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HISTORIC JOURNEYS OF PIONEER YEARS
SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND TRAILS AND ACTIVITIES

Harral Ayres

(Prefatory note: A large collection of pioneer records and documents has been published by the author, and because it is handier to refer to his book, "The Great Trail of New England," than to direct the reader to scattered libraries and archives the citations here are quite frequently the Great Trail (GT). Original sources are also cited when serviceable. The author has been careful to cite in the book all sources that he knew and include helpful information in addition.)

Many pioneer records of early explorations and journeys through the southern New England wilderness have been uncovered of late and they give us material by which we may now reconstruct much that is interesting of those first years of Indian friendship and English activity, and by which we may map the travel routes that facilitated the rapid occupation of southern New England, westward to and beyond the Connecticut.

Today the picture of the pioneer paths is clear. That they were wilderness arteries of the Indian is also clear. The records reveal the evident kindliness and cooperation of the red men and the openness of their country, and how all this helped the newcomers to extend their occupation and maintain their isolated settlements. (1)

Vistas are opened to further study that may and should bring out a rich understanding of that mingled Indian and pioneer period when New England was young; of the beginnings of New England's greatness and of the native character of the red men. Already seeds are in the planting — in August, 1944 Boy Scout directors sent a senior scout troop, well instructed and equipped, over the Old Connecticut Path from Boston to Hartford on a ten-day exploring and educational expedition, living and traveling in so far as the times permit, in the way in which those men, women and little children did three centuries ago when the Connecticut River valley was being settled. In Woodstock, Connecticut, a group is exploring and finding Indian and pioneer relics of the old paths. A new understanding should come from this awakening.

There were two extensive and well reported explorations of the inland country in the first decade of English settlement along the Connecticut, and now those reports which have lain buried for so long may be studied intelligently. Together they cover 350 miles of trails, and point to tributary trails, and supply information of primary value: (1) the Woodward and Saffery map of 1642—a map report based on direct exploration and inquiry; (2) the diary of John Winthrop, Jr., of 1645 wherein he recorded his daily observations of a 650 mile journey. The 1642 map shows the 140 miles of trails traveled by Woodward and Saffery from Boston to Providence, Windsor, Hartford and Springfield, and indicates the 90 mile Boston-Springfield trail — the Springfield Bay Path. The 1645 diary discloses the trails and supplies information regarding the route from Boston or Cambridge to Springfield, Hartford, Saybrook, New London, Stonington, Providence, and back to Boston, and makes record of connecting trails. In some sections, the map and the diary register the same path.

Both of those documents check and confirm each other, and together they outline the pioneer paths by which an empire was so rapidly dominated. They are source information and answer many questions of pioneer interest. The original map of 1642 appears as lost but its reconstruction is now essentially completed. The diary is preserved at the Yale library; preserved but not translated from its Latin nor its interesting story told. Now, however, the diary is translated, and has been checked with ground exploration and study and its information clarified for general use. (2)

I began the study of those documents in 1918. In the years that have passed, I have enjoyed fine cooperation yet it was not until around 1938 that we had enough information to understand the map or the diary. Today both may be read as forthright offerings of information provided three hundred years ago for common use.

(1) Ch. I, GT, shows the country as old-time reporters described it. The term "wilderness" is used to explain the wild country; not a country of brush and thickets but open and beautiful. The pioneers commonly used the term wilderness to designate the wild country.

(2) GT Chs. XIII and XIV, and the Documentary Introduction, for the map and the diary; also the Index.
Woodward and Saffery Map

The 1642 map calls for further study. Woodward and Saffery were commissioned in 1642 to define the boundary between the new colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. With equipment and assistants, they proceeded overland from Boston to Providence, Windsor, Hartford and Springfield, and they appear to have returned by Providence. Although this contradicts statements published in the past, I state it definitely because in about 1936 we discovered a court record of 1672 that throws a flood of light on the procedure of those commissioners, and this court record and my exploratory studies are in agreement. (3) From their surveys, field notes and inquiries they made a map to show not only the boundary line but the travel routes of that territory then so much in the public mind. A free-hand copy of the 1642 map is at the Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston, inscribed as filed there in 1821. (4) Some errors appear. Several reproductions of that 1821 copy have been published; each shows errors. How many mistakes have crept in with these many copies or copies of copies, is matter for consideration. However, the map information has been quite thoroughly analysed and reconciled.

Those commissioners and their map have been discredited by historians. The boundary they fixed was incorrect. Boundary disputes and new surveys continued over a long period. But the trails they traveled were mapped from their field notes, and the landmarks and notable features along those trails were well depicted. The boundary disputes do not affect the trails nor the geographical features by which they are registered.

The map is now readable. It should not be discredited. Its information comes from men employed to explore and report. It shows by symbols and inscriptions trail features such as lakes, ponds, creeks, rivers, hills, woodlands, etc., and also gives mileage, and gives positions by astronomical reckoning. It was a travel guide. Today we can recast primitive pathways by the aid of those map and diary records.

Possibly one reason why the map has been mistreated is that it is drawn upside down — north at the bottom, east at the left. You get wheels in your head trying to read it. There is another upside down map of those pioneer years: the Chandler map of Mohegan Bounds, 1705; a Connecticut court record in the case of Mohegan lands and boundaries. (5) This was so confusing I engaged an engineer to reverse the Chandler map for me; he made many mistakes and laughingly gave up the job. So I am not facetious when I say those maps give the beholder a mental run-around. (6)

I have had the 1642 map reversed, stated like modern maps. Now it reads easily and normally. (7) Diagrammatically, it is the same. The inscriptions, however, were first checked with every known copy, then cross-checked by field exploration, and other data. (8) This re-stated map is a reasonably correct reproduction of the original of 1642. All this was necessarily tedious and costly; the re-stated map and so much work were warranted only if care was exercised in the exploratory studies and by the draftsman. Yet this should not rest until it can be accepted with full confidence.

The Callicott testimony breathes life into that map-report; it establishes it as a realistic document. Richard Callicott was a member of the exploring staff in 1642, in 1672 he gave his testimony. More than one copy of the map may have been made; it was a map of that wilderness and the pioneer travelers needed its information. Incidentally, the Callicott testimony dispenses with the incredible statements in histories that those commissioners went around to Connecticut by water, and, inferentially, did a lot of guessing.

The Thayer Lithograph of the Woodward and Saffery Map

Here is one prize mystery about the 1642 map. I hope someone can solve it. I have mentioned the apparent carelessness inherent in the free-hand copy at the Massachusetts Archives. The filing inscription reads:


(4) Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 34, 3d ser., 15. GT, ch. XIII.

(5) Connecticut State Library, Hartford. Also GT 43.

(6) Have asked the National Geographical Society and the U.S. Geodetic Survey, Washington, and others, for explanation of such maps; replies vague.

(7) GT 24.

(8) Copies of 1642 map in Ammidown’s Historical Collections, 1874; Bowen’s Boundary Disputes, 1882; Quinebaug Historical Society leaflets, Sturbridge, Mass., 1901; Wright and DeForest maps, Springfield, 1911.
"Copy of an old plan or map in Secy. office -- which is probably also a copy -- & which has been lent to the commission to run line between this State & Connecticut -- Feb. 17, 1821. A. Bradford, Secy. of Com."

(9)

This appears to have been the only copy at the Archives in 1874 or 1888 or 1919, dates on which I have checks. Recently we have found another reproduction at the Archives that appears to be a careful and quite correct copy but the source-copy of this reproduction has not been found. It is a well-executed hand-engraved lithograph, made apparently around 1851-52 or 53. It is not a copy of the 1821 copy; it has characteristics that indicate another and better source. The Archives office has no record regarding it.

The lithograph bears the signature, "B. W. Thayer's Lith. Boston." It has the earmarks of authenticity. Boston directories for 1851-52-53 show "Benj. W. Thayer & Co., lithographers & engravers, 204 Washington St." After 1853, Thayer appears in other business. (10) So it seems those lithos were issued around that time -- but the directory record is not complete assurance. However, the litho indicates the existence then of an original or a good copy of the 1642 map, and that it was used for the lithographing in preference to the earless copy presumably in the Archives since 1821.

Where is the Thayer original? What reason could there have been for the cost of engraving, printing and distributing a lithograph? The Thayer litho is so well executed it seems apparent the source-copy was valued. Could it have been that the litho engraving and printing were an effort to preserve and communicate those map values? Lithographing presumes mass production. Are there other copies anywhere?

I have often experienced the thrill of finding an old document or priceless data at a library after many futile searches. Historical material of the far-distant past, not in current use, gets laid away and dead to knowledge, and perhaps indexed under an elusive caption, and so not easily brought to light. As a rule, library personnel is helpful; if it were not, much priceless old material would remain buried. I still have letters and reports of 1919 from Albert P. Langtry, then Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and John H. Edmonds, his Chief of the Archives, when they helped graciously with researches, and have been to the Archives office many times since 1919 and received good cooperation, yet it was not until about 1938 that the Thayer litho and the Callicott court record were found and their significance realized.

Somewhere in some library that Thayer source-copy of the Woodward and Saffery map is sleeping. And somewhere also there must be other copies of that litho, and of records relating to it. It seems incredible that all those lithographs, and all record of the product, should be completely lost.

The researches of 1919 directed by Mr. Langtry revealed no evidence of the Thayer litho then at the Archives. Mr. Langtry's report to me, August 26, 1919, carries this:

"The Woodward & Saffery plan ... is probably the copy made in 1818 from a copy made from the original about 1752. An original plan in the British Museum has been reproduced in facsimile in Hurlburt's Crown Collection of American Maps. A photostat copy of this can be obtained from the Library of Congress which may differ in some details from the hand-made copies and give some clue to the information you are seeking."

The Library of Congress advises it does not find the Woodward & Saffery map of 1642 in the Hurlburt Collection. Have made no inquiry at the British Museum. Observe, Mr. Langtry indicates the Archives plan (the so-called 1821 copy) "is probably the copy made in 1818," etc.

I include the foregoing for any value it may possess. It is regrettable that a custodian of papers and records like the Massachusetts Archives does not maintain a dependable file of factual information respecting its documents.

The 1637 Journey and the Providence Path

The Woodward and Saffery map supplies the key to the Providence way between Boston and Hartford. The Winthrop diary supplies information that checks the Great Trail (Old Connecticut Path). And both the map and the diary let the light in on another centuries-old historical blackout while subsequent records, now published, confirm those early documents.

Governor Winthrop entered in his

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(9) Bradford was Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1812-24.


(11) See GT ch. XIII, more about Thayer and map.
Journal, August 5, 1637, the arrival in Boston of groups of notables from Connecticut. The Pequot War had been fought in May-June, 1637. Massachusetts leaders and troops aided the imperiled colonists in that war. Some troops went to Connecticut by water; others went overland. The wilderness paths had become well-known thoroughfares. Sometime in July a considerable group left Connecticut, presumably Hartford and thereabouts, for Boston; the Winthrop Journal preserves the record as follows:

"Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came, with Mr. Wilson, from Connecticut by Providence; and the same day, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pinchon and about twelve more came the ordinary way by land." (12)

This record is so early, but one year after the mass settlement of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, and Winthrop referred to the travel routes so casually, it has been recognized that those routes were the ancient "high ways" and that the identification of them was fundamentally important. From time without memory, that Winthrop Journal entry has mystified students of pioneer times. Now it is clear, and fits clearly into the whole picture. The Providence Path through Connecticut and Rhode Island is well defined, and ground explorers can locate it. Ground controls are shown in detail on the Woodward and Saffery map of 1642. The old highway from Providence through by Mowsanocket Lake, the Whetstone Brook, Killingly and Abington, is essentially the old trail course. West of Abington, or Phoenixville, and on to Hartford, the present highway, and the old trail differ. The Woodward and Saffery map and the modern topographical survey map check against each other very well. A number of Indian sites have been located along the course of the old trail, or near to it.

Finally, another old-time record, preserved since 1718, confirms the ancient path. Judge Sam Sewell kept a diary while out on circuit court service, Boston to Rhode Island, to Killingly, Hartford, Springfield, and back to Boston. September 13, 1718, he entered his travel route (and interesting detail) as from Providence to Killingly, thence to Woodstock to spend the Sabbath. Monday, his route to Hartford is recorded. Many pioneer items are checked by that diary.

Killingly is the old Indian and pioneer crossing place of the Quinebaug and the Five Mile rivers. Whetstone Brook (the Whetstone Country) was valued by Indians for its stone for their implements. (13)

The "ordinary way" that Ludlow, Pinchon and some twelve others traveled was the Connecticut Trail (Great Trail, Old Connecticut Path, Hooker Trail, Mishmeyagat (14) of the Indians, and other names born of its preeminence). John Winthrop the Younger made entries in his diary of 1645 that confirm the Connecticut Trail as "the ordinary way," and he made an entry at the lakes at Webster, Massachusetts, that it was there "the soldiers were wont to cross over to Monheggen." By Monheggen he referred to southern Connecticut, and the soldiers were the Massachusetts troops to the Pequot War, and possibly patrol troops after the war ended. The Webster lake was the midland and historic control on that Great Trail. The lake in pioneer years was known as Chaubunagungamaug, variously spelled; in present years, it is the lake with the long name, a modern invention; in 1645, Winthrop termed it "the lakes of Quabage"—there are three lakes, and they were in the Quabag country. (15)

The Pioneer System of Paths

The system of Indian thoroughfares that became the pioneer paths of southern New England may be roughly stated as follows.

The Great Trail was the stem of the system; it was the path of the Connecticut pioneers, "the ordinary way." In due time it extended from Boston via the Hartford settlements to New Haven and New York; then in its greatest sense it was the Great Trail. It became, in 1672, the route of the first Post Rider, the birth-way of the first parcel and letter delivery system in English America, the cradle of the American post-office service. (16) When new settlements brought new paths, and that direct and well-placed wilderness way became a memory, history recorded it as the Old Connecticut Path.

Between Boston and Hartford, the path

(12) Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, pastor and assistant at the Hartford church, and outstanding leaders in Connecticut. John Wilson, pastor at Boston; he had been with the Massachusetts troops in the war against the Pequots. Roger Ludlow, a founder of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and an Assistant of the Bay Colony; and a founder of Windor, and Lt. Governor of Connecticut. William Pynchon, founder of Springfield.

(13) GT 351-58, 141.

(14) "Great Path," Roger Williams Key, 1843 p.68.

(15) GT 356, 342, 363. The Webster lake and name, GT 163 et seq.

(16) GT ch. XV, for historic records. The Post Rider began in mid-January.
in Massachusetts crossed over Cochituate Lake near Framingham and the Chaubunaguanumauk Lakes at Webster. (17) Thence through Woodstock and Tolland in Connecticut to Lake Shenipsit, then to the Windsor ferry and Hartford — later to Hartford by a Hartford ferry. The Post Rider traveled monthly from New York to New Haven, Hartford and Boston, and return.

The Old Bay Path branched westward from the Webster lake to Springfield. The historic Nipmuck Path branched southward at Woodstock, down the Little River valley to Norwich, then on to the Sachemdom of Unocoas at Mohegan Hill, then New London (first called Pequot), and on to Nameaug the Indian salt-water resort on the Sound.

The path from Boston to Providence, Stonington and New London, was the Ancient Path to Pequot south from Providence. John Winthrop, Jr., returned to Boston that way and his diary gives interesting records.

The cross-country connection between Providence and the Hartford settlements was the Providence path depicted on the 1642 map. This path crossed the Nipmuck Path in Abington, Connecticut, and merged with the Great Trail somewhere near the Willimantic River, then over that trail to the Connecticut River.

Those were the primary, and at this moment the most historic, wilderness arteries through which the life-blood of the new world coursed so freely. Other paths tributary to this system may in time have their story told and their place in history understood.

The Winthrop diary directs attention to another trail that quite likely was a primary way of the Indians but which did not become a common way of the pioneers, viz.: north-south through the Quabaug country, near or through Sturbridge, through Stafford Springs (Indian medicine springs) to the falls at Willimantic, connecting there with the trail to the falls at Norwich, thence the Nipmuck Path (locally, Mohegan Path) to New London area and Namaug, Indian salt-water resort. This trail is not well studied.

Sketches of Historic Journeys

I think we can now clothe those paths with living interest if I conclude with sketches of the journeys over them by Indians and the English in those first years of the white man’s colonization and the red man’s cooperation. By a gracious providence, many papers are preserved to portray and embellish the pioneer story. Today we can fit those records together and get the picture of those dynamic years when Indian friendship and hospitality gave free movement to the newcomers and the white man’s Jehovah gave them courage to go out and conquer the wilderness.

January, 1631. The first notable journey was by Indians, and that was a journey of hardship to give relief to starving and dying people of an alien race. I know of nothing finer in history than that long walk through New England winter weather to carry food to strangers sixty miles away — and it was another sixty miles back to their homes again.

The manifestation of the Brotherhood of Man is finer than devotion to the Fatherhood of God. One connotes helpfulness; the other, dependence. Brotherly helpfulness comes from a Godly heart.

In that first cold, hard winter around Boston, some 300 colonists died from starvation and exposure and many returned to England. Food was exhausted, suffering was severe. They that survived fought it out with spiritual fortitude. We revere them for their faith and courage. Let us also revere the natives for what they did.

Sixty miles away at Wabaquasset, now Woodstock, Connecticut, a focal point on the Great Trail, Indians learned of the suffering at Boston, and they carried corn through the biting winter weather. At best it may have been a three-days’ journey with unaccustomed packs to carry. It is recognized that Indians were not burden bearers nor laborers. Moreover, the suffering strangers were not an Indian responsibility. The record of their action is well reported. The fineness of the action should be well remembered.

Through the years that followed, those Wabaquasses continued their friendly fellowship. Travel flowed freely over the Path through their lands and partook of their hospitality; if unfriendliness had prevailed, the story of the Connecticut Trail would have been a sad one. The Wabaquasses lived to see the race they had befriended crowd them from their homes and heritage while they passed into the shadows. In August, 1944, when the Boy Scouts went over the Old Trail, the Great Sachem’s wigwam which was 20 by 60 ft. had been reconstructed on Wabaquasset Hill and white men gathered there to honor the red man’s memory. (18)

(17) The lakes were "crossed over" at a narrows where fording was easy.

(18) See GT 208-10 for records and references. The corn was perhaps carried in January; on February 5, 1631, the ship Lyon reached Boston loaded with provisions.
Spring, 1631. But a few months after the Wabaquasset aid to the Boston Settlers. Indian lords of the Connecticut River clans journeyed overland to the Bay to invite the English to their country. Winthrop records this in his Journal, April 4, 1631. (19) Wahginnacut, a Sachem of the clan "and divers of his sannops" composed that embassy. Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield were destined to be planted in Wahginnacut's country on lands those Indians were to cede. The Great Trail that lay through the Wabaquasset country extended to the Connecticut in Wahginnacut's country and thus the new Connecticut settlements found their place and an Indian thoroughfare became an historic path.

We do not have a record of Wahginnacut's journey but we do have Winthrop's record of their arrival at Boston and other interesting details.

Intelligence and shrewdness must be granted to those Connecticut Indians who planned that trip to the Bay; and intelligence must also be granted to them for their shrewd method of approach to the Governor of the newcomers, for this also may be observed in the Winthrop record.

It is true the Connecticut Indians invited the English as a protection against the warring Pequots but this does not lessen the soundness of their planning nor the friendliness of their interest. When the time came, four and five years later, for those great migrations from the Bay to the Connecticut, that friendly interest of the river clans and of the Wabaquasses must have extended to all red men along that wilderness thoroughfare, for the record is of rapid movement of many people, livestock and goods across that hundred miles of wild country with no implications of difficult travel conditions. (20)

1633. Two years later Natawanute, another Sachem of the Connecticut Indians, is reported at the Bay seeking again to enlist the interest of the English. Plymouth was interested; the Bay leaders were opposed. Natawanute was returned to his country by Plymouth when they sent a trading house around by water and planted it at the present Windsor. From 1633 on, numerous records tell of the growing interest in that distant valley. There is not space here to weave in all the revelations of exploring and colonizing interest nor of the path that made the Connecticut so easy to reach. (21)

September 4, 1633. The John Oldham exploring trip, with three other men, to Connecticut and return, has often been discussed in historical writings. It was not exceptional; it is only that after Oldham's return Winthrop made the Journal record with interesting details that historians have sought to clarify. The significant part for this study is that the record says "The Sachem used them kindly" and that "He lodged at Indian towns all the way." Again the Indian hospitalities are in the evidence, and also the implications of Indian living along the trail.

1635. This year the colonists were pouring into that Connecticut Valley. Indian grants for the three towns were arranged, apparently. Records show of overland treks summer and winter, and distress because housing, and provisions could not keep pace with the volume of people and livestock. (22)

The Connecticut Trail by then must have been a well-worn path.

June, 1636. The Hooker pilgrimage. Governor Winthrop recorded that historic movement of a whole town with classical simplicity:

"Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church of Newton, and most of his congregation, went to Connecticut. His wife was carried in a horse litter; and they drove one hundred and sixty cattle, and fed of their milk by the way." (23)

Some ten days, it is believed, were spent on that hundred-mile journey. Winthrop doesn't express any misgivings. Travel conditions are not questioned in the many records.

Along the Old Trail in Massachusetts and Connecticut, legends still live of that long but memorable trek of Thomas Hooker and his people. The whole town and church removed to Connecticut and founded Hartford near the villages of those Connecticut Indians, and near to where their great path crossed the river. The abandoned Newton became Cambridge, and the home of Harvard, and there now is a monument to Thomas Hooker memorializes that historic tradition.

(19) Reproduced, GT 108.
(20) GT ch. II reconstructs that journey and portrays Indian life.
(21) GT chs. III and IV.
(22) Ibid. Connecticut fixes 1635 as the settlement dates.
The Hooker migration has been pictured in history as a fearful adventure through hitherto unknown country. (24) The records neither support nor suggest anything like it.

1637. By early spring of 1637 there were, it is said, nearly 800 people in the Connecticut settlements and livestock to the value of many thousands of pounds sterling.

The Indian country between the Bay and the Connecticut remained a friendly and hospitable country for many years but in southern Connecticut the Pequots were unfriendly. Early in 1637 they began attacks on the settlers and the Pequot War resulted. Connecticut mobilized. Massachusetts sent troops and distinguished leaders. May 26, about 800 Pequots were destroyed in their stockade near Mystic. The remainder were pursued westward through southern Connecticut. The war soon ended, except possibly patrols were kept on guard duty.

August 5, 1637, we get the record of the arrival in Boston of notable leaders — Hooker and Stone of Hartford, Ludlow of Windsor, Pynchon of Springfield. John Wilson, pastor at Boston, arrived with them. Some twelve others were in the party; some traveled by Providence, and others by the Connecticut Trail.

Thus, early in history, the Providence Way comes into the picture and with distinction. That path is rich in its Indian and pioneer background. Students will find it a fertile field. (25)

1642. This year the previously discussed Woodward and Saffery survey and map were completed. The paths of that map are Boston to Providence; Providence to the Connecticut; Hartford to Springfield; Boston to Springfield. The junction of the path from Plymouth is shown north of Providence. (26)

1645. Brilliant John Winthrop the Younger traveled the great circuit, Boston—New London—Providence—Boston, 280 miles in the twenty-five days between November 11 and December 5, 1645, in stormy freezing weather, with a man as companion and a horse to carry their packs. Occasionally an Indian wigwam or a settler's cabin gave them refuge from the winter's inhospitality. He left to posterity an historic diary, rich in the information it gives. Most of it appears to have been written as he traveled and camped in the wilderness. The trails, the works of the pioneers in their primitive settings, the travel handicaps, the storms, and news about Indians and Englishmen, all pase in review. The diary, with full and careful exposition, and with the tie-in with other records and factual information, is now translated from its Latin, and published, and accessible for common use. It is a fine record of an epic exploration. (27)

Winthrop's travels included the Great Trail to the Webster lake, then the Bay Path to Springfield. The Springfield-Hartford path, and from Hartford to Saybrook. Saybrook to New London (New London was founded the next year as Pequot; the Indian paths led to the New London beaches, the Nameaug of the Indians). From New London through by Stonington and historic Worden's Pond to Providence, it was the ancient, historic Pequot Path. Providence to Boston; local historians know best about that old trail.

1647. It is in the records that Roger Williams owned land in Windsor, and often visited there and at Hartford. The Providence Path was the logical route for such travels, and for points beyond Hartford. Williams is quoted as writing about Windsor: "It lies in the way of the Bay and all comers here and to the towns southward come this way." Fragmentary records point to princely entourages of Miantonomo and other Indian lords of early years.

The foregoing is not well proven; it is more a suggestion that the Providence Path is an interesting field for the student of the pioneer and the Indian. (See ante.)

1668. May 9 a treaty of allegiance was signed by Nipmuck chieftains. The Nipmuck country reached far westward in Massachusetts. The Great Sachemdom of the Nipmucks was Hassanamesit, in South Grafton. Wutasskompauin was the chief ruler, a prince of the blood, and he signed that treaty as overlord, the others signing as subordinates. Five of the seven Indian towns whose rulers signed were Great Trail

(24) Hutchinson's History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1760, p. 45; 1774, p. 53. And sundry subsequent histories. GT ch. V.

(25) See ante.

(26) GT ch. XIII; also Documentary Introduction.

(27) See ante, also GT ch. XIV.
towns, from Hassanamesit to Wabaquasset; the remaining two are unknown. This shows how Indian authority was identified with that Indian thoroughfare. The treaty may be found in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 30, 146.

Records of Indian life in that midland country are invariably found identified with that path. In 1675, new treaties were signed and again those Great Trail towns, are shown as the seats of authority. (28)

1672. This is the year the American postal service was born. The Great Trail was the postman's route, and the New England Post Rider blazed a more glorious page in history than the Pony Express in the West centuries later -- April 3, 1860 to late October, 1861. The Post Rider started in mid-January, not gentle springtime, for that overland service for "letters and Pacquets" by prepaid post, New York - New Haven-Hartford-Boston, and return, monthly. New York fathered the service but New England nurtured and schooled it with a resolute determination. The Great Trail cradled it.

Records of those historic beginnings are preserved, and the wisdom and forthrightness of the founders are an inspiring study. (28) An official report of 1704 says that then there was "no other post upon all this continent." (30) Again let me say, it was New England leadership that kept this Post alive despite the hardship and handicaps that plagued the service.

1670-74. John Eliot, distinguished as New England's "Apostle to the Indians," had now extended his Christian Indian Towns along the Great Trail. His reports of 1670 and previously, and the reports of his associate, Major Gookin, in 1674, are rich in spirit and detail. Eliot's writings are beautiful reading; Gookin's are the factual records of a careful reporter.

In 1671, Eliot established an Indian church and training school at Hassanamesit, the Nipmuck Sachemdom on the Great Trail near the Blackstone River, and that was the power house for the missions westward. Of Hassanamesit, Eliot wrote: "There lived their Progenitors, and there lieth their Inheritance." We have much interesting information about that Nipmuck capital and the Christian and kindly cooperation of its rulers and people.

In 1674, Eliot and Gookin made an inspection trip westward through their Christian towns to Wabaquasset. Gookin's reports are comprehensive. The products and provisions grown at Hassanamesit and at Wabaquasset are specially reported. At Wabaquasset, the Sachem's wigwam was 30 by 60 ft. It seems evident that those Indian towns were hospitable wayside stations along the trail. The friendship and hospitality of those red men still prevailed. (31)

1675-76, King Philip's War. Cotton Mather once declared, "We had a tradition that the country could never perish so long as Eliot lived." But the chords of harmony had grown taut, and down near Providence they snapped. Apparently Christian and Great Trail Indians tried, in general, to remain on the English side but the war spread and tangled all relations.

Waban, a leader in Eliot's missions, supplied information of the impending conflict. Numerous other acts of cooperation or neutrality are related. (32)

1675, July. Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, seated below Norwich, Connecticut, sent an embassy to Boston to offer Mohegan aid against the hostile warriors. The Mohegan princes and their entourage traveled up the Nipmuck Path to Woodstock, then the Great Trail to Boston. The offer of alliance approved, the Massachusetts leaders gave the Mohegans an escort back to their country. Ephraim Curtis led that escort and his report is in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 67, 214. At Wabaquasset, the Mohegans "were very willing" to go on alone, "and returned thanks to Mr. Governor and to all," etc. Curtis reports their route; they traveled the Great Trail.

Promptly, fifty Mohegans led by sons of Uncas reported to the authorities in Massachusetts. (33)

Many war reports that followed show how the familiar trails were used.

Winter, 1675-76. One more war picture and this chapter can close. It was important to know what the hostiles, then

(28) GT 249, 252.
(29) GT ch. XV.
(30) GT 414.
(31) GT 233-48
(32) GT 252.
(33) GT 252-58
encamped in western Massachusetts, were up to. Christian Indians of Eliot's Godly empire were solicited to go among them and learn. It was a dangerous task. Even those friendly Indians were then being mistreated by the frightened colonists, yet two noted chiefs accepted the inspecting mission—uncle, Job Kettlemann of Magunkaquog (Ashland) and the other, James Quanapchit of Natick. Magunkaquog and Natick are historic places on the Old Trail.

With only hatchets and a little parched meal, characteristic Indian equipment, they set out from Natick, December 31, 1675, and traveled the Great Trail and the Bay Path to the Brimfield-Brookfield country in Massachusetts, thence to the hostile camp. Here we have mid-winter for the journey and its dangers. They succeeded in their mission and proved their loyalty and character, and their report was recorded and preserved as a record in history. (34)

Forty years had passed since the great migrations had gone across the land to war, settlers and primitive country. There were no cartways for the transport of goods from Massachusetts to Salem, the administration center, school and church for the Christian towns westward along the Great Trail and adjacent to it. Wabaquasset, a noted sachemdom. There were other Christian towns; these are specially distinguished. Some day in some way these sites should be memorialized that the Godly works of the white men and the finer qualities of the red men may never be forgotten.

The Mettle of the Pioneers

I often wonder if any of us today could or would match the fortitude of those forebears of ours of three centuries ago. As those old records unfold, I think I can see why that was a great era and why men look back on it and feel the spell of a force and spirit we cannot express.

Next year, November-December, 1945, will be the tercentenary of that 280-mile exploration of the younger Winthrop around the Great Circle. Will men of next year go out and re-stage that journey through the freezing weather and sleeting gales, and forage as he and his man and his horse did, and thus memorialize a phase of the New England conquest?

Will men now walk sixty miles in midwinter over the Great Trail from Wabaquasset to the Bay to carry food to starving strangers as the Wabaquasset did?

Will Boy Scouts some springtime re-enact the journey of Waghettiacut and his Indian entourage from Connecticut to Salem and Boston, as was done in 1633? Yes, that could be pleasant in springtime.

June of each year is the anniversary of the epic migration of Thomas Hooker and his flock, of people of all classes and their livestock and their belongings. Could that be re-enacted today, in whole or in part? Their God helped them, and the same God still lives! The Indians helped them, but the Indians are gone!

Some 800 went in two years across that long trail. By what miracle were they housed, and their livestock protected against the New England winter that comes so early and lasts so long? That was raw and primitive country. There were no cartways for the transport of goods from

Along the Great Trail are four places of historic distinction that are remembered for their importance in mission and Indian annals. Natick, the administration center and plantation. Magunkaquog, noted landmark in Ashland, near Hopkinton. Hassannemset, in later years Hassanamisco, the Great Sachemdom of the Nipmucks, and location of the administration center, school and church for the Christian towns westward along the Great Trail and adjacent to it. Wabaquasset, a noted sachemdom. There were other Christian towns; these are specially distinguished. Some day in some way these sites should be memorialized that the Godly works of the white men and the finer qualities of the red men may never be forgotten.

HISTORIC JOURNEYS OF PIONEER YEARS

(34) CT 260-62.
(35) De Forest, Indians of Connecticut, 1851, 252.
anywhere. Small coastal vessels could cross the bar and ascend the river but few had been built, and records of wrecks while rounding Cape Cod are reminders of the hazards of that transport. And when the ice formed even boats were denied. They went knowingly to that primitive land where only till could supply, and somehow they provided and survived.

Not the New England fathers alone, but the New England mothers and their families around them. The women faced those ordeals -- the days and nights on the trail and the rapid preparation for the approaching winter. They mothered the family; they improvised a thousand ways until things could be made; they gave birth to children and nursed and doctored them; they cooked the meals, tended stock, nursed the sick, helped bury the dead; they wove homespun and made clothes; a thousand chores fell their way -- they too helped build a new world and a new civilization.

Something more than a dead museum is needed to keep bright the memory of the life and courage of the pioneer women!

It was in summer's heat that those distinguished men left Connecticut for Boston, some by Providence and some by the ordinary way overland. That was 1637, the year following the great migrations. Will men today or could men today spend those days and nights out, as they did, and thus dramatize a rededication to the spirit that those men exemplified! At the unfinished homes, the women carried on while the men were long away.

Will Boy Scouts in some July of some coming year or every year leave Mohegan Hill in Connecticut and be Mohegan ambassadors once again and convey to Boston the offer of Uncas for Mohegans to serve with the British in the war against King Philip's warring Indians? That embassy from Uncas traveled up the Nipmuck Path and over the Great Trail to Boston, and returned that way. Then a troop of Mohegan warriors went to Massachusetts in fulfillment of the alliance.

The Mohegans did more than send fighting men. They taught the English how to stalk and outwit Indians. They saved Connecticut from the ravages of war and hastened the end in Massachusetts. That royal Indian embassy to Boston symbolizes the period when the Indians were near the end of the trail.

Will any man today re-stage the Post Rider's service in some wintry January over the long trail, or even Hartford to Boston and return, and carry the packs that constituted the service they inaugurated, and live off the land as they did in 1672? We do not know how the Post Rider crossed the rivers, nor how he foraged in that wild and frozen country, nor how often he found a settler's cabin between the scattered settlements. We do know that the Post Rider's daring and New England's resolute persistence sustained and built the service in times that tried men's souls, and that a New York Governor planned that service with a keen wisdom, and that a good providence preserved those remarkable documents that stated the principles to govern it.

In all of that we can see again something of the strength and fortitude of the New England pioneers!

The Pony Express was but a flash on a page in history yet a monument has been erected, a museum created, a commemorative stamp issued, a modern 18 months was its period in life. That ancient Post Rider's service extended through primitive generations.

Sparta, New Jersey
June, 1944

HABITATIONS, SUMMER AND WINTER SITES, AND REASONS FOR SAME

Charles F. Sherman

Descriptions of the Indians, as they originally appeared have been left by many of the early adventurers: among others by Verrazzano, who first saw them on the coast of New Jersey, Staten Island, Block Island and then Newport 24 years before Henry Hudson discovered the Hudson River in 1523.

At Newport, Verrazzano visited with the Indians 15 days from April 20th to May 6th during which time he found them very hospitable and liberal. So much so that all they had they gave away. He formed great friendships with them.

He says, "Many times we were from five to six leagues inland, which we found as pleasing as it can be to narrate, adapted to every kind of cultivation grain, wine, oil. Because in that place the fields are from 25 to 30 leagues wide, open and devoid of every impediment of trees, of such fertility that any seed in them would produce the best crops. Entering them into the woods, all of which are penetrable by any numerous army in any way whatsoever, and
whose trees, oaks, cypress and others, are unknown to our Europe. Going further, we saw their habitations, circular in form, of 14 to 16 paces compass, (about 12 feet in diameter) made from 12 posts of the bay and the season in which they live. Carrying away only the mats, immediately they have other habitations made. Their food is like the others: of pulse (which they produce with more system of culture than the others, observing the full moon, the rising of the Pleiades and many customs of the ancients), also of the chase and fish. Being supplied with our every necessity, the 6th of May we departed from said port."

From this article we learn that they were agriculturists, their woods were free of undergrowth and that they moved their houses at different seasons according to the wealth and abundance of the site, which would be food, fuel and water. Although this is a short description of their dwellings, it gives the approximate diameter which is not given by any other early record, and we learn that the woods, which writers 110 years later tell us were cleared by fire, were free from underbrush and low hanging limbs at this date. As he fails to mention any planting at this time, we may assume that the Indians hadn't started their crops and their houses were still at their winter sites, as he mentions the open woods, "and going further we saw their habitations." As he left May 6th, it wasn't too late to plant corn and beans. Perhaps the visit of those strange, white men caused them to postpone even the preparation of the soil. Eighty-one years later Champlain crossed down the coast and writes of seeing many villages along the shore from the Saco River to Nauset. All these may be the same that he saw during his exploration and their habitations were in the growing corn fields, this exploration was from June 20 to July 25, 1605.

Near the Saco River Champlain says "They till and cultivate the soil, something we have not hitherto observed. In place of ploughs they use an instrument of very hard wood, shaped like a spade. We saw their Indian corn, which they raise in gardens. Planting 3 or 4 kernels in one place they then heap up about it a quantity of earth with shells of the Signac (horsefoot crab). Then 3 feet distant they planted as much more, and thus in succession. With this corn, they put in each hill 3 or 4 Brazilian beans, which are of different colors. When they grow they interlace with the corn which reaches the height of 5 or 6 feet; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw there, many squashes and pumpkins and tobacco which they likewise cultivate. They plant their corn in May and gather it in September.

Champlain coasted along to Cape Ann which he named Island Cape. Here one of the savages drew a supplement to his map of Island Cape and the bay, placing a river, the Merrimack, in the bay, and drawing the bay of Massachusetts where he placed 6 pebbles denoting 6 tribes. The savages told him that all those inhabiting this country cultivated the land and sowed seeds like the others, whom they had seen before. Half a league further they went ashore at a place pointed out by an Indian running along the shore, which proved to be a settlement. The people here used birch bark canoes. Several eight leagues West South West they anchored near an island. All along the shore there is a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian corn. The canoes of those who lived here were made of a single piece. (Dugouts)

After passing Boston Harbor they anchored at a cape which they named St. Louis.

"Those we sent ashore brought us some small squashes as big as a fist, which we ate as a salad, like cucumbers which we found very good. We saw here a great many houses, scattered over the fields where they plant their Indian corn. The next day we doubled Cape St. Louis, a land rather low and in latitude 42°-45' (actually 42°-5''). The same day we sailed two leagues along a sandy coast, as we passed along we saw a great many cabins and gardens. The wind being contrary we entered a little bay".... Plymouth Harbor. He drew a map of this harbor showing the corn fields and houses. The Indians who had been fishing from canoes used hooks made of pieces of wood to which they attached a bone in the shape of a fish with hemp. The line was made from the bark of a tree. This hemp grew to the height of 4 or 5 feet and they didn't have to cultivate it.

The 20th of July they entered Nauset harbor which they found very spacious, being perhaps three or four leagues in circuit, entirely surrounded by little houses around each of which there was as much land as the occupant needed for support.

"Ten of us went ashore... We went about a league along the coast. Before reaching the cabins, we entered a field planted to Indian corn in the manner above described. The corn was in flower and five and one-half feet high. There was some less advanced which they plant later. We saw Brazilian beans, and many squashes of various sizes, very good for eating, some tobacco and roots which they cultivate the latter tasting like artichoke. There
were several fields entirely uncultivated, the land being allowed to remain fallow. When they wish to plant it they set fire to the weeds, and then work it over with their wooden spades. Their cabins are round and covered with a heavy thatch made of reeds. In the roof there is an opening of about a foot and a half whence the smoke from the fire passes out.... They gave us a large quantity of tobacco which they dry and then reduce to powder. When they eat Indian corn, they boil it in earthen pots, which they make in a different way than ours. They dry it also in wooden mortars and reduce it to flour, of which they make cakes."

In June, 1620, 15 years later nearly to a day, Capt. Desert sailed down the coast from Monashagan over this same course and found "some ancient plantations not long since populous, now utterly void, in other places remnants remain but not free from sloopness." He landed at Plymouth, with Tisquantun and, with Mischac, marched to Nemasket where he met two kings who came from Poconkot to meet him.

Six months later, a band of English men were ranging about trying to find the natives whose corn they had just confiscated. In the corn field where they found the storage pit full of corn they also found 4 or 5 planks where a cabin had been removed. Two sailors coming from the shore accidently found two of these houses which the others hadn't seen, although they had passed within a flight shot from them. This leads one to think they were winter houses. They had been removed from the open field to an adjoining thicket. Winslow's description of these wigwams, which had been recently occupied, is the best up to this date.

"The houses were made with long, young sapling trees, bended and both ends stuck in the ground. They were made round like unto an arbor, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open. The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trenches knocked into the ground; and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots and what they had to seethe. Round about the fire they lay on mats; which are their beds. The houses were double matted, for as they were matted without; so were they within, with newer and fivelayer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays and dishes; earthen pots; hand baskets made of crab shells wrought together; also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears. There were also baskets of sundry sizes, one bigger and three lesser, finer and some coarser. Some were curiously wrought with black and white in pretty works: and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet stuck up in the houses, hart's horns and eagles claws, and sundry like things, there was; also two or three heavy thatch made of reeds, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass and a little tobacco seed; with some other seeds which we knew not. Without, were sundry bundles of flags, and sedges, bulrushes, Reeds and other plants to make matts. There was thrust into a hollow tree two or three pieces of venison; but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the best things we took away with us but left the houses standing still as they were."

As Winslow previously wrote that the woods were for the most part open, and fit either to go or ride in, and they passed close to these habitations, we are led to believe they were located in a thicket or swamp. The sapling bow would have to be about 34 ft. long to make an arbor high enough to stand and go upright in, and poles of this length grow only in thickets and rich soil. They must be slender to enable the builder to bend and thrust the ends in the ground.

Near this site Winslow writes "passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also been newly gotten in: and there we found where a house had been, and four or five old planks laid together. " These two sites were not far apart for after they confiscated the corn they marched 5 or 6 miles into the woods and could find no sign of the people they "returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen. It was also covered with boards, so as we musst what it should be, and resolved to dig it up; where we found first a mat, and under that a fair bow, and then another mat, and under that a board about three-quarters long, finely carved and painted; with three tines or broaches on top like a crown. Also between the mats we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like trinkets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow hair still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed. There was bound up with it a knife, a pack needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailors canvas casecock and a pair of cloth breeches. The powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong but no offensive smell; it was fine as any flour. We opened the casecock likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads.
There was also a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks. We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us, and covered the corpse up again. After this we digged in sundry like places but found no more corn nor any things else but graves. It was during the ranging and searching that two sailors who had recently come ashore spied the two houses, one of which has been described above.

About 9 A.M. July 2, 1621 Winslow and Hopkins accompanied by Tisquantum as guide left Plymouth for their first visit to Massasoit at Pokanoket, and arrived at Namaschet (now Middleboro) about 3 P.M. and found it to be some fifteen English miles. Which was very close to the actual mileage. "On the way, we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victual is easiest to get, there they live, especially in summer; by reason whereof our hay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither; and now returned with us to Namaschet." After they had lunched on a kind of bread called Malzium and the spawn of shads, the Indians desired "one of our men to shoot at a crow; complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them; who shooting some four score yards off, and killing; they much admired it."

After this Tisquantum advised going some eight miles further where they arrived at sunset, and found many of the Namascheucks as they called the people of Namaschet, fishing upon a place about six miles above where they were sure to cool their thirst, besides small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but from a spring head."

"The country in respect of the lying of it, is both champaign [open and level] and hilly. And though the country be wild and overgrown with woods; yet the trees stand not thick, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them. They met a native with two women, who were returning from the sea shore; their baskets "full of roasted crab fishes, and other dried shellfish, of which they gave us; and we eat and drank with them, and gave each of the women a string of beads and departed."

The sachems house was called a sachimo comaco, the ordinary or sannope house was a wilteo according to Winslow.

"Having here again refreshed ourselves we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel; yet the country was so well watered that a man could scarce be dry but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, besides small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but from a spring head."

"The sachems house was called a sachimo comaco, the ordinary or sannope house was a wilteo according to Winslow.

Roger Williams lived both with and near the natives and his "key" is invaluable. He writes, "In the annual removals of their wigwams from the winter residences in the sheltered valleys and dense cedar swamps to the vicinity of their cultivated fields, the wives carry the burdens of the mats and furniture. The frames of their houses constructed of poles, are set in the ground by the men. Then the women cover them with coarse mats, and line the inside with embroidered mats, like a fair show of hangings with us. The mat hung before the door is lifted aside on entering. To protect these houses from the cold blasts of winter, they are removed to sheltered valleys or to dense cedar swamps; wherein they also make their forts, secured by wet ditches. The Indian houses are removed in a few hours in the summer to the vicinity of the cultivated fields; so that on returning at night to lodge at one of them, it was gone, and I was necessitated to sleep under an adjacent tree. Their houses are made of skins during the night as well as day, so avoiding the necessity of warm clothing."

Thomas Morton of Merry Mount also gives us a good description of their habitations. He writes "the natives of New England are accustomed to build their houses much like the wild Irish; they gather poles in the woods and put the great end of them in the ground, placing them in a circle or circumference, and bending the tops of them in the form of an arch, they bind them together with the bark of Walnut trees, which is wondrous tough, so that they make the frame round on top leaving an opening for the smoke of the fire to pass through, these they cover with mats, some made of reeds and some of long flaggs, or sedge, finely woven; and still others made of the splinter bones of a cranes leg, with threads made of their Indian hemp which there groweth naturally, leaving
several places for doors, which are covered with mats, which may be rolled up and let down again at their pleasures, making use of several doors, according as the wind site. The fire is made in the midst of the house with windfalls commonly, and sometimes they fell a tree that greweth near the house, and by drawing in the end thereof maintain the fire on all sides, burning the tree by degrees shorter and shorter, until it be all consumed; for it burneth night and day. Their lodgings is made in three places of the house about the fire, they lie upon planks, commonly about a foot or eighteen inches above the ground, raised upon rails that are boun up upon forke; they lay mats under them and coats of deer skins, otters, beavers, raccoons and bears hides, all of which they dressed and converted into good leather with hair on, for their coverings, and in this manner they lie warm as they desire. In the night they take their rest, in the daytime either the kettle is on with a small allowance or else the fire is employed in roasting of fishes which they delight in. The air doth beget good stomachs, and they feed continually, and are no niggards of their victuals. Likewise, when they are minded to remove, they carry away the mats with them, other materials the place adjoin-ing will yield. They do not winter and summer in the same place.

Another article by Thomas Morton, regarding the custom of burning the woods is as follows: "The savages are accustomed to set fire to the country in all places where they come and to burn it twice a year, viz: at the Spring and the fall of the leafe. The reason that moves them to do so is because it would otherwise be so overgrown with underweedes that it would be all coppice wood and the people would not be able in any wise to passe through the country out of a beaten path.

"The means that they do it with, is with certaine minerall stones, that they carry about them in bagge made for the purpose... carrying in the same a little touchwood of their own making. These minerall stones they have from the Piquen-teens (which is to the southward of all the plantations in New Englaend) by trade and traffic with those people."

The burning of the grass destroys the under woods and so scorcht the older trees that it shrinks them and hinders their growth. He goes on to say that if one should want a large tree he has to seek it in the low, wet grounds and mentions the dangers to their own habitations from the practice of burning the woods. He says "we ourselves burn about our dwellings to prevent the damage that might happen if the fire should come near during our absence."

We have now found the reason why all these writers remark about the open woods that an army could pass through in any way whatsoever, and likened to English parks; also the reason why the natives removed their habitations to dense swamps and sheltered valleys. These open woods were but little protection from the cold north-west to northeast winds. Rabbits, grouse and quail leave the uplands commonly as late fall and seek the shelter of the swamps. The Indians, living where food is easiest got, would naturally follow, for here are protection, food, fuel and water for cooking and drinking from springs that do not freeze. These same low lands are subject to early and late frosts and as their corn needed a growing season of over one hundred days they had to plant on the higher grounds. Therefore the removal to their summer sites nearer the coast or rivers where they could get fish and shellfish during the planting season.

Corn, from the time it breaks the ground until it matures and dries is easily destroyed by frosts. No soil can be planted with after year without being fertilized. The Indians prepared new gardens by cutting the trees, leaving a three foot stump, the branches were piled on the trunk and then burned. New land prepared in this way will grow excellent corn and beans, as I have found by experiment, but one could not expect to get good results the first year. Squanto told the Pilgrims "except they got fish, and set with it in these old grounds, it would come to nothing, and he showed them that in the middle of April, they should have a great store come up in the brook, by which they build, and taught them how to take them." Winslow writes that unless the Indians broke up new ground every four years they had to plant with fish. Here we have two reasons for the many camp sites along the rivers; fish which they easily got and delighted in, as Morton says, also by using fish to fertilize their land they were saved much hard labor. The corn had to be protected from blackbirds and crows in the daylight hours and if planted with fish had to be guarded at night from skunks, wolves, and other carnivorous animals. Thus the summer sites near the cornfields.

We have found many camp sites near the coast also on rivers. The Bay Farm in Duxbury was an Indian plantation. Nearly every private collection within fifty miles contains specimens from this site. Three winter camps lie within a mile of the Bay Farm. Perhaps it is just a coincidence but Champlain's map of Plymouth harbor shows an Indian cornfield and house there. The winter sites we have found suggest that Indians preferred sun early in the morning, rather than late in the afternoon. Winslow writes that they found seven or eight unoccupied houses near the mouth of Billington Sea. We have found six within 300 yards, two on the north and four on the south of Town Brook; of these five appear to be summer sites and one a winter site.

Plymouth, Massachusetts
April, 1944
AN IMPORTANT BURIAL FROM PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

Jesse Brewer

Over a long period of time a sand pit on the east side of the Eel River, in Plymouth, Massachusetts has produced a number of burials and artifacts. During one winter, several years ago, a great deal of sand was removed from the pit. A thick upper deposit, which became frozen, was allowed to overhang the pit several feet. In the spring this broke loose and slid down the steep slope. The original top of the bank was about forty feet high, the section, which was found to contain a burial, had slid down some twenty five feet.

Examination of this section brought to light four separate deposits of red ochre. These covered about three feet of the sloping surface of the bank. Under the circumstances it was impossible to reconstruct the original situation. As the section moved downward it brought a lot of sand with it. The original deposit was distorted and to some extent mixed with the sand.

No human bones were discovered but ten teeth, upper and lower of left (?) side, in their natural order and relationship were found imbedded in a compact mass of grass roots and sand. The stone artifacts to be described were found in what appears to be a single deposit and presumably they all belong with this burial.

In spite of the fact that this grave had been disturbed to some extent the conditions approximate those in an excavation carried out under more favorable circumstances. Graves containing red ochre and the types of artifacts described are exceedingly rare in Massachusetts. Most of those known have been described by Willoughby in his "Antiquities of the New England Indians". The platform pipes and the gorgets are included, by this author, in the "Old Algonquian Group." The chipped artifacts and the polished stone tools might presumably be included in the same category. One can also note that some of the gorgets are similar to those found in the Red Paint burials in Maine. Until more is known about the distribution of such material in Massachusetts it seems better to simply offer this description as a record of what has been found.

I may add that subsequent to the discovery of this burial several others have come to light. One contained two flexed skeletons, associated with which was a brass arrowhead of the early Colonial period. Other burials have been excavated.

The four spearheads (1-4) are notable because of the excellent workmanship which they display. The larger specimens in particular are very well made, with flat surfaces, produced by fine chipping, the edges are expertly retouched. The chipping on the two smaller specimens is a little coarser.

One of two soapstone platform pipes (5) has an everted rim carved into six points. The stem is wide and flat. The frontal section of the platform has been broken off and apparently was repaired by the original owners; these holes, bored vertically in the platform near the base of the bowl, were probably used to lash the broken piece to the pipe. Specimen (6) is more crudely made; the frontal section of the platform had been broken off. A section of the mouthpiece of a platform (13) shows incised decoration.

The rubbing stone (7) is interesting because of the grooves. The smooth flat surface of the obverse (a) displays a groove which is shallower at the lower end, as shown in our drawing; on the reverse (b) near the upper end, there are two similar but smaller grooves, one of which has three incisions. A fragment has been broken off the lower right-hand side. Other rubbing stones include; an irregular piece of stone, two pebbles which have been worn smooth, and a naturally crescent shaped piece of stone which was probably used for rubbing, it is now worn smooth.

Two celts were discovered. One (8) is sharpened on both ends. Its surfaces show that it was chipped and battered into shape, pecked, and finally polished. The other celt (9) is highly polished on all its surfaces except for a rough depression on one face. The edges are rounded.

The one-hole gorget illustrated (10), and a second, which was broken, are made of slate and are highly polished. The edges are square. The holes are countersunk. Notches were cut into the top of both specimens, apparently for decorative purposes. Three other one-holed gorgets (15) were made of highly polished green slate with countersunk holes. The specimens were rounded at the top, and bottom and were not notched at the top. Specimen (11) is the upper end of a one-holed gorget. A two holed gorget made of a black stone (14) has countersunk holes located on each side of the center line.

A concretion having a depression in the center may have been used as a paint cup (16). Two large quartz crystals (12) were associated with the graves.

AN IMPORTANT BURIAL FROM PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

Jesse Brewer

Over a long period of time a sand pit on the east side of the Eel River, in Plymouth, Massachusetts has produced a number of burials and artifacts. During one winter, several years ago, a great deal of sand was removed from the pit. A thick upper deposit, which became frozen, was allowed to overhang the pit several feet. In the spring this broke loose and slid down the steep slope. The original top of the bank was about forty feet high, the section, which was found to contain a burial, had slid down some twenty five feet.

Examination of this section brought to light four separate deposits of red ochre. These covered about three feet of the sloping surface of the bank. Under the circumstances it was impossible to reconstruct the original situation. As the section moved downward it brought a lot of sand with it. The original deposit was distorted and to some extent mixed with the sand.

No human bones were discovered but ten teeth, upper and lower of left (?) side, in their natural order and relationship were found imbedded in a compact mass of grass roots and sand. The stone artifacts to be described were found in what appears to be a single deposit and presumably they all belong with this burial.

In spite of the fact that this grave had been disturbed to some extent the conditions approximate those in an excavation carried out under more favorable circumstances. Graves containing red ochre and the types of artifacts described are exceedingly rare in Massachusetts. Most of those known have been described by Willoughby in his "Antiquities of the New England Indians". The platform pipes and the gorgets are included, by this author, in the "Old Algonquian Group." The chipped artifacts and the polished stone tools might presumably be included in the same category. One can also note that some of the gorgets are similar to those found in the Red Paint burials in Maine. Until more is known about the distribution of such material in Massachusetts it seems better to simply offer this description as a record of what has been found.

I may add that subsequent to the discovery of this burial several others have come to light. One contained two flexed skeletons, associated with which was a brass arrowhead of the early Colonial period. Other burials have been excavated.

The four spearheads (1-4) are notable because of the excellent workmanship which they display. The larger specimens in particular are very well made, with flat surfaces, produced by fine chipping, the edges are expertly retouched. The chipping on the two smaller specimens is a little coarser.

One of two soapstone platform pipes (5) has an everted rim carved into six points. The stem is wide and flat. The frontal section of the platform has been broken off and apparently was repaired by the original owners; these holes, bored vertically in the platform near the base of the bowl, were probably used to lash the broken piece to the pipe. Specimen (6) is more crudely made; the frontal section of the platform had been broken off. A section of the mouthpiece of a platform (13) shows incised decoration.

The rubbing stone (7) is interesting because of the grooves. The smooth flat surface of the obverse (a) displays a groove which is shallower at the lower end, as shown in our drawing; on the reverse (b) near the upper end, there are two similar but smaller grooves, one of which has three incisions. A fragment has been broken off the lower right-hand side. Other rubbing stones include; an irregular piece of stone, two pebbles which have been worn smooth, and a naturally crescent shaped piece of stone which was probably used for rubbing, it is now worn smooth.

Two celts were discovered. One (8) is sharpened on both ends. Its surfaces show that it was chipped and battered into shape, pecked, and finally polished. The other celt (9) is highly polished on all its surfaces except for a rough depression on one face. The edges are rounded.

The one-hole gorget illustrated (10), and a second, which was broken, are made of slate and are highly polished. The edges are square. The holes are countersunk. Notches were cut into the top of both specimens, apparently for decorative purposes. Three other one-holed gorgets (15) were made of highly polished green slate with countersunk holes. The specimens were rounded at the top, and bottom and were not notched at the top. Specimen (11) is the upper end of a one-holed gorget. A two holed gorget made of a black stone (14) has countersunk holes located on each side of the center line.

A concretion having a depression in the center may have been used as a paint cup (16). Two large quartz crystals (12) were associated with the graves.
The arrow points include two triangular ones (17,19), one of "smoky" quartz and the other, which was very thin and sharp, of the commoner variety of quartz. A stemmed arrow point of dark grey stone and a side notched arrow point of a rarely-found, tan-colored stone completes the list of un-
damaged specimens. A number of broken pieces, obviously sections of arrow points or spearheads were recovered (22) as well as seven amorphous pieces of worked stone (23).

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