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TImHKS AND THEIR TERRITORY

By LAURENCE K. GAHAN

Our early colonists found central Massachusetts occupied by a people called collectively Nipmucks or Nipmucks; the name, being applied to their country, meaning either "small pond place", or "fresh-water place", the former meaning being the correct one linguistically. The Nipmucks themselves were closely related in speech and custom to the Pennacooks, Massachusetts, Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Cowesetts and Miantics. It is certain that the language of the Mohicans, who bordered their southern and perhaps their western boundary, differed considerably.

When the whites arrived, the Nipmucks, whether originally a single nation or a confederacy, were in process of dissolution. Sholan, (Shaumon, Nashoon, Nodawahunt, Nashacum, ), the sachem and titular head of the Nipmucks, was, with his particular band of tribe, the Nashuas, under the protection of Passaconoway, chief of the Pennacooks. Previously the Massachusetts, prior to their practical destruction by pestilence, (which seems to have depopulated much of the Nipmuck territory also), had conquered the lands west to the Connecticut. After they passed from the scene the Nipmucks were the prey of their other neighbors, each powerful tribe on their borders claiming from one to several Nipmuck villages. The Wabaquassots, living mostly in Connecticut, at one time were paying tribute to both the Narragansetts and the Mohicans. We are told that the Pequot tribes originally occupied lands in the Connecticut valley in the vicinity of Springfield, but abandoned them under pressure from the Mohawks. This move exposed the Nipmucks to the full force of the Iroquois attacks, and, despite Pennacook protection, the Nashuas were reduced in a generation from a relatively powerful band to a remnant, but eighteen families being left at their principal village, Washacum, at Stirling. The Mohawks destroyed Sachusset, at Princeton, compelled the abandonment of Nashoba, and continually raided and killed. From the south, Uncas, who had taken over the Pequot claims to various Nipmuck villages, made raid after raid. There are records of his attacks on Massasoisset (Grafton), and Quabaug. (Brookfield.)

In 1664 the Nipmucks placed themselves under the protection of Massasoit. There seems to have been some question as to just who was the Nipmuck sachem, though Sholan was still alive, and most of the needs we have to parts of the Nipmuck country are signed by him or his relatives, to prove that the English recognized him as the Nipmuck ruler. It is to be noted that an Indian sachem in this section was an absolute ruler, whose ownership of the land and control over his people were unquestioned.

The Nipmucks, except for the praying Indians and those under the control of Uncas, sided with Philip, and shared in the general ruin that befell his followers. Two small family groups, in which the negro strain has obliterated the Indian, survive, representing the Hassanamessets of Grafton and the Piegans of Dudley.
The Nipmucks were divided into a number of sub-tribes, or bands, each under its own chief and generally inhabiting several villages in well-defined and named localities, each band taking its name from its own locality. These localities were mostly named after some natural feature, such as Quabaug, "red pond"; though we have Pootipookoopaug, "wild cat country", and Eliot mentions the "people of the rock-pigeon country". All of the Nipmuck country was split into rather large named areas, and these in turn divided and subdivided until even the separate groves and meadows were named. These have been mostly forgotten, except where preserved in deeds, though a few names have survived locally, especially those of lakes and hills.

I notice that the larger of the divisions were the most sparsely inhabited. Naquag included the whole northwest corner of Worcester county, as far as the Miller's river valley; Manoosnock stretched from Lancaster to Gardener; Wombisiscook was most of the Ware river valley. There were dozens of smaller divisions, some containing villages, some apparently uninhabited.

From the earliest times there has been a tremendous amount of confusion, not only as to which bands were Nipmucks, but as to their actual boundaries. Dr. Kinnicut mentions a map, which he had evidently seen, printed in 1740, on which the Nipmuck territory was represented as stretching from Medford to Stockbridge. Gookin gave the area as extending from Marlboro to the Connecticut, and from the border of the state in the north to over the Connecticut line in the south. He naturally would disregard the country east of Marlboro, that section, except for the praying villages, having been taken over by the whites. I incline to Gookin's view, with the reservation that on and near the boundaries we would naturally expect to find considerable inter-mixture, especially as the Nipmucks were too weak to keep out intruders. I do not consider it surprising that Nanapanshemet and his squaw, who were Nipmucks, resided at Medford in Massachusetts territory, and his nephew, John Awassamaug or Magus, from Palmer to Natick. Metawampe, alias Nettawassawet, a Quabaug, signed deeds to lands in the Connecticut valley, at Springfield and Hatfield.

The Connecticut valley calls for a special statement. My own theory concerning the Connecticut valley tribes is that they were a much-mixed lot, containing Nipmuck, Mohecan and possibly Pennacook elements, who had taken over lands abandoned by the Pequot-Mohecan group. I find that the older writers considered the Agawams as one people with the Quabaugs. We would probably find, by a careful check on the various aliases with which the Indians saddled themselves, that a few of Sholan's relatives had their names on the various deeds to the valley lands. I have mentioned Metawampe. I am perfectly willing to admit that the Nonnotucks (Northampton) were not subject to Sholan; we have records of a couple of instances of their killing his subjects, and they seem to have had an alliance with the Mohawks.
On the east the Nipmuck boundary ran from Nashoba in Littleton through Concord south along the Sudbury to Cochituate; thence across to the Charles at Natick, and south along this river to Quinnebeggin, at Medway. The Massachusetts seem to have bordered the whole east line. At Medway the line followed the Charles southwest for a few miles to Bellingham, thence along the Mill river to Blackstone. Right here we run into difficulties. Northern Rhode Island was peopled by the Cowessets, a small tribe, sometimes subject to the Narragansets, sometimes independent. They occupied a strip from Woonsocket to Chepachet, and that is all I know about them. In Stone's "History of Burrillville" a distinction is made between the Nipmuck residents and the Pascoag and Chepachet Indians. As Segreganset, a Nipmuck village, was in the northwest corner of Rhode Island, and Pottoquaddock, another one, was in Thompson, Conn., we may be right in bringing the line generally eastward from Blackstone to Bridgeton and West Gloucester, R.I., from here to East Killingly to Danielson, where we are once more sure of ourselves, for a while anyhow.

Uncas, the Mohecan chief, not only delimitied his own lands, but distinguished between them and those he claimed by conquest from the Nipmucks. The northeastern line of the Mohecans, hence the south line of the Nipmucks, ran westerly from Killingly through Danielsonville, Ashford, Shenepsdic Lake and Enfield. Uncas at least believed that some of the Connecticut Valley was Nipmuck territory, as did the settlers who paid Metawampe for it in 1674.

From Enfield, the border ran north along the valley of the Connecticut to Northfield. The Squawkags of Northfield have been classed as Pennacocks. I believe this is due to the placing of a number of Nipmucks, with their villages, under the Pennacocks, after King Philip's war, by the Massachusetts commissioners assigned to the problem of the Indians and their lands. I consider them, along with the Pequeags of Miller's river, as Nipmucks, and so, if we follow the Miller's river east to Athol, and take a line along route 2 to Lunenburg, and thence to Littleton, we will be back where we started. I do not claim that this line is perfect. In fact, if I were absolutely sure that the Woronokos and Pocumtucks were Nipmucks, I would have to extend it considerably to the west, at least as far as Shelburne Falls. I may add that the Pennacocks bordered the northern line.

NOTES:

Praying Villages

Charbungamaug--Webster
Hassanamosset--Grafton
Manchaug--Sutton
Magungook--Ashland
Nashoba--Littleton
Natick--So. Natick
Ookookamesset--Marlboro
Eliot's rules of conduct for the praying Indians. (Eight additions to the Decalogue).

I. If any man shall be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall be fined five shillings.

II. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, he shall be fined five shillings.

III. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the place of justice to be punished severely.

IV. Every young man, if not another's servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other wigwams.

V. If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as a man's hair, she shall pay five shillings.

VI. If any woman shall go with naked breasts, she shall pay two shillings.

VII. All men that shall wear long locks, shall pay five shillings.

VIII. If any shall crack lice between their teeth, they shall pay five shillings.

Eliot estimated a Nipmuck population of 1100, of whom half were praying Indians. Hubbard speaks of five sachems in conference with Lt. Curtis, and states that these were "four too many for so small a nation".

Larger Bands:
Quabaugs--Brookfield
Agawams--Springfield
Quinebaugs--Sturbridge
Piegans--Dudley
Hassanomasset--Grafton
Nashuas--Sterling
Wabaquasset--Woodstock, Conn.

Smaller Bands:
Cocatoonemaugs--Lunenburg
Boggistowes--Millis
Ookoognamesets--Marlboro

Questionably Nipmuck
Squakeags, Pequeags, Pocumtucks, Woronokes.
Cochituates--Framingham
Nipmucks--Mendon

Questionably Nipmuck:
Squakeags, Pequeags, Pocumtucks, Woronokes

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Owing to the necessity for drastic economies, it has been decided to discontinue the NEWS LETTER, as being the least valuable of the Society's publications, and to concentrate our remaining funds on the BULLETIN. No NEWS LETTER has been released since the February-March issue, and resumption will depend entirely on improvement of the financial situation in the future.

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Although shell heaps occur all over the world, and in many places are larger than in New England, the great oyster shell mounds at Damariscotta on the Sheepscot River in Maine were probably the first Indian sites in New England to arouse the interest of antiquaries. They are frequently mentioned in old histories and books of travel, and a lively discussion arose among the geologists of the early nineteenth century as to whether these shell mounds were of natural or human origin; a little burrowing soon settled the question in favor of man.

In the sixties, when archaeology was in its infancy, Jeffries Wyman examined a number of shell heaps in Maine and Massachusetts of which he published a fairly careful description (1). There are even some illustrations of bone implements in this report, and some exceedingly picturesque vignettes of the excavation.

Prof. F.W. Putnam, of Harvard, led an expedition to Damariscotta in 1886, and worked with Abram T. Gammage, a local investigator, who had been digging in the shell heaps for several years. The collections from this excavation are in Peabody Museum at Harvard. No report was published, but Putnam did take field notes, and, apparently, plans, which have been lost or mislaid since. A few photographs remain in the Museum file.

In 1892, the attention of Prof. C.C. Willoughby, also of Harvard, was called to some curious finds of well-made stone implements lately made in Maine, and he excavated the cemeteries of Orland, Ellsworth, and Bucksport, finding a large number of graves and firepits with a characteristic series of fine stone implements and no pottery. His excavations were carefully made, well recorded, and published in an excellent monograph in 1898 (2).

For a number of years around the turn of the century, Prof. Arlo Bates and his son Oric explored the coast of New England, digging in many shell heaps and accumulating a very extensive collection, part of which is now in the U.S. National Museum and part at Harvard. No detailed report was ever made on this work, but about 1912 Oric Bates threw together a catalog of the collection, and a list of sites, with a geographical analysis, and a description of the shell heap at Golden Cove, near Vinal Haven. This was submitted as a thesis in Anthropology 20 at Harvard, along with an ethnological summary by H.E. Winlock, and was never published. The manuscript remains in Peabody Museum Library (3).

F.B. Loomis and D.B. Young, of Amherst College, dug at a number of Maine sites, including a shell heap at Sawyer's Island, and published a brief descriptive report in 1912 (4). This year also saw the beginning of Warren K. Moorehead's work in Maine for Phillips Academy, Andover, summarized in his "Archaeology of Maine"

(1) Wyman, 1867
(2) Willoughby, 1898
(3) Bates and Winlock MS
(4) Loomis and Young, 1912.
1922. Moorehead dug a large number of shell heaps and many more cemeteries like those Willoughby had found, and for the first time had an accumulation of evidence from which he could draw significant conclusions. At the time he was working, stratigraphy was the newest thing in archaeology, and Moorehead never learned how to handle it. His attempts at chronology are based on comparisons and typology; it is likely that he dug in a number of stratified sites without knowing it.

A contemporary of Moorehead's in the Maine field was Walter B. Smith, who undertook a number of excavations, and wrote reports on at least two. His description of the village site at Bangor printed by Moorehead (5) is very important, as it indicates the occurrence of stone implements of the type found by Willoughby and Moorehead in the cemeteries, in an occupation site associated with pottery. Smith also initiated the valuable work of the Robert Abbe Museum at Bar Harbor by publishing as the first of its Bulletins his account of work in a shell heap at Jones Cove (6). Smith's reports are mere descriptions, couched in general terms, and most inadequately illustrated; he took no excavation notes and had to write his reports entirely from memory.

An article by E.E. Tyzzer on the Simple Bone Point in the first volume of American Antiquity presents a good general description of the excavation of the Harbor Island Shell Heap, and an analysis of the most important type of bone implement found (7).

Frederick Johnson undertook a short field season at Damariscotta with a party from Harvard about 1935, and took complete notes. He states, however, that practically nothing was found, and it was not worth while to publish a report.

The shell heap sites so far described, while having each a character of its own, represented without much doubt a single archaeological unit, typologically distinct for the most part from the cemeteries. The distinction had long been apparent, and had led, shortly after Willoughby's cemetery discoveries, to the theory that the historic Maine Indians ("Shell Heap People") had been preceded by a mysterious people of higher culture who made the cemeteries ("Red Paint People" so called from the quantities of red ochre found in their graves). This "sequence of cultures" was systematized by Moorehead (8) and attained wide popular support. As usually happens to archaeological theories when popularized, it was the source of much misunderstanding. The names "Red Paint People" suggested that the use of red ochre was the peculiar characteristic of this culture, and that wherever graves were found containing red ochre, comparisons with Maine should be made.

(5) Moorehead, 1922, p.134-143  (7) Tyzzer, 1936
(6) Smith, 1929  (8) Moorehead, 1916, 1922, and many other articles.
The "Red Paint Theory" was open to objection on two grounds: if one culture was known only from shell heaps, and the other only from cemeteries, where did the shell heap people bury their dead, and where did the people of the graves live? Furthermore, if the "Red Paint People" were older, because there was no pottery in their graves, how explain W.B. Smith's village site at Bangor, where implements of cemeteries type were found associated with pottery?

Hardly a year has passed since 1936 without some important contribution to this problem in the way of new evidence, and in the light of what has now been found, the feeling is growing that the old terminology is inadequate. While we are by no means ready for the introduction of any elaborate scheme of culture classification, such as the Taxonomic, or McKern System (the defects of which, in my opinion, more than balance its advantages), we need a few new names to replace traditional ones now meaningless. As the most necessary change, I have elsewhere (9) proposed the term "Moorehead Complex" to designate that range of implement types characteristic of the cemeteries excavated by Willoughby and Moorehead. After all, the cemeteries alone represent a complex of traits rather than a culture.

In 1936 and 1937, Byers and Johnson, of Phillips Academy, Andover, excavated the now famous Nevin Shell Heap at Bluehill. Here they found, to quote the brief mention which is all that has yet been published on the site, "Red Paint graves and artifacts of Red Paint type, in association with pottery which is almost certainly Woodland." (10) The situation is apparently similar to the one noted at Smith's Bangor village, with this important difference; that the Nevin site is a shell heap, and that its excavation was done with the greatest care, and the fullest recording. The report should be evidence of the very first importance. Richards Shell Heap, also at Bluehill, excavated the next year, proved to be similar to so many previously described.

The effect of the evidence of Nevin was to throw doubt on the whole of Moorehead's interpretation; were not the "Red Paint" and "Shell Heap" cultures contemporary?

Walter B. Smith was succeeded at the Abbe Museum by Wendell Hadlock, a young and energetic archaeologist, who after some work at the Tranquility Farm Shell Heap on Frenchman's Bay (a site of the usual shell heap type, but where local conditions made recording difficult), did a better recorded excavation at Taft's Point, in 1936; a shell heap where Orice Bates had dug. Hadlock's report, published promptly (11), showed definite and important stratigraphy; a level containing the Moorehead Complex without pottery, succeeded by a level in which pottery was abundant, and the artifacts were of the usual shell heap type. The subsequent excavations of the Abbe Museum at the Bragon-Shwing and Hall shell heaps in Sorrento (1939-40) have not yet been published, but neither site showed stratigraphy or the Moorehead Complex. Hadlock has reported another important discovery, however,

(9) Rowe, 1940
(10) Johnson, 1937.
unfortunately entirely without documentation: a lead bullet, covered with red ochre, and claimed by a Penobscot Indian to have come from a looted Moorehead Complex grave at Oldtown (12).

I found, during excavations in 1938 and 1940 at Waterside Shell Heap, at Sorrento, on Frenchman's Bay, carried out for the Excavators' Club, the same sequence reported by Hadlock from Taft's Point, with the difference that at Waterside the earlier level was better represented, and at Taft's Point the later. In reporting the Waterside work (13) I have called the early, pre-pottery level with Moorehead Complex types, "Waukeag", and the later level, with pottery and without Moorehead types, "Asticou".

The archaeological picture is much less simple than appeared five years ago. At Frenchman's Bay and in the cemeteries, the Moorehead Complex is pre-pottery; at Bluehill, thirty miles away, and on the Penobscot, it occurs with pottery (Nevin and Bangor), and may even prove historic (Oldtown). The local differences we should have expected are beginning to show up. The interpretation I would suggest is that the Moorehead Complex spread over all the coast from the Kennebec to Frenchman's Bay long before pottery was introduced, and that it was then subject to two cultural influences; pottery spreading east from a center in southern New England, and the Asticou culture spreading west from eastern Maine and New Brunswick. Pottery came as an isolated trait, and was added to the pre-pottery, Moorehead Complex, Waukeag culture, while Asticou, in spreading, replaced Waukeag entirely. By this hypothesis, early Asticou in Frenchman's Bay would be roughly contemporary with Nevin and Bangor (all having pottery), and Waukeag would be earlier than all. Our evidence is as yet scanty, and open to other interpretations; this one is merely a suggestion to provide a point for argument.

In dealing with recent archaeological material, there remains always the possibility that it can be interpreted with the aid of historical and ethnological information, and I have tried this method with the Maine situation. The sources from which historical and ethnological information must be drawn are descriptions of early French explorers, such as Thovot, about 1560, and Champlain and his followers (1605) (14), or missionaries such as fathers Biard (1611), and Rasles (toward the end of the century) (15), who wrote descriptions of their work. Slightly later are the English explorers: Waymouth (1605), Gorges, and the documents left by the early English settlers (16).

This material suffers from several defects. The descriptions are general, usually applying to the whole coast; the men who wrote them mostly did not speak the Indian language, and had only the most formal dealings with the Indians, or, in the case of the missionaries, were

(13) Rowe, 1940
(14) Thovot, 1575; Lesscarbot, 1928; Kehl, 1889.
(15) Biard, 1897; Rasles, 1833
(16) Rosier, 1860; Baxter, 1890.
more interested in the progress of their churches than in the original condition of their converts. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence to show that tribal groupings in Maine were very fluid, a new tribe growing up readily wherever there was good trading or good leadership, as happened at Pentegoet (Castine), and fading away when another place or leader had greater attractions. As the differences in dialects were slight, language seems to have formed no barrier.

Granting such defects, can the historical material help us in any way except in providing us with a fuller picture of the historic culture of most of the coast - what I have called Aasticou in its Frenchman's Bay manifestation? It can only do so if we have reason to suppose that the earlier culture, that embodying the Moorehead Complex, had survived somewhere into historic times, and we could find references in our documents to attach to it. Now, if this earlier culture had survived distinct from Aasticou, our archaeological evidence would lead us to look for it on the banks of the Penobscot.

Today, the Penobscot Indians (17) live in a slightly different manner from the Passamaquoddies of Eastport, and speak a slightly different dialect, and it would be easy to assume that these differences were prehistoric, and the Penobscots descendants of the Moorehead Complex people. This is substantially what I did in reporting on the Waterside Shell Heap (18), but after further investigation and discussion both public and private, the assumption seems most ill-founded. The modern Penobscots, seen to be of quite recent origin, and to be in fact refugees from many different groups, including Norridgevocks of the Kennebec, and large numbers of Pentegoets and Passamaquoddies (who apparently considered themselves related). The doubtful evidence we have is quoted piecemeal by Mrs. Eckstrom (19), and suggests rather that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the people of the Penobscot were indistinguishable from any other coastal Indians. We can go no further back than that, for the earlier description, that of Thevet, is of doubtful reliability and gives little usable information.

We can therefore conclude that the rather contradictory historical evidence does not favor the survival of any culture other than that of the Etschenin (the French name for the coastal Indians; the people responsible for the Aasticou remains) into the seventeenth century, and we would do better at present to assume that the Moorehead Complex was extinct when the white men came, and to ignore the bullet from Oldtown until we have less questionable archaeological evidence concerning it.

(17) Speck, 1940.
(18) Rowe, 1940, p. 17-18
(19) Eckstrom, 1919, p. 47-60
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

In any attempt to determine the Nipmuck boundaries the student is handicapped by the varied forms in which place names appear, as well as by the changes in personal names. These latter seem to have been limited to a maximum of three, possibly each being associated with a different phase of life. A case in point is that of Wrutherna, who sold land at Springfield in 1636. In a deed of 1654 he is called Wulluther, husband of Avonunsk. In 1662 he appears as Weackwockwen, Weackwaguen, Weackwequene and Weakwaucken, in each case associated with his son Squompe. Again in 1662 he is recorded as Woquagon and Woquagon, "formerly called Wulluthcarne", with his wife Avonunsk and their son Squomp. In 1666 he was Woquagan and in 1672 "Woquagon formerly called "Wrutherna". In an official report during King Philip's War he was referred to as Woquagun. It has been said that he was killed later in that war.

It is clearly evident that all these forms denote the same person, but lacking the Pynchon repetant habits, such identification would have been impossible. As a young man he was Wrutherna, Wulluther as a benedict and Woquagun as a father. This may have been merely a coincidence, but it is nevertheless a fact.

In 1737 Woquagun was one of the grantors in a land sale in Berkshire county. Had this been twenty-five years earlier, one might feel justified in assuming that he was the same man who had made the earlier sales. But if he was old enough to sell land in 1636, he certainly was not living a hundred years later. And it could not have been his son, for there is ample indication that Squomp was his only child. Such pitfalls constantly menace the unwary.

The name of Avonunsk is of unusual interest. The suffix is of course the abbreviation of "squaw", commonly found in personal names, making a feminine form of adjective, and would have been pronounced Awonun-squaw, perhaps considerably slurred over.

In Captain John Mason's account of the Pequot War he relates that "an Indian was heard crying, 'Owanux, Owanux' meaning 'Englishman, Englishman'". The word "owanux" could have been better expressed by the use of an initial a rather than an e, but it is perfectly understandable. Mason's translation is quite figurative for the term could have as well been applied to a Frenchman or a Dutchman or even a Mohawk, the literal meaning being "strangers; foreigners". "The enemy, the enemy", would have been a pat expression.

Awonum comes from the same root. When Wrutherna sold his birthright in Springfield in 1636, he went north and joined the Norwottooks, and by marriage with their hereditary princess he became sachem of the "tribe". To his old friends and associates, including the Pynchons, this alien woman was Awonum-squaw, literally "the stranger"woman; the foreigner", as his adopted country was to them Norwottock, "the far away land".
It is a great pity that amongst all the New England Colleges no competent linguist has an interest in our native languages. Much could be gained from translating the personal and place names.

The east bounds of a certain tract bought of the Indians in the 17th century are given in the deed as from a known point on a river, northward to a hill, the Indian name of which is in a rather pure form and translates to read, "where the dead are buried". This translation is confirmed by the record of a court action regarding the land, where it is described as bounded "easterly by a straight line drawn northerly from the river to the graves". Here is virgin ground for the archaeologist. A small tract in Agawam was described as "over against the hill by the Indian fort". A tract in Westfield was described as "a meadow on the south side of the river which lies before the old fort". Here are intriguing suggestions for the hunter.

By the use of just such evidence were located the prehistoric village of the Agawans on the west side of the Connecticut and their Historic village and burial place on the east side.

Harry A. Wright

Sir:

I submitted to an able scholar in Maine a copy of my preceding letter to you, and have these comments, among others:

"You are right in saying that there might be two hundred Scaticocks, or two thousand. It was one of the commonest place-names. You don't say that the one near Albany was spelled (I think!) some sixty different ways, and probably every one of the other two thousand might have been almost as variously spelled. The Nipmucks and their bounds I don't know much about, but I do know that your Connecticut Valley place-names are far nearer to our Maine place-names than are those of central Massachusetts. Mr. William S. Cabot doesn't like to tackle our Maine place-names and I do not know enough to do much with his. I feel much more at home with yours on the Connecticut, and the way the Pocumtucks and others of that region went over to the Hudson river under Mohawk protection makes me feel that they originally belonged to the Mohicans".

William Pynchon and his son John could both converse freely with the natives of the Connecticut Valley, from at least Windsor, Conn. to Deerfield, Mass. On the "5 of the 5 month, 1649", William Pynchon sent a long letter to Thomas Dudley regarding some Indians at Naucetak, (now the Northampton-Hadley territory) who had killed some Quabauk (now Brookfield) Indians. Quabauk was of course in Nipmuck territory. During negotiations Pynchon "had a private conference" with Nippunsit
of the Naucotaks. "Thereupon Quacunquasit, one of the sachems of Quabaug and Nippunsit discoursed a long time, but neither I nor my son, for want of language, could understand their discourse".

Which clearly indicates a great dissimilarity in the language of the Nipmucks and those of the Valley.

Pynchon was fearful of meddling with the Naucatocks "because they were of Panshad's kindred who is a Maqua sachem. The Naucotak Indians are desperate spirits, for they have their dependence on the Mohawks or Maquas who are the terror of all Indians".

In Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. series 4, vol. 6 are three letters of Roger Williams referring to the "Wunnashowatuckoogs who are the furthest Neepnet men". The construction of the word is simple, yet sufficiently descriptive so that one familiar with the territory should be able to locate it and so determine one bound of the Nipmucks in 1637. Such identification would be far more constructive than would an arbitrary statement of the bounds while ignoring a wealth of documentary evidence.

Harry A. Wright.

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