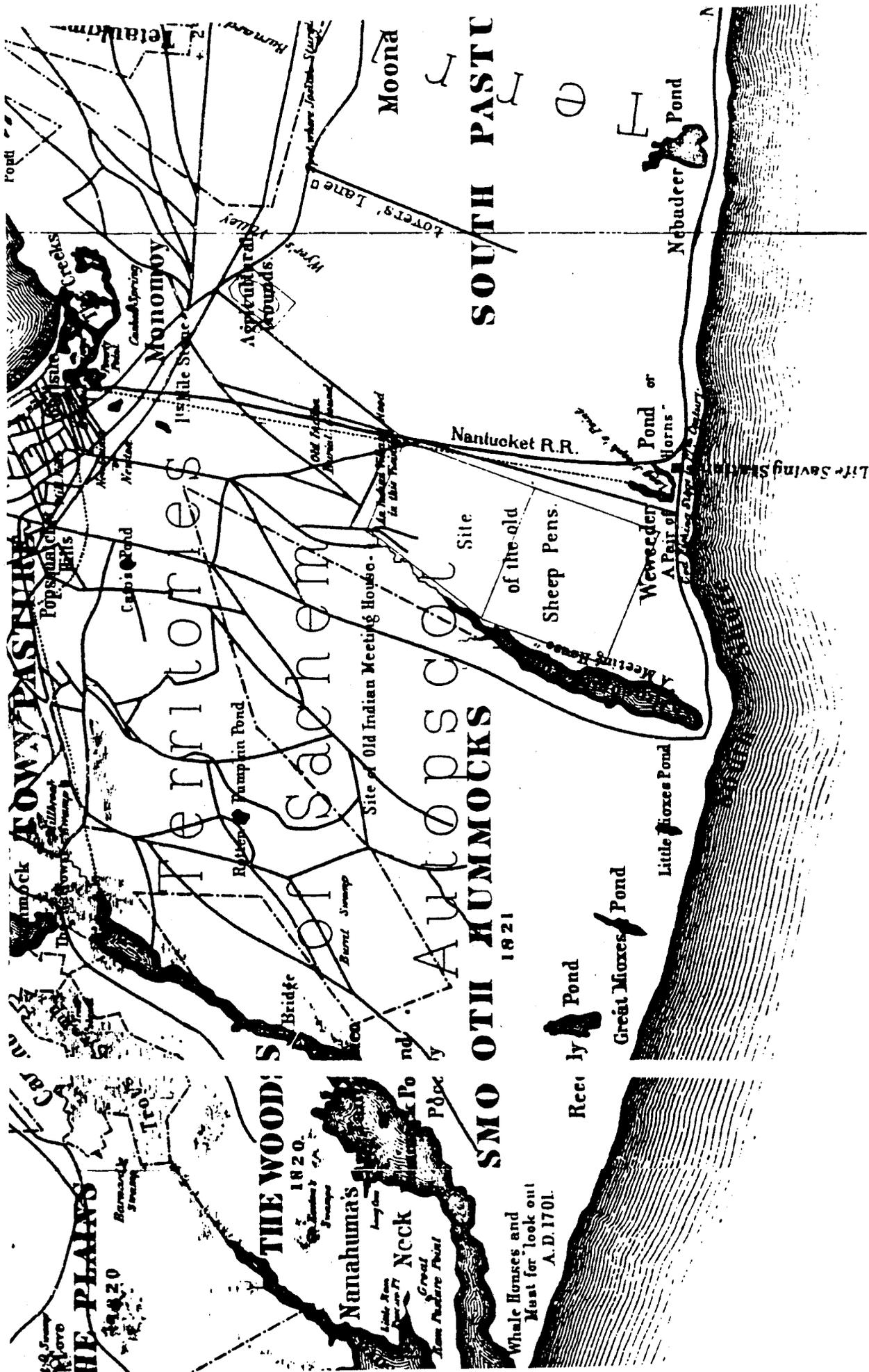
Appendix 13. Des Barres, I. F. W., 1776 no title [Map of Nantucket]. [Appears to be based upon Holland's chart (Appendix 12) with topography added]. Published June 1, 1776, according to Act of Parliament. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Original at Library of Congress, Map Division. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



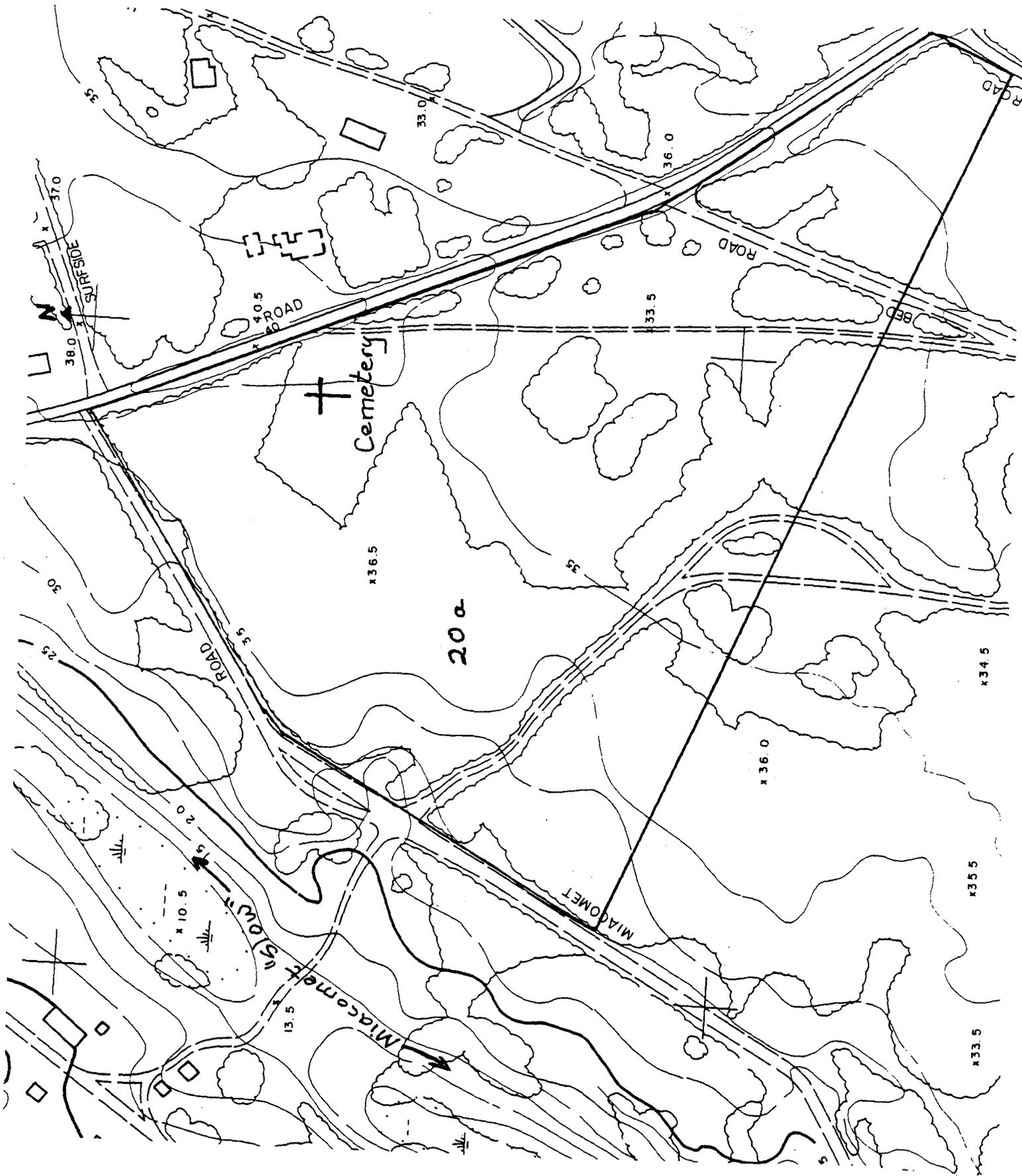
Appendix 14. Prescott, J. Lt., 1831, Portion of Map of the Town of Nantucket showing no houses in vicinity of Miacomet. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Original at Massachusetts Archives, Boston. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Appendix 15. Mitchell, William, 1838, Portion of Map of the Island of Nantucket, including Tuckernuck, showing only sheep pens in vicinity of Miacomet. Surveyed by Wm. Mitchell. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Appendix 16. Ewer, the Rev. F. C., surveyor and cartographer, 1869, Portion of Historical Map of Nantucket (reconstruction), showing approximate locations of Indian Village, Old Indian Meeting House, and Old Indian Burial Ground in vicinity of Miacomet. Nantucket Historical Association Research Center, Map Collection. Copy courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Appendix 17. Schofield Brothers, Inc. 1976 The Town and County of Nantucket, Mass. Portion of Nantucket Assessor's Map Atlas Sheet #67 (200 feet: one inch), showing project area.