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HISTORICAL APPROACH TO TITICUT

Maurice Robbins

FOREWORD

The writer is fully aware that there is much controversial material in this discussion of historic events and land transactions. There are many possible interpretations other than those arrived at here. Many, far more able, historians have written many volumes about this place and period, and they are, by no means, in agreement.

Herein has been included all of the data available to the writer which seemed pertinent but, in the interest of brevity, much of interest has been passed by.

Most of the source material has been drawn from the original records of Plymouth Colony, some has come from the secondary writers, from Gookin who wrote in the early seventeen hundreds to Bowen writing in nineteen forty-five.

We have profited much by correspondence and conversation with many interested persons in Bridgewater, Middleboro, Taunton, and Plymouth. We are especially indebted to Mrs. Ella Van Steenburg and Mr. William H. Taylor of North Middleboro who loaned us several ancient and hard to get town histories and gave of their personal knowledge of the territory about Titicut. Mr. Ralph Davol of Taunton, a man in his eighties who walked from old Cohasset, over the Rhode Island Path to Titicut several times to sit with us beneath the trees by the Titicut River and talk about those times when Indians roamed the land, helped more than he knows to develop this paper. To him we are indebted for the note about the town of Teteicut in England.

We owe a special debt to Mr. Charles S. Sherman of Plymouth, a man most familiar with the ancient records of his home town, but more than that, a man with such an intimate understanding of the ways of the Pilgrims that his councils are of more value than a hundred books. He spent many hours in carefully retracing the route of Winslow and Hopkins from Plymouth to Pokonoket, checking the mileage and observing the agreement between geography and the observations of Winslow. Originally convinced that the route was directly by the Rhode Island Path to Pokonoket and not by the way of Titicut, he concluded a final letter with this note - "so I'm going to let you decide if they did or did not detour to Titicut, as that route, at the present time, looks most promising."
INTRODUCTION

This historical study of the area in which the Indian site which we have chosen to call Titicut is located was undertaken with three purposes in mind. It was desired to establish an end date for the historic Indian occupation of the area, to determine, if possible, the political affiliation of the later inhabitants, and to justify our use of the term Titicut as a name for the site.

To this end a careful examination has been made of primary and secondary records and such other literature as was available which concerned the area in general. It soon became apparent that the accuracy of the study would depend upon a proper interpretation of these ancient records and that this interpretation would be valid only if it were made in the light of contemporary customs. If one is to understand fully the records of colonial Plymouth one must divest the mind of many modern concepts and reconstruct the atmosphere of the seventeenth century. The present concepts of land tenure must be forgotten and it must be remembered that, whereas modern land bounds are determined by the use of precision instruments, these were not available to our predecessors.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN TITLES TO NEW ENGLAND LAND

PRIMARY TITLES IN NEW ENGLAND

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, various European countries assumed title to land in America by right of discovery and exploration. On the basis of voyages along the Atlantic coastline, or, in some few instances an incipient exploration for a short distance up some of the major rivers, by her nationals or by persons flying her flag, England made claim to all of the land in North America between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels "from sea to sea." (1)

Although fully aware that this territory was the domain of many groups of aboriginal people, the proprietary rights of such inhabitants were completely ignored in the granting of vast areas of territory to various persons and corporations who were encouraged to occupy it in the name of the Crown. It is probable that the ministers of the King were well aware that the question of aboriginal rights would eventually arise but chose to pass it along to those who would be obliged to deal with it directly. For their own part they brushed the matter lightly aside, justifying their action by asserting that, unless people actually made use of land in a manner similar to that usual in Europe, no such right existed. There was also the curious thought that unless a person were a Christian he had no right to land anyway.

The primary titles to the area in which we are interested were derived from crown of England between 1578 and 1622. In the former year a charter was granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which authorized him to discover and take possession of such remote and barbarous lands as were not actually in the possession of any other Christian prince or people. At a later date this charter was renewed to Sir Walter Raleigh in nearly the same terms. No permanent settlements were made under this charter.

The first permanent English settlements on this continent were made under a charter granted in 1606 by King James I to Sir Thomas Gates and others. This grant included those territories in America "lying on the seacoast between the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude and the forty-fourth degree of north latitude, and which belongeth to the Crown or were not then in the possession of any other Christian Prince or People." Upon their own request the grantees were divided into two companies. The first or southern colony was directed to settle between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallels of north latitude; and the second or northern colony, between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels.

After a not too successful and rather expensive attempt at founding a settlement which had been made, a new and much more inclusive charter was granted in 1609 by the Crown to the first or southern colony. This charter granted to the "Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the First colony in Virginia," in absolute property the lands extending along the seacoast four hundred miles and into the lands "from sea to sea." This charter was later annulled, so far as the rights of the company were concerned, by the judgment of the Court of King's Bench upon a writ of "quo warranto;" but the whole effect allowed by this judgment

was to Best it in the Crown the powers of government and title to the lands within its limits.

In 1620, upon petition of those who held the original grant of 1606 to the northern colony, another new and enlarged charter was granted to the Duke of Lennox and others, who were called the Plymouth Company, as many of them came from the vicinity of Plymoutli, England. This charter conveyed to them all of the lands between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels, a hundred miles up into the country. (2)

The English who settled at Plymouth on Massachusetts Bay were most fortunate in their selection of a site as the area was, at the time, devoid of inhabitants. They were thus enabled to establish themselves without interference and to deal with the problem of aboriginal property rights at their leisure. In the "Journal of a Plantation," first printed in 1662, and in abbreviated form in Samuel Purchas' "Pilgrims" (Book VI, Chapter 10) occurs the following passage which accounts for the absence of the natives: "He (Samoset) told us that the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that, about four years ago, all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, or child, remaining as indeed we have found none to hinder our possession or lay-claim to it."

However, by selecting this uninhabited area, the colonists had settled in the territory of the second Plymouth-Virginia company, and by so doing the patent or grant under which they had set out had become void. In this dilemma the colonists turned to Mr. John Pierce in England, whose name had been used in trust in their first patent, to solicit the Grand Council for Plymouth and the Court of England for a proper patent to the area in which they had founded their colony. On June 1, 1621, a patent was granted to John Pierce and his associates in trust for the company. This Patent was probably brought over on the Fortune and the original, engrossed on parchment, is in the possession of the Plymouth Historical Society. (2) A copy was printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society collections, Series I, Vol. III, p. 156, 1854. A second patent was granted on April 26, 1622, also to John Pierce, this patent was given up by him on the same day and a revised version, called a Deed Poll, was made out to John Pierce for himself, his heirs, and associates as assigns forever. Apparently Pierce had visions of himself as the "Lord of Plymouth" but later setting out for the New World and being driven back by furious winds he gave up his design and assigned his patent to the Company for five hundred pounds. The colonists next sent Mr. Edward Winslow to England to obtain the desired patent which he secured and brought back to Plymouth in 1623. This patent was secured in the name of the Governor, William Bradford. This grant defines the territorial limits of the colony and, as can be seen under which all secondary grants issued in Plymouth Colony were made, is worth repeating here: "The Council for New England, in Consideration that William Bradford and his associates have, for these nine years, lived in New England and have planted a town called New Plymouth, at their own charges; and now seeing, by the special Providence of God, and their extraordinary care and industry, they have increased their plantations to near three hundred people, and are, on all occasions, able to relieve any new planters, or others of his Majesty's subjects, who may fall on the coast, therefore seal a patent to the said William Bradford, his heirs, assigns, and assigns, of all that part of New-England between Cohasset Riverlet towards the north, and Narrhagenset River towards the south, the Western Ocean towards the east, and between a straight line directly extending up into the main land towards the west, to the utmost bounds of a country called Pascaguit, alias Seckin, or Mascowit, and another like straight line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset River towards the West, so far into the main land Westward, as the utmost limits of the said Pascaguit or Seamasset extend; As also all that part of New-England between the utmost limits of Capershett or Comascaston, which adjoins to the River Kennebek, and the falls of Negumke, with the said River itself, and the space of fifteen miles on each side, between the bounds aforesaid, with all Perquisites, rights, royalties, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, liberties, and immunities; and also Marine Liberties, with the Excheats and Casualties thereof (the Admiralty Jurisdiction excepted) with all the Interest, Right, Etc. which the said Council have, or ought to have thereto; with the liberty to trade with the natives, and fish on the seas adjoining. And it shall be lawful for them to incorporate themselves, or the people there inhabiting, by the aid of a written Charter, with Liberty to them and their Successors, to make Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, not contrary to the Laws of England, for their better Government, and put the same execution, by such Officers as he or they shall authorize and depute; and, for their safety and Defence, to encounter, by force of arms, by all means, by Land and Sea, seize and make a Prize of all who attempt to inhabit or trade with the savages within the limits of their Plantations, or attempt Invasion, Detriment, or annoyance to their said Plantations, ...." Mr. Hubbard says that this Patent was obtained by the help of the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with a Confirmation from the King.

SECONDARY GRANTS

Having secured a satisfactory title to the land upon which they had settled, the Plymouth colonists now considered a method by which they could issue secondary grants to corporations set up by themselves intended to extend and increase the English holdings in New England.

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Previously, in March of 1621, they had entered into a treaty of friendship and peace with Massasoit (Cusamequins). Sachem of the Wampanoag country they had settled. A perusal of this first treaty does not reveal any distinct purchase of land but the following extract from "Holmes's Annals" indicates that the Sachem did give them a definite amount of land: "The New Plymouth associates, by the favor of the Almighty, began the colony in New England, at a place called by the natives, Apaum, alias Patuxet, all the lands being void of inhabitants, we the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and the rest of our associates, entering into a league of peace with Massasoit, since called Woosamequin, Prince or Sachem of these parts; he, the said Massasoit, freely gave them all the lands adjacent to them, and their heirs forever."  

The governing power at Plymouth was vested in the Governor and the General Court. From 1620 to 1624, the Governor had but one assistant but was in the habit of calling into council the several elders of the colony. In 1625 they chose five Assistants and in 1629 the number was increased to seven. The Governor and these Assistants constituted the General Court until such time as additional townships were created, whereupon they, too, were empowered to send delegates to this General Court. (4) This General Court of Plymouth had both legislative and judiciary powers. The territorial rights of the New England township, which were originally determined by this Court, are most important to this study and we will examine them quite closely. 

In Virginia, the Governor and his council, as representatives of the Crown, made a tract of land over to an individual for life, paying a quitrent. The right of aboriginal ownership being quite ignored and extinguished by the grant, was accomplished by right of conquest, bloodless or otherwise. In Maryland and the Carolinas the same process took place with this important difference, that the grant was made, not by the Crown, but by the Proprietors. 

In New England grants were made by the government of the colony to a corporation and not to an individual, except in the case of some few of the "early comers" who were deemed to have certain rights not applicable to later colonists. It was from the Corporation that the individual obtained his rights. Nor was this corporate claim a mere technicality similar to the doctrine that the soil of England belongs to the Crown and that all estates in land are derived from that source. The New England township was a landholder, using its position for the corporate good, and watching with jealous eyes over the origin and the extension of individual rights. At the same time the General Court of Plymouth did not abandon wholly its rights upon the granting of land to the Corporation. It withheld a sort of proprietary interest designed to protect the common good and occasionally made use of this retained power. For example, we find the General Court of Plymouth in part revoking a grant of lands at Mattacheese or, as it was afterwards better known, Yarmouth, on the ground that the territory in question had not been fully occupied. It was accordingly enacted that the settlers who had actually taken up the lands should continue to enjoy them, but that the township should not be allowed any further distribution.

Gradually this New England system developed into a form greatly resembling the English manor system. Part of the land was granted in lots, a part was left in pasture as a joint possession of the people of the township, and a part was to be tilled in common. The obtaining of a grant from the General Court at Plymouth by a corporation was not considered to give actual title to the land. It was enacted by the Court that no person or corporation could purchase, or mortgage as a gift land from the Colony to a corporation or to individuals without first obtaining this grant and afterward making a purchase and obtaining a deed from the original owners. Thus there were two steps in obtaining land under the Plymouth system: first, the petition must be presented to the General Court describing the lands desired and praying that body to appoint a committee to view it, draw up a proper deed, and grant the right to make the purchase. Secondly, after the grant from the Court was obtained, the purchase was made from the Indians. All of the land in New England, with the exception of the original township of Plymouth which, as we have seen, was given to the colonists by Massasoit, was acquired through this method.

This procedure would, at first glance, seem to be a just and equitable one, especially when compared to the high-handed methods in vogue in some of the other colonies. Indeed, those who conceived and used the procedure sincerely considered it so. A letter written by Mr. Winslow in 1676 clearly expresses his feeling in the matter. Mr. Winslow says: "I think I can clearly say that, before these present troubles broke out (Philip's War) the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. We made a law that none should purchase or receive as a gift land from the Indians without the knowledge of the Court. And, lest they be straightened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of land in the colony, because more suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands."

There are, however, other interpretations of this policy which sought to guarantee certain "most convenient" lands to the Indians. A glance at Map 3 will show the result of that policy and the objections from an Indian point of view. By this means the Indians of Plymouth and Bristol counties were eventually confined to several necks of land, to the westward at Sowams, south of...
Swansea, the long narrow strip west of Dartmouth and east of Freetown, and tiny Assonet Neck south of Taunton (Cohasset) Purchase. Thus the several Indian frontiers of the old colony were short and discontinuous, the longest being the Freetown-Dartmouth bound.

It must not by any means be assumed that the entire area which the English had purchased was completely occupied by them prior to 1675 nor that the Indians were forced to restrict all their activities, such as hunting, to the Indian-owned lands. Except for the English towns, the Indians travelled at will over the entire territory and they were seldom molested if they chose to camp temporarily near some favorite fishing or fowling place within the purchased lands. On the other hand, the English sometimes trespassed upon the Indian lands still in their possession. Witness two instances in which this was done with the express permission of the General Court. (Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. III, p. 177) "December 7, 1647. At a court held at Plymouth it is voted that whereas the inhabitants of Rehoboth desire to make use of about one hundred acres of marsh, which they call new meadows, lying on the west side of Sowams river, leave is granted to them to make use of it until a plantation be settled at Sowams." Reference to Map 3 will show this "one hundred acres of marsh land," to have been within the limits of the township of Swansea, which was not purchased from the Indians until 1667, some twenty years later. (Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. II, p. 120) "Mr. Brown is allowed to make use of the pieces of marsh land lying within the fence upon the neck of land which the Indians are possessed of and inhabit, which do not belong to the town of Rehoboth, without molestation of Rehoboth, such use to continue until such time as there be a plantation by us at Sowams. It is interesting to note, "molestation" to the Indian "molestation" by us at Sowams." The Narragansets, on the western shore of Narragansett Bay, west of the Blackstone River, and the Wampanoags, in southeastern Massachusetts, about Narragansett Bay, southern Massachusetts Bay, and on Cape Cod; and the Pequots, in the area of the present Narragansett Bay and west of the Blackstone River. If we will think of these three Indian groups as sources of political influence rather than as organized governments, as we are prone to do, recognizing that at best they were unstable entities whose composition was subject to frequent and radical change, we will come close to an accurate evaluation of the real situation. From these three sources a sort of political influence radiated, meeting at a line of points dependent upon the relative strength at the moment of the source. These lines of influence would then delineate the boundaries of the three groups. These bounds would consist of bands, rather than lines, probably rather broad bands, representing an area in which the radiating influences merged and within which political loyalties might be uncertain and divided. This condition would and did result in considerable confusion as to the limits of tribal lands, but aside from an occasional clash, the question of bounds did not become acute until the land suddenly acquired value as a saleable asset. English occupation of the two areas west of the Blackstone River and south of Taunton (Cohasset) Purchase, as well as the process of land acquisition in southern New England, did not suppose that, prior to 1620, there were any land sales in southern New England or

Having considered the English viewpoint with regard to aboriginal rights to this great tract of territory placed at their disposal by the Crown and seen the method by which they proposed to extinguish these rights, let us, for a moment, consider the Indian concept as best it can be reconstructed from their reaction to English occupation.

ABORIGINAL PROPERTY CONCEPTS

As far as can be determined there is no direct statement extant concerning the Indian concept of land tenure in New England. There seems to have been a consciousness that certain lands belonged to family groups and through them to certain dominant tribes or sachems. The Indian, because of the type of culture which he possessed, did not occupy land in the same manner as the English, and which occupation they deemed necessary to establish ownership. His villages were located at certain places on land to him but were, for the most part, temporary in character. There were fertile areas where he planted his corn and other spots where he repaired at the proper season of the year to hunt, fish, or gather shell fish. Other than that it was most necessary that the virgin forests remain undisturbed as shelter for the game upon which the Indian depended largely for food.

Contemporary historians tell us that there were three dominant tribes within the area under consideration at the beginning of European colonization: the Massachusetts, in the northern part of the area, around the Blue Hills; the Wampanoags, in southeastern Massachusetts, about Narragansett Bay, southern Massachusetts Bay, and on Cape Cod; and the Pequots, in the area of the present Narragansett Bay and west of the Blackstone River. If we will think of these three Indian groups as sources of political influence rather than as organized governments, as we are prone to do, recognizing that at best they were unstable entities whose composition was subject to frequent and radical change, we will come close to an accurate evaluation of the real situation. From these three sources a sort of political influence radiated, meeting at a line of points dependent upon the relative strength at the moment of the source. These lines of influence would then delineate the boundaries of the three groups. These bounds would consist of bands, rather than lines, probably rather broad bands, representing an area in which the radiating influences merged and within which political loyalties might be uncertain and divided. This condition would and did result in considerable confusion as to the limits of tribal lands, but aside from an occasional clash, the question of bounds did not become acute until the land suddenly acquired value as a saleable asset. English occupation of the two areas west of the Blackstone River and south of Taunton (Cohasset) Purchase, as well as the process of land acquisition in southern New England, did not suppose that, prior to 1620, there were any land sales in southern New England or

5. Sachems of the Narragansett - Chapin, p. 12.
that such a concept was ever entertained by an Indian. The individual ownership of land and the right to forbid trespass was a most abstract idea to the many occupants, and, when confronted with it, he seems to have seized upon the occupancy privilege as the saleable aspect rather than the actual soil itself. Under such a concept many transactions were possible which were contrary to English law and understanding. The Indian, for example, could, under his concept, sell the same tract of land to as many persons as it seemed reasonable to believe the area could support. Also the sale price of the land would be small as it could be sold so many times over, which may explain some of the relatively small sums paid to Indians. This type of sale was encouraged in the early days of the colony. As the English were few in numbers and could not occupy the immense tracts of land they were purchasing, the illusion flourished that occupancy rather than land was the object. It was only when English occupancy increased and the right of trespass was denied to the Indian that he began to realize that the English held a different concept than his in regard to land tenure.

It seems quite possible that the Indians looked upon this little band of settlers at Plymouth as a wandering group and, having no real understanding of Europe and its teeming population, did not think of them as the advance guard of a movement which might grow to such proportions as to threaten their own existence as an independent people.

One can detect three stages in the negotiations for the transfer of lands between 1620 and 1674. At first the Indians were willing and anxious to sell the right of occupancy, as they supposed, to their new friends and neighbors, second there developed a stage in which the Indian had begun to realize, in a dim sort of way, that something was amiss, and became reluctant to dispose of further territory, and finally came complete realization of what the sale of land to the English actually meant to him and his way of life. It was now too late, the Indian no longer owned sufficient territory for him to exist in his primitive culture. The result, quite naturally, was an attempt to recover that which the Indian considered himself deprived of under false pretences, but which his military power did not allow him to accomplish.

SURVEYING DIFFICULTIES

In addition to the problem of devising a legal method of extinguishing aboriginal title to land and conferring it upon townships and individuals, the colonists were faced with the problem of surveying and bounding the tracts which were to be acquired. If one is to map the progress of these purchases and consolidate them into the final township lines, one must come to understand the language in which these ancient deeds are written and appreciate the errors and misunderstandings inherent both in the actual surveying and in the language which describes it.

At best the English were very unfamiliar with the geography of the country, the positions of rivers, swamps, ponds, and lakes were but vaguely known; distances were great, and their judgment in relation to them was faulty. Then too, they had no precision instruments with which to run lines or to determine angles. When one could not take advantage of some natural bound, such as an Indian trail, or a brook or river, it was most difficult to lay out a straight line between two distant points. Land was paced off in the earliest of deeds, at a later date the surveyor's chain, consisting of sixty-one links, each one foot in length, was used. Finally the seventeen-foot rod came into general use. These implements served well in the open, where one could see both points, but where trees and swampy spots intervened to prevent the surveyor from travelling in a straight line, where stations were miles apart and the line must pass through broken country, they were most difficult and inaccurate tools. We then must approach this task of consolidation with a realization that we must not expect too great a harmony between existing records and we must be ready to effect a compromise when a conflict arises.

PURCHASES OF 1637

At the beginning of 1637 the two plantations of Plymouth on Massachusetts Bay and the Providence Plantations, at the head of Narragansett Bay, faced each other across a wide expanse of land owned and occupied only by Indians. This intervening territory was called the "Great Plains," later the "Nehoboth Plains." Early in the year the township of Duxbury was set off to the north of Plymouth and the peculiarly shaped tract of land called the Tecticut or Poole Purchase (Map No. 11) was granted by the general court at Plymouth and purchased from the Indians. Governor Winalow says in his Journal, "This year a plantation was begun at Tecticut, by a gentlewoman, an ancient maid, [she was thirty-five years of age at the time] one Mrs. Poole. She went thither and endured much hardship and lost much cattle." There seems to be no deed extant for this purchase but a confirmatory deed is recorded under date of June 20, 1666, in which Josiah alias Charles states that Mrs. Poole bought the lands of "the right owners thereof and paid for it." As this Josiah, alias Charles, was a descendant of Chicakatetobut, a Massachusetts sachem, it seems that this was considered by Charles to have been a part of the tribal lands. This tract of land purchased by Mrs. Poole and her associates was sometimes called the "Titicut Purchase," not because it was bought of the Indians residing there, but from the fact that it was within the bounds of the original Indian reservation, which had been conveyed to her and her associates before it had been warranted to the exclusive use of the Indians. (6) This purchase lay to the east of the Eight-Mile Square, as the

Cohannet or Taunton Purchase was sometimes called, and for some time had no definite bounds. The easterly bound was established in 1663 as follows: "that the path that goeth from Namsaket to Assonet river be theirs bounds on the southeast, and soe by a line from thence to Baiting Brook a North line till it meet with an opposite line called the long square." (7) The Poole Purchase as shown on Map No. 1 was established by first plotting the bounds of the Cohannet Purchase on the west and the Indian Reservation on the east. The three Indian villages shown to the west of the Poole purchase are the three main villages of the Namsakets, at Titicut in the north, Namsaket, now Middleboro, and at Assawompsett Pond to the south. (8) Still further south are the villages at Sippican and at Sachomett neck or Pacasset. To the west lie the Indian towns of Assonet and old Anawon's town near Squannskonk swamp (now Rehoboth) while to the southwest is the main village of the Wampanoags at Sowams (now Bristol, R. I.). The location of these Indian towns is, of course, approximate.

PURCHASES OF 1638

In the year following Mrs. Poole's Purchase, a tract of land variously called the Cohannet Purchase, Eight-Mile-Square Purchase, and Taunton Purchase was granted and purchased from the Indians. The original deed to this land, which was signed by Ouamquins, the Wampanoag, was destroyed by fire in 1838, so that we are forced to depend upon several subsequent records to establish the bounds. Another difficulty exists with relation to this particular transaction in the several additional grants made from 1643 to 1645 and a final quit-claim deed from William Bradford (Major) which included the several previous grants. The several persons who drew up these documents used many different descriptions and bounds, including some and leaving out some used in other deeds. I have preferred, in this instance, to follow Bowen (Richard Lebaron Bowen) and include not only the original Eight-Mile-Square but the subsequent additions even though they were added at a somewhat later date. (9) A map of the original purchase may be found in "Bristol County" by the Boston History Company, 1899, opposite page 216.

The following report of the committee appointed by the Court to establish the boundaries of Cohannet in 1640 is included below as a typical example of the type of instrument common at the time: "The limits and bounds of the town of Taunton, alias Cohannet, within the government of Plymouth, bounded and ranged for length and breadth, by order of the Court, by Miles Standish and John Brown, gentlemen, assistants in the government, the nineteenth day of June, anno domini, 1640, in the XVI year of our sovereign..."
Lord Charles, and etc., as follows, viz.,

Imprimis. From two marked trees near Assonet, a neck of land lying between Assonet and them lying southerly, and from said marked trees ranging east by south four miles; ranging also from the extent of the four miles north and by west; also from two marked trees near the Three Mile River, lying southerly of Taunton, the range to run four miles west and by north; and from the extent of this last mentioned four miles, the range to run north and by west eight miles; moreover from the extent of this eight mile range, then the range to run on the east and by south line to meet with the former expressed north and by west line upon a long square; always provided, that if these ranges do not take in a place of Schadingmore meadows, the said Schadingmore meadows to be included as belonging to the aforesaid town of Taunton, with one thousand acres of upland, near adjacent unto said meadows; provided, likewise that these lines do not entitle the said town of Taunton to intermediate within two miles of Tightsquid - Signed Miles Standish and John Brown." (10)

In March of 1640 the Court granted to Taunton additional meadow lands at Assonet, in 1643 more meadow lands, with the proviso "Provided leave can be procured from Ousamequin" and in 1663 the southern boundary was established by an act of the General Court. (11)

Purchases of 1645

The remaining land between the Cohannet Purchase and Providence Plantations was purchased from Ousamequin, sachem of Pokonoket in 1645. There seems to have been at least one Englishman living in this territory, then known by the Indian name of Sesecunk, as early as 1642. An entry in the Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. II, p. 67, indicates that on August 2nd of that year this Englishman took an oath of allegiance to the King. A company was formed at Weymouth in 1643, consisting of the Rev. Samuel Newman and a large portion of his congregation for the purpose of establishing a new settlement. They negotiated the purchase of a large tract of land from the Indians and in the spring of 1644 moved themselves and their families to Rehoboth. After establishing themselves they discovered that they were within the limits of Plymouth Colony and, upon petition to the General Court at Plymouth, they were constituted a township, granted a right to their purchase from the Indians, and adopted by that colony. The boundaries of this original purchase have also been taken from Bowen. (12) The original Indian deed to Rehoboth is not extant and the boundaries as shown in Map No. 2 were taken from Major Bradford's quitclaim deed of 1659. The consummation of this purchase completed a frontier from Massachusetts Bay westward to the southeastern bound of Providence Plantations and effectively confined the Wampangcog to the necks of land.

11. Ibid., p. 57.
southward from Plymouth Colony.

PURCHASES OF 1652

A tract of land called Dartmouth, Map No. 3, was purchased from the Wampanoag Indians by thirty-four associates under a grant from the General Court dated in March, 1652. A description of the tract is in the Plymouth Court Grant but the bounds are rather indefinite. In part the grant reads as follows: "at a place or places commonly called and known by the name of Acushena alias Acquessent, which entereth at the western end of Weektayt and to Cocksait, alias Acokkus, and places adjacent, to extend three miles eastward of the most easterly part of a river called Cocksait, lying on the west side of Point Pritt [now called Point Prill], and to the westmost side of any branch of the aforesaid river, and to extend eight miles into the country." (13) In June of 1661, the township of Dartmouth was formally incorporated and in 1663 the Court established its bounds as shown on Map No. 3. Just how these bounds differ, if they do, from the original purchase can not be now determined. A quitclaim deed from Major William Bradford to the Town of Dartmouth, dated November 13, 1694, uses the bounds as we have shown them on our map. (14)

PURCHASES OF 1656

In 1656, the inhabitants of Duxbury were granted an extension to the westward to compensate them for lands which were taken from them on the north and granted to the new town of Marshfield. (15) This westward extension eventually included within it the area in which is located the Indian site we have chosen to call Titicut. As this transaction is of particular interest and as it is necessary to examine the various grants and extensions in detail, discussion of it will be omitted at this point, to be taken up later in this paper.

PURCHASES OF 1657

The territory known today as Freetown was purchased from the Indians in 1657, and the details of this transaction are quite revealing. It is a good illustration of the second stage in relations with the Indians insofar as land purchases were concerned, in which they had become somewhat reluctant to part with additional land. It is significant that Wamsutta, the elder son of Ousamequin, was the sachem with whom the negotiations were undertaken. The old sachem Massasoit or Ousamequin, friend of the Pilgrims, had surrendered the leadership of the Wampanoags to his son and successor, who did not seem to inherit the policies of his father. The English were obliged to resort to subterfuge to obtain deeds to the desired lands.

In 1649, Governor William Bradford offered to surrender to the "body of freemen of the Colony, when called upon," such land as he held in his name under the final Plymouth Patent in 1627-8, reserving to himself and certain "old comers" several particularly hill situated tracts by which the grant of "ye Freeman's land at Taunton River" was obtained is a good illustration of this distribution of these reserved areas. The usual method, set up so long ago by the General Court was followed. The "old comers" made choice of certain lands which they desired to purchase, the Court, upon payment of a sum of money, granted the land to them with the proviso that they obtain a deed from the Indian owners. The grant for Freetown, which is recorded at Plymouth names a committee of four "to search out and purchase the territory," (17) The four men named as a committee were Captain James Cutworth, Mr. Josias Winslow sen., Mr. John Barnes, and Constant Southworth. The first two and the last of these men were prominent in the annals of Plymouth having held several important offices and served on many such committees. Mr. John Barnes, the third man, was a town character at Plymouth and, until one follows the procedure of this committee, one wonders why he was appointed to it. Barnes was a tavern keeper at Plymouth and a confirmed user of the wares he offered in his tap room. Entry after entry in the records of the court attest to the misdemeanors which he committed while under the influence. (18) However, the court, or the purchasers, had a particular use for John in this instance and he was placed on the committee with that in mind apparently. It seems that Wamsutta had made up his mind that he would not part with this land and the "old comers" were equally determined to purchase it. They stood to make quite a profit from this deal and they did not intend to allow a mere Indian to prevent them. As it eventually turned out, the cost per share was 11 pounds ten shillings and entitled the holder to about a half square mile of very fertile farm land which was afterward sold at a profit of about 500 per cent.

Barnes went to work immediately. Wamsutta, probably much to that worthy's surprise, became a favored customer at Barnes' tavern at Plymouth. His credit was without limit and his presence was not only welcomed but was encouraged. Wamsutta came often and stayed long, using his good fortune to the limit and his generous hospitality to the limit. Finally Wamsutta, although still reluctant to sell the land, gave what amounted to an option on it, to which is attached a solemn statement to the effect that Wamsutta was sober when he signed it. This option was recorded at Plymouth and is entitled "A Deed to be Recorded." (19) In this "so called deed" the following statement occurs: "I, Wamsutta, am not willing at present to sell all that they do desire, but in the time which he does change his mind he will sell to the above named committee and that, in the meantime, he will sell to no one else. A

16. Ibid., p. 5.
17. Ibid., p. 176.
price is also agreed upon in this option. Two years later, in 1659, a deed is finally secured from Wamsutta, signed by him and his wife, Tatapanum. A space was left for the signature of Ousamequin and a seal attached opposite, but the aged sachem failed to sign it. (20)

Immediately this deed was obtained the former leniency shown to John Barnes by the Plymouth Court ceased, and on October 6, 1659, Barnes was haled before the Court, convicted, and sentenced "to be disenfranchised of his freedom of this colony for his frequent and abominable drunkenness." (21)

The boundaries of this purchase shown on Map No. 3 are taken from this original deed in the Plymouth Court Records.

PURCHASES OF 1662

For some years prior to 1662 the proprietors of Taunton had agitated for an enlargement of their township. The unoccupied tract of land to the north had attracted their attention, and they desired greatly to annex it to their township. However, a portion of the land that they desired lay to the north of Rehoboth Purchase, and the Court declined to grant this to Taunton thus blocking the possible extension of Rehoboth in that direction. A deed was obtained from Wamsutta, sachem of the Wampanoags, in 1662, but only a portion of the land described in this deed was confirmed to Taunton by the Court. The purchase could not be considered as final until a grant was obtained from the Court, which was accomplished after some difficulty in 1668. The definite boundary of the tract on the east, between it and Bridgewater, was not laid out for several years after this and the northern boundary was the subject of dispute for nearly a hundred years. (15)

PURCHASES OF 1667

The township of Swansea was incorporated by order of the Plymouth Court in 1667 but the territory from which it was taken seems to have been purchased previously from the Indians.

As early as 1653, Ousamequin and Wamsutta deeded Sowams to the English (22) and the tract known by the Indian name of Wannamoiset was purchased by men of Rehoboth on December 20, 1645. (23) Still another tract, known as the Shawomet Lands, was taken from the Freeman's Purchase and added to Swansea at its incorporation. A religious argument

had arisen in the Rehoboth area between the Baptists and the Congregationalists which had resulted in several trials before the Plymouth Court. The new town became a haven for the disgruntled Baptists and served to push the English frontier further to the south. The overt act which precipitated Philip's War in 1675 occurred within the bounds of Swansea.

Purchases of 1669

Although the Town of Middleboro was incorporated in 1669 as Middleborough, it was composed of several separate purchases made between 1661 and 1675. (22) These purchases were made in the usual manner, a grant being first obtained from the Court and then a deed being obtained from the Indian owners. There is one exception to this procedure and that was in the case of the Eight Men's Purchase. This tract appears to have been overlooked in the original scramble to purchase Indian lands, but was claimed by the court as occupying territory which Phillip's Plymouth homestead had been deeded to the English by Tuspaquin, a chief sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, while the remainder of the township was deeded to the English by Tuspaquin, a Wampanoag sub-sachem, who inherited the land from the Pond Sachem. There is some confusion between the time at which Tuspaquin became the sachem of this area and the date at which he sold some of the land. (25)

Here in Middleboro we have, for the first time, a suggestion that the entire tract may not have been a part of the Wampanoag country. The two northern purchases, bordering on the Taunton River were purchased from one Wampatuck, a direct descendent of Chickatawbut, who is said by most authorities, including Gookin and Drake, to have been the chief sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, while the remainder of the township was deeded to the English by Tuspaquin, a Wampanoag sub-sachem, who inherited the land from the Pond Sachem. There is some confusion between the time at which Tuspaquin became the sachem of this area and the date at which he sold some of the land. (25)

Among the sub-sachems of the Wampanoags was Pamantaquash, or as he was familiarly known, the Pond Sachem, whose domain was the country near the ponds (Assawompsett and Quiticus). About six years after Phillip became Chief sachem, in 1668, this pond sachem, by an instrument which was recognized as binding by the Plymouth Court, bequeathed the rulership of the lands. As mentioned above, the two northernmost purchases, Twenty-Six Men's Purchase, and Purchase Purchase, were granted by the Court and deeded to the English by Wampatuck in 1661 and 1662. The boundaries of these purchases were marked by oak and pine trees which have long since disappeared although one huge old oak was pointed out to the writer some twenty years ago as the turning point of one of these purchases. As an example of these deeds and in particular because the southern bound of Twenty-Six Men's Purchase is of more than passing interest, the deed to this tract is inserted here in part as follows: "A tract of land bounded as follows - From William Hopkin's Lakenham and Phillip's Pond, on the east side by the brooker which runs on the south side by the said path and on the west side by the Namasket river and on the east side by the brooker which runs on the north side and end to Wimbuskett brookes and the river that goes to Taunton; that is to say all the land within the said bounds." (26) This southern bound was along the lower path to Plymouth over which passed much of the foot traffic between that town and the south.

Great Men's Purchase in 1663

Five Men's Purchase was deeded in 1668, also by Tuspaquin, and consisted of the land situated between these two ancient trails. Twelve men's Purchase, to the south, was made in 1672, the deed being given by Tuspaquin and Manompect. The last named Indian appears only this once in the Plymouth records, and as far as can be determined, there is no clue in the literature as to his identity.

The two large tracts known as the South Purchase and the Sixteen Shilling Purchase were made in 1673 and 1675 respectively, the deed to the former being signed by Tuspaquin alone, while in the deed to the latter tract he was associated with his son William, the same William, in the will of Patamantaquash.

Sixteen Shilling Purchase, which eventually became the township of Lakeville, was the "hometown" of the Pond Sachems of which Tuspaquin seems to have been the last.

The two remaining tracts of land within the area which became the town of Middleboro,

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
namely Eight Men's Purchase and the land to the west adjoining the early purchase of Mrs. Poole, and which had been reserved to the use of the Indians, were not acquired by the English until after the Indian War.

THE DUXBURY GRANTS

We will now turn backward a bit to the year 1644 and examine the grants and deeds by which the territory was transferred which eventually became the modern towns of Bridgewater, East and West Bridgewater, North Bridgewater, and parts of the towns of Hanson and Pembroke. In the southeastern part of this territory, on the banks of the Taunton River, is located the site which we have called Titicut, and in which we are particularly interested, Map No. 5.

The several grants and deeds involved are difficult to follow because of the ambiguous language in which they are written and also because of conflicts between them. Also, a woeful lack of geographical knowledge on the part of the English who drew the deeds is most apparent. When the township of Marshfield was created, lying just to the north of Duxbury on the North River, a part of it was taken from that ancient township. Duxbury, feeling that they were thereby entitled to an enlargement in compensation immediately petitioned the court for "an extension to the westward." Under date of March 1642, we find the following Court order: "It is concluded upon by the Court, that the northerly bounds of Marshfield shall be, from the rock that is flat on top, to the North River, by a northwest line from Green's Harbor Fresh, to the tree called Poole's and to take in Edward Bonpass' land; provided that Duxbury have an enlargement beyond the Massachusetts Path, when they have viewed it."

The inhabitants of Duxbury were not satisfied with this mere reference to an enlargement for them and pressed the court for a more explicit order. On August 16, 1644, we find this entry: "Upon the petition of Duxbury men it is thought good by the Court, that there be a view taken of the lands described by them, namely twelve miles up into the woods from the Plymouth bounds at John's River; and, if it prove not prejudicial to the plantation to be erected at Taughtaquid (Titicut), nor to the meadows of Plymouth at Winnityuckett, (Winnituxet) it may be confirmed unto them; provided also the herring and alewife river at Namassachusett shall be equally between the two towns of Duxbury and Marshfield."

The following year the grant was made and confirmed to them as follows: "1645, The inhabitants of the town of Duxbury are granted a competent portion of the lands about Saughtuchquett (Satucket) towards the west for a plantation for them, and to have it four miles every way from the place where they shall set up their center, provided it entrench not upon Winnityuckett, formerly granted to Plymouth. And we have nominated Captain Myles Standish, Mr. John Alden,
George Soule, Constant Southworth, John Rogers, and William Bret, to be feoffes, in trust for the equal dividing and laying forth of the said lands to the inhabitants."

This is the usual pre-purchase grant, intended only to specify the extent of and transfer the right to purchase from the Indians, and Captain Myles Standish, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth, men skilled in negotiations of this sort, were selected by the committee to make the actual purchase.

Considerable difficulty has been encountered in determining the exact location of the "center" chosen by the committee appointed by the Court to view the land. There is no definite record by which one can be absolutely sure of the spot but there are several references to attempts by the court to get a precise answer from the purchasers in this regard. One is forced to depend upon historians who fail to document their writings and to scaled measurements from the present bounds of the town. Mitchell says, "The purchase and contract were said to have been made and executed on a small, rocky hill, anciently called Sachem's Rock, a little south of Whitman's Mills, where the East Bridgewater manufacturing establishment now is, and near the house where Seth Latham formerly lived. --- The Indian name of the place was Wonnocoote. The weir, which was made the central point of the purchase was some distance above the present mills, directly back of the late Deacon William Harris' house --- near the ancient fording place. The old weir was entirely overflowed by the new mill pond, and, of course, discontinued as a fishing place." (27) There is now no hope of finding the house where "Seth Latham formerly lived" nor the house of Deacon William Harris, and the Indian name of Wonnocoote has been lost long ago. However, the location of the mill referred to and the mill pond which is supposed to have flowed over the precise point selected as the center of the purchase was found and measurements from that point check well with the present bounds of the town. I have therefore assumed that the small mill pond on the Satucket river in East Bridgewater, near the junction of Whitman and Plymouth Streets, is very close to the original center of the Duxbury purchase.

On Map No. 5, the solid line nearest the center represents the southern and western limits of the original four mile grant.

Turning to their old friend Ousamequin (Massasoit) at Pokonoket, the committee selected to make the purchase, obtained a deed to more than cover the grant. The deed, which is given here in full, was drawn by Captain Myles Standish, and probably in order to compensate for geographical error or to provide for future extension, was so written as to cover a tract of land seven miles each way from the center.

"Witness these present that I, Ousamequin, Sachem of the country of Pokonoket, have granted, enfeoffed, and sold unto Miles Standish of Duxbury, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth of Duxbury aforesaid, a tract of land usually called Satucket, extending in breadth and length thereof as followeth, that is to say, from the west at Satucket seven miles due east, and from the said west seven miles due west, and from the said west seven miles due north, and from the said west seven miles due south; the which tract the said Ousamequin hath granted, enfeoffed, and sold unto said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth.

In witness whereof I, the said Ousamequin, have hitherto set my hand this 23rd day of March 1649

John Bradford Witness the Ousamequin Mark of

Wm. Ottway (alias Parker)

In consideration of the aforesaid bargain and sale we, the said Miles Standish do bind ourselves to pay unto the said Ousamequin for and in consideration of the said tract of land as followeth:

7 coats, a yard and a half in a coat
9 hoes
80 knives
1/4 Moose skins
10 and a half cotton

Miles Standish
Samuel Nash

This deed from Ousamequin covers a tract of land fourteen miles square rather than eight miles square as granted by the Court, a slight difference of one hundred thirty-two square miles. The extent of this deed is shown on Map No. 5 by the broken lines farthest from the center of the purchase. This purchase encroached upon the Indian lands at Titicut and Taunton or Cohannet Purchase to the west, but still more interestingly, it covered a portion of the Middleborough purchases south of the Taunton River. Also we have previously seen, this land in the northern part of Middleborough was claimed by Wampatuck the Massachusetts and was later sold by him to the inhabitants of Middleborough. As soon as the sale became known to them the Indians of Titicut made protest at the Plymouth Court as follows: "Pacumka, Ahivum, Catschimah, Webacowett, and Masahanett do all affirm, that Chokataubut his bounds did extend from Nishenahaquannet, near Duxbury mill to Teghtacutt, near Taunton, and to Nunneckatassett (Nipmucket), and from thence in a straight line to Wanamamucke, where is the head of the Charles River; this they all do solemnly affirm, saith God knoweth this to be true, and knoweth their Harts, (28)

Dated the first of the fourth month, 1650

Witness: Encrease Nowell
John Elliot
John Moore

A few months later the following significant entry indicates that the Duxbury purchasers acknowledged the claims of the friends of Wampatuck and took steps to satisfy him: "Josiah Wampatuck, sagemore of the Massachusetts, and Nahatan, the same of Tewoppum, came to Plymouth the 7th of June 1650, and there did testify, that the land, according to a draught in the keeping of Mr. Hathery and others, and the particulars thereon specified, was the only pper lands of Chikataubut father of Josiah Wampatuck aforesaid; and this he acknowledged before Captain Miles Standish, Mr. William Thomas, and John Alden, Mr. Hathery and others with him have bought so much of the land mentioned of the said Josiah Wampatuck as concerneth them to buy." (29)

It would appear that the Duxbury purchasers obtained two deeds to cover their grants, one from the Wampatuck sachem Ousamequin and a second from the Massachusetts sachem, Josiah Wampatuck. Later negotiations indicate that in spite of their purchase of a larger tract of land the purchasers were forced to be content with the amount specified by the original grant of the Court.

Having acquired title, the Duxbury men began to look about their new township and, much to their chagrin, they discovered, directly to the west but outside of the limits of the four mile grant, a rich tract of meadow land. Actually this land was within the bounds of the Indian deeds and the aboriginal title had been extinguished, but if they were to have the use of it they must find some way to include it within the Court grant. Two plans were evolved whereby they might annex the desired land and they acted upon both of them. They petitioned the Court "for leave to move their center one and a half miles to the west" and they also petitioned for an extension of two miles beyond the original grant. Either of these petitions, if granted, would add the coveted meadows to the township.

After a committee appointed by the Court had reported upon the expediency, the Court, in 1662, took the following action: 
"In answer to a petition preferred to the Court by Bridgewater, it is agreed that the meadow land lying northward and westward from the center within the seven miles is inclusive." They also were given leave of the Court to move their center which they afterwards did, moving it a mile and a half from the place where it was first established, selecting a large oak tree for a new monument. These grants included the lands at Hockomock in the township of Bridgewater.

At a later date the Court again enlarged their grant so as to extend from the center six miles north, if the line between the colony and Massachusetts did not intervene, and on the west to Taunton (now Raynham and Easton) and on the south and southeasterly side to the Titicut River, and so far as the...
Richard Bourne
Witness
pcell
presents not to sell or
already been sold to the English either Taun­
from Ousamequin
deed by Josiah, however, had "already been
These
possession
spect; the which I doe engage and promise by
allies Chickataubut doe promise by these pre­
shall peaceably enjoy the same without eny
or whatsoever may be
This land to the south, however, between
the original four mile line and the Taunton
River, is that in which we are interested as
with in it is located the site under discus­sion
here. That this land was still in the
possession of the Indians in 1661, is attested by
the following deed recorded during that
year at Plymouth:

Fence Gour
A Deed Appointed to be Recorded. (32)

These presents witnesseth that I, Josiah
allies Chickataubut doe promise by these pres­ents
to guie unto the Indians liuing upon the Cotuhtikut (Titicut or Taunton) riuer (viz)
Pompanahoo, Wa'wees, and the other Indians
liuing there; excepting the lands which have
already been sold to the English either Taun­ton, Bridgewater, or the Major, [Major William
Bradford] that is three miles upon either side of the River, and doe promise by these
presents not to sell or guie to any pte or
poall of land, big the aforesaid Indians shall
peaceably enjoy the same without any
Interuption from me or by my means in any re­spect; the which I doe promise and by
these presents witness my hand this 9th day of
June in the year 1661.

Witness
Chickataubut allies
Josiah
John Low O His Marke His
Wuttanamatuke His Marke

Most of the land referred to in the above
deed by Josiah, however, had "already been
sold to the English" (Map No. 5). The pur­chasers of Bridgewater had secured a deed
from Ousamequin which covered all the land on
the north side of the Taunton River between
the bounds of Taunton (now Raynham) and the
Major's Purchase to the east near the mouth
of the Winnetuxet River. They were a bit
doubtful, however, of their legal rights to the
southernmost portion of these lands as
the Court had been careful in all the instru­ments to insert the proviso that "the Indians
at Titicut shall not be molested." Also, as
they were aware, Josiah Wampatuck or Josiah
Chickataubut, as he was often called, who
later sold this land, did not recognize the
right of Ousamequin which had been extinguish­ed
by the deed of 1659. The land on the
south bank of the river, as we have seen,
was sold by Josiah Chickataubut to the En­glish. (Purchase Purchase 1661 and Twenty­Six Men's Purchase 1662.)

A close examination of the following
deeds will further identify these remaining
lands as that portion of the present Bridge­water lying between the mouth of the Namasket
and Raynham.

A Deed Appointed to be Recorded (33)

These presents witnesseth that wee Josias
Chickataubut, Pompanahoo, Wa'wees, and
Wottanamatuke, doe freely guie unto Charles
allies Pompanunett a certain pcell of land
lying by the river Cotuhtikut (Titicut)
Bound as follows (viz) by a river called
Ahquannissawassoq and towards the north [of]
of the river Cotuhtikut; and soe one hundred
acres within this bounds; extending in the
woods; to accomplish the aforesaid one hun­dred acres and soe bounded; as it appears
when laid out; all of which one hundred acres
was the aforesaid Chickataubut, Pompanahoo,
Wa'wees, and Wottanamatuke; doe freely guie
from us and ours to the aforesaid Pompanunett
his and his with all priuilidges, emmitis,
or whatsoever may be for his benefit within
the aforesaid bounds.

Witness our hands this sixth day of October
in the year one thousand six hundred and
sixty-four (1664)

Witness Richard Bourne The marke of Josias
Apwanooke His Marke The Marke of Pompana­Humpees His Marke

The Marke Wa'wees
The Marke Wuttana­matuke

In order to be certain of the identity of
this particular land, it is necessary to get
a bit ahead of ourselves and examine a testi­mony regarding the previous deed which was
recorded at the Court in 1673.

The testimony of George Wampei this 31st of
October 1673, who saith that Josiah Wampatuck,
with ye consent of George Wampei, have unto
Charles Pompunit (given) first of all one
hundred acres of Upland. And afterward the
aforesaid Josiah have unto the aforesaid
Charles another tract of land lying upon the
Norther side of Cotuhtikut (Titicut) river
and lying between two brooks, one of ye
brooks is called Namuneunkquassit and the
other Brooks is called Ahquannissawassoq about one mile from the Titikut River towards
Bridgewater. And Josiah gave this land to
Charles with all Appurtenances for his heirs
and Assigns for ever. (34)
Within the Indian land remaining between the original Four Mile grant and the Titicutt River there are only two brooks flowing from the north into the Titicutt River. These two brooks are shown on Map No. 5 and so named. It must be said, however, that the names as shown may be reversed as there is now no way to determine the precise application of the long Indian names.

The Bridgewater Purchasers, having established their settlement to the north, again turned their eyes toward the south and again made an attempt to settle the legal status of the land there. The following deed appears under date of 1672. (35)

Deed by Pomponohoo

This deed made November 20th, A.D. 1672., witnesseth that I, Pomponohoo alias Peter, an Indian living at Titicutt, in the colony of New Plymouth in New England, having sold for the sum of sixteen pounds, viz, six pounds of current money of New England, and ten pounds of good merchantable corn, as by bill appeareth, all the lands lying on the north side of Titicutt within the town of Bridgewater, what lands were mine, or were either my father's or grandfather's or any otherwise conferred on me, excepting these lands expressed as follows, viz., one hundred acres given to an Indian Charles, my brother-in-law, and a certain parcel of land lying against the weir, and bounded by the landing place, running to the head of my field, containing about ten acres at the utmost, I say I the above said Pomponohoo, alias Peter, have bargained, sold, and by these presents do bargain and sell, for myself, my heirs, and assigns forever unto Nicholas Byram, sen., Samuel Edson, sen., and William Brett, sen., in and for the use of the townsmen of Bridgewater, joint purchasers with them, which parcels above mentioned and that parcel of land ordered by the Court to make purchase of these lands, as by Court record appears, I say I have sold all these lands with every part thereof and all imunities and privileges to peaceably possess, without the lawful let, interruption, or molestation of me, the above said Pomponohoo, alias Peter, or other persons whoever lawfully claiming by, or under me, or any of them, in witness whereof I have set here my hand and seal.

Pomponohoo

Mark

Received and sealed and delivered in the presence of Joseph Heywood and John Avery

Acknowledged before Josiah Winslow, Governor, February 20, 1676

Recorded by Nathaniel Clark, Dec. March, 1695

Except for the one hundred acres still reserved for Charles and a small parcel of about ten acres lying somewhere in the vicinity of Pratt's Bridge, which marks the site of the ancient Indian weir and landing place on the Titicutt (Tauntun) River, this deed completed the transfer to the English of all the disputed land between the original Four Mile grant and the Tauntun River. It would seem that Pomponohoo and Charles, and probably their families, were living on this site in Titicutt as late as 1672. In 1673, three Indians appeared at the Plymouth Court and testified that Josiah Wampatuck gave Charles the land described above, these three Indians were Sachamus of Satucket, Paupsququad, and Massentumpaline. (36)

Sometime during the year 1669, Josiah Wampatuck had gone with a party of New England Indians to fight the Mohawk from which expedition he failed to return. However, Josiah had a son called Jeremy, and Jeremy had a son whom he called Charles Josiah. According to Gookin, this Charles Josiah was the last of the line. (37) The use of this name Josiah, sometimes coupled with Wampatuck and at other times with Chickataubut, by several generations, is a most confusing circumstance.

The purchasers of Bridgewater still felt a bit uneasy about possessing original title from Ousamquin to their Four Mile Purchase. In 1666, thirty-seven years after obtaining the original deed from the Wampanoag sachem Ousamquin, and long after he and both of his sons were dead and the tribe dispersed, they obtained the following deed from a Josiah Wampatuck. This Josiah must have been the son of Jeremy and the great-great-grandson of the original Chickataubut, sachem of the Massachusetts.

"To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, Josiah Wampatuck sendeth greeting, - Know ye, that I, Josiah aforesaid for and in consideration of ten pounds in money to me in hand paid, and one hundred acres of land lying on the upper end of Poor Meadow, on the lower side of a foot path that goeth to Situate, lying on both sides of the river, doth confirm and establish and ratify unto Samuel Edson, sen. Ensign John Heyward, and John Willis, sen., in behalf of the purchasers and the town of Bridgewater in New Plymouth Colony in New England, and to their heirs, executors, and administrators and assigns for ever, all that whole tract of land lying northward of the south four mile line of Bridgewater, which Ousamquin, sachem of the Pokonoket country, by the consent and approbation of His Majesty's General Court at Plymouth, in New England, in the year 1645, sold to the inhabitants of Duxbury, as appears by deed under Ousamquin's hand to Captain Myles Standish, Mr. Constant Southworth, and Samuel Nash, as agents for the town of Duxbury. I, the above said Josiah do ratify and confirm the above sale of Ousamquin's and bargain of lands belonging to Bridgewater, as upon the rivers, ponds, timber, underwood, herbage, Six. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

miles, with all comodities, benefits, immunities, and appurtenances, whatever therein contained, shall be proprietors and full purchasers in the lands at Titicut, which had been bought of the Indians." The actual division, which had been postponed probably because of the Indian War which broke out in 1675, was carried out in 1685. During the ten years that had passed the one hundred and forty lots retained by Charles and his family were lot belonging to Pomponooh had been acquired in some manner, as they seem to have been included in the division of 1685. It is also the other possible that these Indians had joined the hostiles during the war and that their lands were considered forfeit to the English by right of conquest.

The lands on the north side of the Titicut River (Taunton River) within the township of Bridgewater lying on the south side of the Purchasers Four Mile Line from the center, called the Titicut Purchase, or land, is laid out in two divisions of lots, called great lots and little lots; there being sixty-four of each division. The great lots begin towards the easterly side and run from the Four Mile Line southerly. The little lots begin on the westerly side of the path left to go down to Titicut wear (the present Vernon Street) and run west for their length butting on said path, till they come to the river at said wear. Then they begin on the easterly side of the way and run easterly for their length, butting on the easterly side of the way 1675 till they come to the sixty-third lot, which butts on a brook, the lot running on both sides of the way. The last lot, James Craig's lies by itself down river against Spanyard's land. It would seem that the land on which we are now excavating was one of the little lots divided in 1685 and that it was the last of those on the westerly side of the way (Vernon Street).

As a bit of additional corroborative evidence that the ancient landing place on the Titicut River mentioned in Pomponooh's Deed and in the division of lots in Titicut Purchase was indeed located near Pratt's Bridge where we are at present excavating, the following excerpt from Weston's Middletboro History is included. - "John Winthrop, Jr. who accompanied an expedition from the Bay of Narragansett up the Taunton River in 1636, sailed up the river as appears in the following letter to his father:"

Seybrook, Pasheahut April 7, 1636.

From John Winthrop to the Right Honorable and Much Honored Father, John Winthrop, Who Dwells in Boston. Sir:

My humble duty remembered to yourself and my mother, with love to my brothers and all of our friends with you. I suppose that you have heard of our arrival at Titicut, an opportune meeting with our vessels, Concerning that plan I conceive is about 22 or 23 miles from Welling. Very fertile and rich land and so far we went down the bay wide into Sachem's Harbor and a ship of 500
tons may go up to about ten or twelve miles. There is no meadow or salt marsh all the way. The first of the month we sail from Narragansett and in the evening about six o'clock arrived here. Thus craving your prayers and blessings I commend you to the Almighty and the rest.

Your obedient son
John Winthrop"

Mitchell adds, "He (Winthrop) evidently sailed up the river as far as the wading place at Pratt's Bridge, as the river is navigable for small ships of not more than five hundred tons up to that point."

Before we leave the history of this interesting spot near the ancient wading place, let me include a bit of not quite so ancient history. While excavating the Indian site, we discovered the site of an old shipyard, the launching arrangements of which were quite an evident part of the topography. In searching the records concerning the history of the area, the following came to light in this regard. (39) About a quarter of a mile below Pratt's Bridge was formerly a shipyard, and one ship was built there by Deacon Holmes of Kingston in the early part of 1800, called the two Brothers. A little later Captain Benjamin Pratt built several ships of forty to fifty tons burden which were used in the coast trade which he and his sons carried on with the south.

William Pratt - Born April 6, 1746 - died aged 62 years - 1808. (39) It is recorded that at the age of twenty (1766), hearing of the death of his father and two brothers in North Carolina, he went there, sold vessels and a cedar swamp, which they had owned, and after settling all their business, he bought himself a horse, armed himself with a brace of pistols for protection against robbers, and rode home, bringing with him a considerable sum of money.

He lived in Titicut parish (North Middleboro) where he bought a farm from one Boyes, who bought it from Chickatsbut, an Indian sachem. He added to his farm from time to time until he owned four hundred acres. He built a number of vessels and was captain of one of them for a few years. By permit of the General Court, with a Captain Edson, he erected a dam across the great river, where he built, on the south side, a grist mill, a saw mill, and a linseed oil mill. Captain Edson built several mills on the north side.-------- The old mill race and a trace of foundations can yet be traced on the north side of the river west of Pratt's Bridge.

Weston tells us "the building of a few ships along the Taunton River entirely ceased after Jefferson's embargo in 1812." (40)

But to return to our ancient records. The Indians apparently continued to live across the river from Bridgewater on the Indian Reservation "so called" in North Middleboro, after their sale of their remaining lands north of the river. In 1669, Rev. Grindel Rawson of Mendon and the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton were appointed by the society to visit the several Indian settlements in the Old Colony. They reported three settlements and churches, one at Middleboro or Nemaskeet, one at Titicut, and one at Assawompsett. Only the site of the one at Titicut, on Pleasant Street in North Middleboro, near the center of the parish, can now be identified. The report of the ministers stated that there were at Titicut 140 adults to whom Charles Aham preaches. The church at Titicut was apparently well sustained until after the middle of the 18th century. The Rev. Mr. Treat occasionally visited the Indians of the section. (41)

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE INDIANS

Having covered in some detail the complicated pattern of land transactions in Bristol and Plymouth counties and established the evidence needed for our conclusions as to final date for the Indian occupation of the Titicut lands and having also established the identity of the particular Indians who deeded the various purchases, it is necessary to consider briefly that portion of the history of the area, between 1575 and 1675, which bears upon the political affiliations of those individuals. This will furnish us with the desired evidence upon which to base our final conclusion concerning the politics of the Indian inhabitants of Titicut of proto-historic times.


Judging from the signatories of the deeds we have examined, it would seem that in early colonial times the Wampanoags held sway over all, or a substantial portion, of the present counties of Nantucket, Dukes, Barnstable, Norfolk, Plymouth, and Bristol in Massachusetts as well as Bristol and Newport counties in Rhode Island. The eastern and southern boundaries of this tribe were rather definitely established by water but their northern boundary is somewhat uncertain.

Caverly, in his history of the early wars among the New England Indians grants a much larger domain to the Wampanoags than any other serious student of the area with whom I am acquainted. He believes that the north-
ern limits of Wampanoag influence was such that even the Pennacooks came under their domination.

Major Gookin, writing in 1673, speaks of the Wampanoags, Massachusetts, Pennacooks, and Narragansetts as independent federations allied from time to time in varying combinations.

Samuel Drake, in his Aboriginal Races, states that "the limits of his country, [Ousamequin of the Wampanoags towards the Nipmucks, or inland Indians, are not precise," it is evident, however, from the following that in 1617 the Nipmucks were rather uncertain about their sachem, and probably belonged at one time to Massasoit and at another to the Narragansetts, or others as circumstances impelled. The Napat (Nipmuck) Indians having no sachem of their own are at liberty; part of them appertain to the Narragansett sachem, and a part to the Mohegans. (Records of the United Col. in Narraganset, II, [1881].) Those at Quabog belonged to Massasoit or Wamassamquin, as he was then called, as will be evident from the facts, to be found in the life of Uncas. He owed all of Cape Cod, and all that part of Massachusetts and Rhode Island between Narragansett and Massachusetts Bays, extending inland between Pawtucket and the Charles Rivers, a distance not satisfactorily ascertained -----

Howard N. Chapin in his "Sachems of the Narragansett" goes to the other extreme and would have us believe that the Wampanoags and the Nipmucks were under the dominion of the Narragansett sachems. He says, in part, "The Narragansetts, a tribe located principally in the eastern part of the present South County, had gradually forced the neighboring tribes into submission. The Miantons to the west, the Cowesets, Shawomets and Nipmucks to the north, the island tribes to the east, and those on Block Island and on the eastern shore of Long Island all became vassals of the powerful Narragansetts." Chapin has some grounds for his assertions with regard to Narragansett dominance over the Wampanoags, he would have to a period ending just after the coming of the English to Plymouth. The facts of history seem to indicate that this event operated to upset a balance of power and set in motion a chain of events which resulted in a successful revolt by the Wampanoags against Narragansett overlordship.

If we are to understand correctly the political situation among the Indians of southern New England around 1620, we must take into consideration a number of significant events of the decade just preceding that date. Gookin, who received much of his information from firsthand, tells us that about the year 1615, a predatory people whose territories lay somewhere to the north of Massachusetts, initiated a series of raids or "wars" upon the scattered villages of the Massachusetts and Wampanoags. These southern Indians called their enemies Tarratines. Speck identified the Tarratines as Fenobscots. (12) Sweeping down from the north in raids after raid these savage warriors made life miserable for their victims. The exact extent of their depredations is unknown but the Wampanoags and Massachusetts were considerably weakened probably as much because of their losses of stored foods and destroyed villages as by their actual loss in men killed in battle. The Narragansetts, because of their remote location from the Fenobscot country and being protected by the intervening Wampanoags and Massachusetts, seem to have been exempt from these troubles. Bradford, speaking of a trading voyage undertaken in the fall of 1621, says that the Indians about Massachusetts Bay were fearful lest the Tarratines come, and take away their corn and kill many of their people.

A still more disastrous event was an extraordinary plague or epidemic which swept the country of the Massachusetts and Wampanoags on the heels of the Tarratine raids. Wars they understood, and could take some measures to protect themselves against this terrible sickness they were completely defenseless. Thousands of Indians died; so rapidly did the sickness spread that the living were unable to bury the dead or care for those who still lived. Those who were able to do so abandoned their villages and fled to the forest to escape the dread disease, where, without shelter from the elements, or food to nourish the body, they fell even more quickly before its onslaught. The Patuxets, whose village stood somewhere in the vicinity of the later town of Plymouth, were one of the groups who were destroyed to a man.

The Massachusetts and Wampanoags, once powerful federations, were reduced to a mere shadow of their former strength by these two events but their none too friendly neighbors to the west and south, the Narragansetts, were hardly touched by either of these debilitating calamities.

Taking advantage of the weakened condition of the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts, under Miantonomi, began to invade their country across the bay. The Narragansetts, led by their sachem Ousamequin did what they could in defense of their territory but in their sorry condition they were no match for the Narragansetts. Ousamequin later told his friend Roger Williams how he was forced to attend the savage court of Canonicus at Narragansett and acknowledge himself and his lands as subject to that federation. He added, however, that his people had not been subdued by war alone, but that the terrible plague and the Tarratine raids had so weakened them that successful defense could not be maintained. This state of domination on the part of the Narragansetts, which must have been of short duration, seems to have convinced Mr. Chapin that the Narragansetts held the surrounding tribes in complete vassalage. Had it not been for the sudden introduction of a new and very powerful influence at this critical moment,

12. Fenobsoor Men - Speck, pp. 12, 211, 212.
the English advent at Plymouth, the Narragansetts might well have become the rulers of all southern New England.

Ousamequin, the Wampanoag sachem, was not only a valiant warrior but he seemed to have been an able statesman. Grasping the opportunity that the proffered friendship of these fear-provoking white people offered to him, he and his councilors traveled over the Rhode Island Path to Plymouth and there, on March 22, 1621, concluded an offensive-defensive alliance with the English. This action was, of course, tantamount to renouncing his submission to the Narragansetts. After a few days of feasting and celebration, he headed back again to Pokonoket, once more unaware that he was caught in a friendly embrace that was to prove far more fatal to his people than submission to the Narragansetts would ever have been.

In Plymouth the little group of Englishmen, reduced to a mere handful in that first terrible winter of hardship, and conscious that the Indians by mere numbers could have more than over balanced their superiority in arms, were delighted to have arrived at a peaceful solution of their Indian problem. While at Pokonoket, a score fifty miles to the west, Ousamequin rejoiced in the advantageous treaty he had arranged and thanked the Englishmen to his country. Such an ally with his thunder-producing arms more than replaced his lost warriors and enabled him to throw off the hateful yoke his enemies across the bay had so lately forced upon him. Over in South County, the Narragansett sachems watched with calculating eye, while to the north the cautious Massачusett.s bided their time, ready to join the winner.

The angry Narragansett.s, unwilling to allow themselves to be so easily cheated of their victory, looked about them for some means of testing the value of the Wampanoag-English alliance and found it in the person of a Wampanoag sub-sachem, Caunbitant. This sachem was not too impressed by the English, at least for the moment, and seemed to have preferred to consort with people of his own race rather than with these strangers at Plymouth. He undertook to stir up a bit of trouble for Ousamequin. As his first act of sabotage he seized Tisquantum, whom he called "the tongue of the English," at Namasket. This occurred in August of 1621. The doughty little Captain of Plymouth, Myles Standish, instantly rushed to the rescue and Caunbitant, alarmed by this sudden and violent reaction from the Narragansetts, released his prisoner, and fled into the swamps of the Massachusetts country. Here he made contact with Chickatawbut, and these two, after many solemn Indian councils and much discussion of the problem, went to Plymouth and on September 13, 1621, and submitted themselves as subjects of King James. (l3)

Without waiting to see the outcome of Caunbitant's action at Namasket, the Narragansett.s struck directly at Ousamequin and succeeded in taking him and his councilors prisoner. When this news reached Plymouth, Standish again prepared to take the field, and emissaries were dispatched to demand the immediate release of their allies. Canonicus, disconcerted by the instant action, and possibly by now appraised of the failure of Caunbitant, complied with the English demand and released his prisoners.

There were two parties among the Narragansett.s; one headed by the aging Canonicus, desired peace, while the other, under the young and impetuous Minatonomi were determined to maintain their power over the Wampanoag.s and Massачusett.s even though it meant a war with them and their English allies. One can imagine the councils held by the disappointed Narragansett.s during that winter of 1621-22. Fiery speeches by the young and spirited followers of Minatonomi, cautious and conciliatory words by the older sachems. Probably the medicine men were consulted and their varied auguries considered while the drums throbbed and the fires burned red. In February the war party sent a challenge to Plymouth in the form of a snake skin stuffed with arrows and received it in return containing powder and lead. Canonicus refused to receive this ominous answer and by that act renounced his control over the Indians to the north and east.

This peace lasted until 1632, a fatal delay which allowed the Wampanoag.s to recoup their early losses due to aloofness, and during which the English strength had appreciated considerably. In April of that year the Narragansett warriors again crossed the bay and attacked their ancient enemies at Pokonoket. But this time there were Englishmen living at Sowams and, while the Indians quickly fled toward Plymouth, these resolutely defended themselves. (ll4) Canonicus took the field himself and called for reinforcement, preparing to make the force of arms while Standish, as usual, rushed to the danger spot with his hastily assembled army. For a while it looked as if a test of the strength of the English was about to begin. But the Narragansett.s had other powerful enemies to their rear in the Pequots. These fierce warriors seized the opportunity and began an invasion of the Narragansett country from the west while Canonicus and his brave.s were busy on their eastern frontier. Canonicus was forced to withdraw his invading forces instantly and move to protect his own country from the Pequots. Once again the Wampanoag.s were rescued by their friends from Plymouth while the Narragansett.s and the Pequots dragged on for nearly three years, the Pequots being finally expelled from Narragansett territory. But by this time the English were so firmly established both at Plymouth and at the Bay that there was no longer any question of Wampanoag independence from the Narragansett.s, at least.

Shortly after the Journey of Ousamequin

(Aboriginal Races - Drake, p. 98.)

(l3) Sachems of the Narragansett.s - Chapin, p. 12.
to Plymouth for the purpose of arranging his famous treaty with the colonists, two of the Pilgrims, sent by our Governor to pay a visit to Pokonoket. As these two men may have been the first Englishmen, of whom we have any record, to visit the site of our excavations at Titicut, and as some of their observations would have a bearing upon the present study, we will digress for a moment and examine an account of that journey. An original account of this appears in "The Journal" to which we will now turn: (45)

A Journey to Packanokik, The Habitation of The Great King Masassoct.

As also our Message, the Answer, and entertainment we had of him.

"It seemed good to the company for many considerations to send some amongst them to Massassoyat, the greatest commander amongst the savages bordering about us, partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to have a better view of the country, prevent abuse in their disorderly coming to us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our part, and to continue the league of friendship and peace between them and us. For these and like ends, it pleased the Governor to make a choice of Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow to go unto him, and, having a fit opportunity, by reason of a savage called Tisquantum (that could speak English) coming to us: with all expedition provided a Horse-man's coat of red cotton, and laced with a slight lace for a present, that both they and our message might be more acceptable amongst them. The Message was as followeth: That for as much as his subjects came often and without fear, upon all occasions amongst us, so now we come unto them, and in witness of the love and good will the English bear unto him, the Governor hath sent him a coat, desiring that the peace and Amity that was between them and us might be continued, not because we intended not to injure them but because we intended not to injure them, desiring to live peaceably; and as with all men, so especially with them our nearest neighbors. But whereas his people came very often, and very many unto us, bringing for the most part their wives and children with them, they were welcome; yet we being but strangers yet at Patuxet, alias New Plymouth, and not knowing how our corn might prosper, we could no longer give them such entertainments we had done, and as we desired still to do; yet if he would be pleased to come himself, or any special friend of his desired to see us, coming from him they should be welcome; and to the end we might know them from others, our Governor sent him a copper chain, desiring if any messenger should come from him to us, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and give credit to his Message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as have skins would bring them to us, saying we should hinder the multitude from oppressing us with them. And whereas, at our first arrival at Pequot (called by us Cape Cod) we found there corn buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but some graves of dead new-buried, took the corn reserving if ever we heard of any that had a right there to, to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet we understood the owners thereof were fled for fear of us, our desire was either to pay them with a like quantity of corn, English meal, or any other commodity we had to pleasure them withal; requesting him that someone of his men might signify as much to them, and we would content him for his pains. And last of all, our Governor requested one favor of him, which was, that he would exchange some of their corn for seed with us, that we might make a trial which might agree best with the soil where we lived. With these presents and message we set forward the tenth of June about 4 o'clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namasket, a town under Massassoyat, and conceiv'd by us to be very near because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon us every slight occasion amongst us; but we found it to be some distance in discovering the country. 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 virtuall is railest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer, by reason whereat our Bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither; and now returned with us to Namasket. Thither we came about three o'clock after noon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy; in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread called by them Masium and the spawn of shad, which they got in abundance, in so much as they gave us spoons to eat them, with these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shads we ate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them, who shotting some four score off and killing, they admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pokonoket, moving us to go some eight miles further where we should find more store and better victuals than there. Being willing to hasten our journey we went, and came thither at sun setting, where we found many Nemaschets (they so called the men of Nemasket) fishing upon a ware which they had made on a river belonging to them, where they caught an abundance of bass. They welcomed us also gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting that we should have enough were we came. There we lodged in the open fields, for houses they have none, though they spent most of the summer there. The head of the river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode, upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. Thousands of men have lived here, which died in the great plague not long since, and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields and so well niered and tilled to be presently manured. Upon this river dwelleth Massasoyat. It cometh to the sea at Narrohigenett Bay, where the Frenchmen so much use. A ship may go many miles up it, as the Savages report, and a shallop to the head of it, but
so far as we saw a shallop may, But to re
turn to our journey. The next morning we
brake our fast, took our leave and departed
being accompanied by six savages. Having
gone about six miles by the river side at a
known place, it being low water, they
spake to us to put off our britches, for we
must wade through. Here let me not forget
the valor and courage of some of the savages,
on the opposite side of the river, for there
were remaining alive only two men, both aged,
especially one being about three score.
These espying a company of men entering the
water, ran very swiftly and low in the grass
to meet us at the bank, with shrill
voices and great courage standing, charged
upon us with their bows, they demanded what
we were, supposing us to be enemies, and
but he should have a spring at hand to
also along, we observed that there were
accordingly in

There is much good timber both oak, walnut,

Having here again refreshed ourselves, we
proceeded upon our journey the weather being
very rainy and tempestuous, and we were
watered so that a man could scarce be dry,
but he should have a spring at hand to
quench his thirst, besides small rivers in
abundance. But the savages will not will­
ingly drink but at a spring head. When we
came to any small brook where no bridge was,
we would lay

Indian, espied a man and told the rest
they

In some places in England. In some pleaces
lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly,

Some historians have said that on this
journey Hopkins and Winslow went to Pokonoket
by
tour. From that point the Rhode Island Path turns
southward, skirrs the bound of Taunton and
Cohannet Purchase, and crossing the Taunton
River near what is now East Taunton, pass
through Assonet to Sowams. To have visited
Titicut, the travellers would have to turn
north on the Titicut Path from the wading
place on the Namasket and travel about six
or eight miles directly away from Pokonoket.
However, that is what it seems they did, and
if we examine the account closely we will
find the hidden clues which suggest the de­
tour.

First let us note that Winslow says
that when they left Plymouth "our guide re­
solved that night to rest at Namasket." Having arrived at that village rather early
in the afternoon (about three o'clock) they
ate with the inhabitants and tarried to shoot
crows for them. Suddenly Tisquantum, the

There are two significant bits of evi­
dence which indicate that Titicut may have
been their destination. Winslow says "the head of the river is reported to be not far
from the place of their landing, and that
they had only two women with them, their baskets
were empty but they fetched water in their
bottles, so that we drank with them and de­
parted. After we met another man with two
women, and that it being low water, and
their baskets were full of roasted crab fishe,
and other dried shell fish, of which they gave us,
and we eat and drank with them, and gave each of the women a
string of beads and departed.

After we came to a town of Massasoyat's
where we eat oysters and other fish. From
hence we went to Pokonoket, but Massasoyat
was not at home, there we stayed, he being
sent for, when news was brought of our
coming - - - " (Here follows the account of
their visit with the sachem and their return
to Plymouth by the same path. This will be
omitted as there is nothing of particular
interest, as far as we are here concerned, in
the remainder of the account.)
HISTORICAL APPROACH TO TITICUT

by John Barnes into selling Prestown. It certainly looks more like the workings of a guilty English conscience than an actual intrigue, however, Wamsutta was taxed with the rumor which he, of course denied, promising to come to the Court at Plymouth and prove his innocence. This promise he failed to keep. Major Winslow, now in command at Plymouth, was sent to find and bring in the reluctant sachem to answer the charge of treason. Wamsutta is said to have had three hunting camps inland, one at Fowling Pond in Raynham, one at Titicut, and another at NonpooSET Pond in Halifax. (47) Winslow found him at the latter camp and persuaded him, not without difficulty, to come with him to Duxbury. At Duxbury, Wamsutta was taken suddenly ill and allowed to start back to Mount Hope upon his promise to return as soon as he was able. On the journey home, Wamsutta died.

Upon the death of his older brother, Pometacom, or Phillip as he is better known, became Chief Sachem. He is too well known to New England history for his valiant attempt to reverse the fortunes of his people and to regain the lands sold by his father and brother, to justify an account of his fortunes here. No discussion of his short life would add to our knowledge of land transactions or political affiliations of earlier days.

As the name of Tuspaquin, the Black Sachem, has appeared several times in the deeds quoted above, it may be well to consider him for a moment. We have seen how he was given the sachemship of the Pond Country by the will of Pamantaquash. He was married to Amie, daughter of Ousamequin and sister of the ill-starred Wamsutta and Pometacom. Tuspaquin fought valiantly by the side of his famous brother-in-law during the war of 1675-76 and lost his life at the very close of the conflict. Through Tuspaquin and Amie, the last of the royal line of the Wampanoags, Teweleema and Wootonekanuske Mitchell and Zeriah Robinson of Lakeville (now deceased) traced their descent. (18)

The name of Chickataubut and his several descendants who were known by the name of Josiah Wampatuck alias Josiah Chickataubut or just Josiah, have appeared many times in deeds to territory now included in the Bridgewater and Middleboro. Prior to the plague and raids of 1600 to 1617, the Massachusetts were a powerful political group. Early comers to New England were told by the "old men of Massachusetts" that their chief sachan, Chickataubut, formerly held dominion over many sub-sachems as those of Weechagaske, Neponset, Nonquasset, and some of the Nipmuck people. (19) They also said that they were often at war with the Narragansetts but usually friendly with the Wampanoags. Tradition has it that Chickataubut had his home somewhere within the present

47. Massasoit - Weeks, p. 133.
48. Indian History Biography and Genealogy - Pierce, p. 196.
49. Aboriginal Races - Drake, p. 106.

the English were eating shad and shooting crows at Namasket, Tuspaquin was probably visiting with his friends in the village. Now these Indians were aware of the Narragansetts' anger at Massasoit's treaty with the English and the plans which they had laid to test its value. Tuspaquin hearing these plans decided that Namasket was no place for him to spend the night and that to continue down the Rhode Island Path would mean spending the night even nearer to Caumitant's village. So, secure in the knowledge that his companions were not familiar with the forest trails, he urged them onward with his tales of better food, taking the northward trail to Titicut, as he felt it much safer to spend the night there in the open. In the morning he led them down the trail which rejoins the Rhode Island Path in what is now East Taunton and crossed the river about six miles below as Winslow tells us. At this point the ebb and flow of the tide is apparent even today.

If our assumption is correct, and many other writers have expressed the same belief, (46) we can underline Winslow's statement that "houses they had none" and that "thousands of men have lived here that died in the great plague not long since" to mean that in June of 1621 our village there was deserted and the houses fallen down.

Another interesting statement of Winslow regarding the fear on the part of some of his Indian companions that some Indians they discovered coming toward them might be Narragansetts indicates that it was not uncommon for Narragansetts to roam about Wampanoag country in small parties at that time. It does not appear that the Wampanoags were involved in any way in the Pequot War of 1636 and there are no other historical events in the lifetime of Ousamequin which have a bearing upon our present study. The exact time of the death of this sachem is in doubt, but probably occurred sometime in 1661 as the name of Wamsutta, his eldest son, begins to appear about that time as Chief Sachem of the Wampanoag.

Wamsutta, alias Mooanam, whose English name was Alexander seems to have been associated with his father for several years prior to his death, as chief sachem. In 1653, he signed a deed to Pokonoket with his father, and Roger Williams tells us that his land at Seekonk were given to him by Massasoit and his son Mooanam. It will be recalled that these lands at Seekonk were claimed by Plymouth and Williams was forced to move across the river to Providence Plantations. Wamsutta also signed a renewal of the Plymouth treaty in 1659.

In 1662, ugly rumors were circulating about Plymouth concerning Wamsutta. It was said that he was spending much time at Narragansett and that he was probably seeking an alliance with them against the English. This was shortly after he had been tricked...
bounds of Dorchester and that he had a hunting lodge at Titicut. (50)

Chickataubut, after his abortive attempt at revolt in 1621, fled to Chickataubut for protection. In January, September of that year Chickataubut, Caunbitant, and several other sachems went to Plymouth and there signed a submission which acknowledged them to be subjects of King James. (51) Chickataubut died of the smallpox during an epidemic among the Indians in November of 1632. The descendants of Chickataubut seem to have been quite limited in their choice of names, much to the confusion of historians. Chickataubut had a son called Josiah, alias Wampatuck; he signed several deeds as we have noted, as "chief sachem of the Massachusetts in New England." (52) Then there was Josias, alias Charles Josiah, alias Josiah Wampatuck (he used all three combinations) who called himself "grandson of Chickataubut, sachem of the Massachusetts." (53) This last Josias had a son whom he, in a burst of inspiration, called Jeremy but Jeremy returned to the fold and named his son Charles Josiah. This Charles Josiah was the last of the royal line of the Massachusetts.

CONCLUSIONS

We are much too prone to consider Indian sachems as absolute rulers and their governments as political entities similar to our own. Actually these New England sachems were simply outstanding characters who ruled because of their ability rather than by inherited right. True, they seem to have handed down their office to their sons, or as we have seen in one instance, willed the office to another, but the recipient could hold the sachemship only if he were worthy. The loyalty of the common people was not a fixed and unalterable thing, determined by birth and fixed by law, it varied with the popularity of this or that sachem or according to the will of the individual. In a similar manner we are prone to think of their tribal lands as similar to our own political divisions, bounded by precise and well defined lines upon the map. It is very doubtful, except perhaps in the case of a natural boundary such as that which separated the Narragansetts and the Wampanoags, that Indian frontiers were anywhere very definite.

Here in southern New England were three major political groups, three centers of radiating influence, their frontiers depending upon the relative strength of those radiating influences. Between them was a warring band of marginal territory, a band in which the different influences and loyalties met and merged, and in which lived Indians ready to give their allegiance to whichever sachem they might seem most powerful, or wise, or most able to lead them, for the moment.

Just prior to 1620, two circumstances, the Narratine raids and the great plague, caused a momentary unbalance of power. The Narragansetts seized upon the weakness of their neighbors to the north, seized some of their territory, and forced their sachems to bow in submission. The sachems of the Wampanoags were in temporary eclipse, the Massachusetts, decimated by war and sickness were to all practical purposes, destroyed as a political group, their sachems were hiding in swamps. Suddenly the English, with their superior weapons, appeared at Plymouth, an unknown but greatly overestimated source of power. All winter the Indians pondered the situation and sought to profit by the circumstance. Ousamequin was the first to make contact and seizing the opportunity entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the English. We have seen how this alliance helped Ousamequin to stay the tide of conquest which was moving upon him from the west, and how the Massachusetts and even the powerful Narragansett hastened to follow suit. Ousamequin's political star rose again and with it his frontiers to the north expanded to include lands which had heretofore been within the Massachusetts sphere of influence.

However, as the years passed, it became apparent that this sudden rise of Wampanoag influence was but temporary and the Indians about Titicut eventually summoned the courage to assert their independence especially in the matter of selling lands. After the death of the old sachem, Ousamequin, and the short sachemship of Wamsutta, the young and impetuous Phillip came into power. Quickly he realized that what had seemed wisdom in his father was in fact folly as far as the Indian was concerned. It was now too late to retrieve his tribal fortunes except by resort to arms, but to this expediency he, now in alliance with his hereditary enemies across the Bay, turned. This turn of events simply hastened the fate to which the Indians of southern New England had been doomed since the fatal treaty of 1621.

Signatures to the various deeds we have examined above indicate that prior to 1620 the southern bounds of Massachusetts territory were south of the Taunton River in Plymouth County, including the northern part of what later became the town of Middleborough. The site which we have called Titicut being north of the River in what is now Bridgewater was thus well within the territory of the

50. Ibid., p. 108.
51. Ibid., p. 94.
52. Ibid., p. 108.
53. Ibid., p. 109.
Massachusetts, and the inhabitants prior to that time would most probably have been of that tribe. Even though Wamsauquish later claimed and sold the territory including this site, he probably did so on the strength of his expanded influence after 1621. However, as we have seen, at a later date, when the Wampanoag influence was again declining, Josiah Wampatuck, the Massachusett, asserted his rights and also sold the territory.

Accepting our conclusion that Winslow and Hopkins visited the site and found it unoccupied in 1621, we can assume that the village was depopulated by the same plague which wiped out the nearby village of Patuxet. However, there were Indians living very near here in 1695, so that we may assume that the site was again occupied but, if so, the inhabitants were of Massachusetts descent as they were allowed to remain in possession during and after Phillip's War which privilege would most certainly have been denied to Wampanoags.

It now remains for us to justify our use of the name Titicut to designate the village site which we have been excavating. According to Trumbull, the name Titicut is derived from the Algonkian words Kehtetuck, Kethti, chief, principal, or greatest, and Tuck, tidal or broad river. It was originally applied by the Indians to that portion of the Taunton River between the mouth of the Namasket or the Winnetuxet and Cohannet Purchase. Above the Namasket the river, now Town River, was called by the Indians Nunkateest. As the term seems to have been used only to designate that portion of the river within Massachusett territory and never, so far as can be determined, to the lower part of the river, we may conclude that it was a Massachusett application.

At a later date the name became applied to the territory on both sides of the river by both Indians and English and came into general use as the name of an ill-defined strip of land on both banks of the Taunton River between the Poole Purchase and the Namasket. In its broadest sense it was applied to territory, river, and even the Indians who lived in the area, certain individuals being spoken of as the Titicut Indians or the Sachem of Titicut.

The name has persisted even to the present day, being now applied to a small neighborhood in North Middleboro, a street in Bridgewater, and a small railroad station near the Bridgewater State Farm.

In passing, it may be interesting to note that the Blackstone River in Worcester County was called by the Indians, Kututuck, and that in some old deeds to land in that area the name is written Titicut. And in our search for information about this word, the following came to light: "The name Teticutt is interesting, for though recorded as an Indian name, it is probably English, and appears on at least one seventeenth century map of North Devon, in the British Museum. It is spelled Tetecott, but the similarity seems too good to make them anything but identical in origin." (54)

Although it is most probable that the Indians did not use the name Titicut to specify any particular village but would simply say "the village at Titicut" or something like that to indicate any one of several sites in the area, its wide spread use both historically and at the present time justifies our application of the name "The Titicut Site."

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Attleboro, Massachusetts
February 1950
TYPOLOGY OF THE HEARD POND SITE

William S. Fowler

To Mr. C. C. Ferguson, who with the assistance of Mr. L. K. Gahan excavated the Heard Pond Site during the decade following 1928, belongs the credit for the preservation of artifacts and the recording of data. Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 1, of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society carries a brief report of the work at this site in which Mr. Ferguson enumerates the recovered artifacts.

Some time ago, the author was requested by Mr. Ferguson to undertake a more comprehensive report of the Heard Pond Site. Suggestion was made that typology be delineated in such a way as to emphasize significant aspects of his large and diversified collection of artifacts. The superior workmanship displayed by many of the implements has inspired the undertaking of this assignment in the interest of archaeological research. Thanks to the wholehearted collaboration of Mr. Ferguson and his generosity in permitting removal from his collection and use of such specimens as were needed for illustrative purposes, this comparative cultural analysis and typology of the Heard Pond Site has been made possible.

The site is located at Wayland, Massachusetts, on the Sudbury River, that empties into the Concord and thence into the Merrimack River. An area of about 100 by 300 feet on the brow of an elevation overlooking the pond and river was excavated. However, this represents but a small part of the entire site that stretches back over an extensive plowed field, bordered by a spring-fed brook. Here, many surface collections have been recovered in past years. The artifact assemblage collected by Mr. Ferguson has a total of about 3,000 specimens, and consists of implements taken from the plowed field as well as from the excavated plot. It is worth noting, however, that artifact forms and structures from both locations are approximately the same. For this reason, all elements of the collection will be treated in this paper as having the same site provenience.

Nevertheless, it should be said that a large percentage of gouges, plummetts and ulus came from the excavation. This uncovered soil apparently had never been disturbed by the plow. A depth of 10 to 16 inches into subsoil below humus was reached, at which point artifact evidence terminated. Gouges, plummetts and ulus for the most part appeared at low levels, as well as many narrow projectile points of light colored shale, badly weathered, of poor material, and usually of what appears to be rude workmanship.

In approaching this work, it was presently apparent that while a preponderance of certain artifacts seemed to indicate concentrated early occupation of the site, there were enough specimens from postulated cultures of more recent times to suggest a more or less continuous occupation of the area up to historic days. Consequently, it seemed appropriate to seek a plan by which these various culture stages could be at least tentatively identified, so that in turn, Heard Pond stone traits might be chronologically classified. Unfortunately, the site was excavated without stratigraphic data being taken, which now precludes the possibility of establishing level horizons for the purpose of determining progressive culture stages during the life of the site. Nevertheless, it seems possible to accomplish this cultural analysis by applying stratigraphy from three excavated stations in Central New England, which have been selected as type sites. Together, these sites present evidence that is unique, justifying the development of what seems to be a well defined cultural chronology. Final reports of these sites are still pending, but permission has been granted for preliminary reports as appearing in this paper, in view of their apparent importance.

In establishing culture periods, it must be admitted that artifact styles in themselves are not conclusive proof of cultural changes, since trait continuation or overlapping often takes place. However, when traits are noted where they first appear, vertically, then it may be inferred that their presence wherever found is as a result of diffusion or independent invention. They then become reliable diagnostic elements of culture, provided all questionable specimens with intrusive implications are eliminated from the record, as is the case in this report. Furthermore, because all three type sites show no signs of having been disturbed by action of the plow or other forms of Colonial occupation, the vertical position of non-intrusive artifacts may be considered reliable indication of original deposition. Therefore, frequency data has been dispensed with in selecting diagnostic traits comparable with those of the Heard Pond Site.

(See Trait Chart)

In developing this paper, eight well defined basal styles of projectile points are recognized. These will be named and defined, so that they may be better understood. Illustrations of Heard Pond artifacts will further serve to identify these styles as they appear in successive culture horizons of the three type sites.

Large triangular. Usually equilateral in shape, this point has a width of more than
TRAIT CHART showing classification of Heard Pond Site traits, as suggested by similar stratified traits from three type sites in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Small triangular. Generally with an equilateral form, this point has a slightly concave base with base points often cut off, or rounded. It is occasionally isosceles in the Stone Bowl horizon, and has a width of an inch or less for all shapes.

Side notched. As used in this report, this style has relatively wide side notches that occur just above a straight base, which is usually reworked. In broad forms and some narrow ones, width of base is much less than that of the point. In narrow forms, notching is wide but without much depth in most cases. Narrow side notches occasionally occur with modified bases, but such variations are probably of a later development.

Corner-removed. In this style, basal corner areas are removed, leaving a shank of varying lengths that appears as a stem, sometimes with slightly converging sides, although usually they are more or less parallel. The shank is terminated by a straight base that is occasionally rough without reworking, though in larger points bases are well finished. This description applies in the case of large or small points and includes "small stemmed points" as described by Ripley P. Bullen in "Culture Dynamics in Eastern Massachusetts," American Antiquity, Vol. 11, No. 1.

This paper considers such manifestations of irregularity as natural variations of workmanship, and not as separate styles of classification.

Corner-removed round-based. This shape differs from the basic corner-removed style, in that basal corners are removed effecting areas only a short way above the base so as to form rapidly converging sides, which meet to form a restricted rounded base that sometimes is nearly pointed. The shank in this case is usually short, although it sometimes assumes longer proportions.

Taper to straight base. In this case, both basal sides of the shank converge, starting at the full width of the point to form a tapering shank that is terminated by a straight reworked base, occasionally slightly rounded. This style applies to small and large points alike with coeval implications indicated.

Eared broad-based. To form this style, both basal corners are worked to appear as ears, as a result of side notching of varying depths and widths. An important trait is a relatively broad base, frequently concave, often the full width of the point, but not necessarily. There is considerable variation depending upon the size and width of point. This style is held to include all variations large and small. It embraces Ritchie's "eared triangular" and "side notched broad-based." Size is found to be the chronologically determinantal and not shape variations. Diversification becomes more frequent in the last stage of its development.

Long eared broad-based. Somewhat similar to the large eared broad-based style, this term is used to identify an early development. Here, the basal ears appear to become elongated by virtue of slight reworking above them that extends a relatively long distance up each side of the point. The base is always the full width of the point, and is generally concave, sometimes to an extreme degree. This tends to intensify the formation of long ears.

RAGGED MOUNTAIN TYPE SITE

In a preliminary report of this mountain site, (William S. Fowler, Bulletin Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 36, Massachusetts Archaeological Society), will be found the essential facts concerning this unique rock shelter in the Peoples State Forest, Barkhamsted, Connecticut. However, for purposes of comparative analysis a re-examination of its most outstanding characteristics will now be set forth.

Ragged Mountain Site is a rock shelter in which steatite (soapstone) outcrops. Here, there is ample evidence to show that the shelter was used in the steatite epoch by stone bowl workmen, both as a work shop as well as an abode. Hence, industrial and domestic stone traits have been deposited to-
These dumps were evidently located on the humus stratum left by Manchester, and excavated for the first time the lower occupation stratum that extended to a depth of about 20 inches in the living area. A cluster of small hearths, apparently on two levels at the westerly end, seems to provide evidence to suggest that the site was used during two different periods, as is evidenced by a lower pre-ceramic steatite horizon and an upper ceramic-agricultural one. Evidence further suggests a probable long period of unoccupancy between them. The most diagnostic traits in the pre-ceramic horizon seem to be, viz., worked steatite (blanks, bowl-forms and unfinished vessels), end pick, chisel, hand gouge and other industrial tools, rudely stemmed knife, notched winged bannertone, grooved stone, drill without base, and projectile point styles, viz., eared broad-based (small size), taper to straight base, and narrow spool-based, with clay pottery a negative trait. In the ceramic-agricultural horizon appear other diagnostic traits, viz., clay potsherds (of the Intermediate and Late Prehistoric periods), chipped-ground hatchet, and side notched (wildenly notched) projectile point. Corner removed and small triangular projectile traits are present in both horizons. Of especial significance is the absence at all levels of ulu, plummot, groovless stemmed gouge, and corner removed round-based projectile point.

**Potter Pond Type Site**

This station is located on what is actually an inlet from the sea, called Potter Pond, South County, Rhode Island. It is a habitation site with occupation deposits of shell middens overlie rock and shell deposited over more or less the entire area. During the past four years, the Narragansett Archaeological Society of Rhode Island has been excavating the site under the direction of Mr. Herbert A. Luther. Excavation of the site has been nearly completed, with a large percentage of all artifacts apparently recovered. A plot of about 100 by 200 feet has been excavated by the grid system and the position of artifacts carefully recorded. The site has attracted the author's attention because of the excavated evidence that seems to equal or exceed that from Rugged Mountain. That is to say; culture horizons are apparently similar with stone traits that suggest coeval existence. Here then is a habitation site with domestic manifestations that should go a long way toward supporting Rugged Mountain Site hypotheses. Therefore, it becomes important contributing type evidence in the evaluation of Heard Pond stone traits.

At Potter Pond, shell middens overlie the site, and contain remains of many kinds of shellfish, viz., quahaug, conch, scallop, sea-clam, lobster, mussel and oyster. This deposit suggests a general preference for such food by the occupants of the upper horizon, although some bone accumulation of various animals is also present. Fish-hooks, awls and flakers of bone have been preserved by the shell. Scattered firestones from demolished hearths are common throughout the site. In some places, the shell deposit is three or four feet deep, while in others it tapers to six inches or less. More uniform occurrence is a stratum of what appears to be black habitation deposit that lies at the bottom of the shell, and persists over most of the area. This varies in thickness from about four inches to nothing. Below this stratum appears yellow soil with various sized cobbles lying just beneath. Few shells if any appear in either the black or yellow artifact bearing strata, which may suggest a carnivorous diet for the former occupants.

Geological problems at this site are relatively few and unimportant. There is little or no evidence of extensive shifts of dirt that would tangeal to disturb original deposition of artifacts, although in the shell stratum occur occasional lenses of what seem to be dislodged shell due to water gullyling. In one such place, a disturbance (probably water-wash) had evidently succeeded in lowering by four or five inches sections of a first period ceramic pot, thereby placing this material in the black junction stratum where it apparently did not belong. While there is evidence of surface humus wash over much of the central part of the site, all lower strata show only slight modification as a result of the infusion of foreign soil.

For the purpose of simplification, the black habitation stratum separating shell and yellow subsoil will be referred to in this research as junction. This clear demarkation at the termination of shell remains more or less constant throughout the area, and therefore the position of all artifacts may be considered to have an arbitrary relationship to it. The lowest culture horizon
consists of this junction and the yellow subsoil, since both strata contain similar artifacts. In this early horizon, the most diagnostic stone traits seem to be, viz., steatite bowl sherds finished smooth on one or both sides, rude stemmed knife, full grooved axe, small and pick and hand gouge for steatite working (tools that definitely place this horizon in the steatite industrial age), rude gorget, eared broad-based drill, and projectile point styles, viz., eared broad-based, corner removed, and taper to straight base. Occasionally, an isolated steatite sherd, sometimes perforated, appears above the junction. This probably indicates overlapping with implications of a later generation's desire to preserve, by means of strapping, ancestral possessions that by then had become antique. However, the relative abundance of steatite sherds at the junction and below is conclusive proof of the dominant use of stone bowls in this horizon. Moreover, the absence here of clay potsherds, except for the presence of a few with intrusive implications due to refuse pits, hearths of other disturbances is most significant.

Commencing just above the junction in the lower part of the shell deposit appear clay potsherds of probably the first ceramic period. The ware is thick with coarse grit temper and maleation on both sides. Its rim shows indicate pots with straight necks. Other sherds of the remaining three periods, usually with shell temper, are scattered throughout the upper shell deposit.

In the lower part of the shell stratum occur the following traits, viz., refined gorget, crescent-based drill, side notched (widely notched) projectile point, representing the early aspect; overlaid by large triangular projectile point, (the small triangular projectile point trait is distributed throughout the stratum), triangular hoe, pestle, and sinewstone, representing the late aspect. Significance should be attached to the fact that ulu, plummet, grooved stemmed gorget, and corner removed round-based projectile point are negative traits at this site the same as at Ragged Mountain.

At Potter Pond, the existence of a heavily concentrated steatite horizon with out ceramic evidence, overlaid by a well defined ceramic-agricultural horizon with first ceramic period sherds appearing at the bottom, presents perhaps for the first time an opportunity to study the transitional development that took place between these two cultural epochs. Since steatite and clay potsherds, the latter with associated agricultural implications, appear respectively in these two periods with greater frequency than other artifacts, it seems proper to consider them significant evidence in determining suitable culture nomenclature. Certainly, the invention and production of stone vessels for eating purposes in the prior period with the subsequent transfer of activities to agriculture in the following one must have been attended with far reaching economic results that materially affected the culture patterns of both ages. Therefore, the author has chosen to identify these eras, respectively, as Stone Bowl and Ceramic-agricultural Occupations.

NUNKATUSSET SITE

This is an island site at the foot of Nippinissett Lake, one of the headwaters of the Taunton River in Massachusetts. Here, Nunkatusset stream flows out of the lake and later joins the Taunton River. Not far from the lake, it separates into two streams to form a long low island on which is Nunkatusset Site. The island is covered with trees, and the soil has no signs of ever having been disturbed by the plow in by-gone days. While the island is surrounded for the most part by swamp land, in early times it is possible that the encircling marsh was covered with water, either impounded by beaver dams or inundated by normal stream-flow before the present water channel had been cut.

In 1917, Nunkatusset Site was opened and excavation commenced under the direction of Mr. Richard W. Staples and Mr. Roland E. Engstrom, members of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society. Since then, work has continued intermittently until today an area about 75 by 200 feet has been excavated. That the place was popular as a habitation site in prehistoric ages is evidenced by quantities of fire stones appearing at all excavated levels. Stratigraphy has been carefully recorded, and the position of artifacts as related to the junction of humus and subsoil also noted. By this procedure, it has been possible to determine the relative position of all artifacts in strata wherever located. The site is covered with black humus a foot or more in depth, which is underlaid by yellow water-washed sand that appears to grow lighter in color as an approach is made to greater depths. Artifacts occur in the humus, at the junction, and to a depth of about 11 inches from junction in the yellow sand. Below this no evidence of habitation has appeared. Therefore, it is assumed that the lower sand stratum contains evidence of the earliest occupants of the island.

Geology of the site seems to be associated with an early period when outpouring waters from Nippinissett Lake formed sand bars. One of these bars, more elevated than the others, evidently became a long low sandy island when the water level finally receded. Submerged frequently by high water, a long time probably elapsed before the island accumulated sufficient humus to support vegetation of any kind, and another long interval before trees appeared. Now, since the earliest artifact-bearing level lies deep in the sand deposit, it seems probable that man first came to the island when it was not much more than an exposed sand bar, and occupied it only during seasons of low water. Yearly deposits of sand silt at times of flood water gradually added to the elevation, and thus covered artifacts that had been laid aside. As new occupants came and went, being driven out each time by rising water, the sand
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stratum continued to deepen until about a foot had been added to its old level on which the first occupants had settled. By this time, ages had elapsed. A falling water level had probably been attended by the arrival of forests with the subsequent formation over the sand of a humus layer in which were deposited artifacts of later cultures.

In the yellow sand horizon, where no steatite or clay potsherds are found, appear stone traits of diagnostic importance, viz., perforated oval bannerstone, ulu, plummet, ground slate problematical with flat sides, size 1/4 x 1/2 x 4 inches, decorated with small notches and surface cuts, drill with expanded base, and projectile point forms of corner-removed, corner-removed triangular, corner-removed rounded base, long-eared shank, and eared broad-based (large proportioned).

At the junction of yellow sand and humus appear fragments of steatite and associated chlorite vessels that now appear to belong to a later preceramic stone bowl tradition, to which the plummet and ulu were apparently unknown. Therefore, an arbitrary stratum of 2 inches at the junction, allowing for normal habitation irregularity, has been established as a well defined culture horizon for this site. At this level occur the following diagnostic traits, viz., steatite and chlorite vessels, fragments grooved gouge, hand gouge for steatite working, drill forms consisting of T based, eared broad-based and straight without base, as well as projectile point styles including eared broad-based (small proportions including the eared triangular form), corner-removed with serrated sides, and taper to straight base. In this stratum, clay potsherds do not appear, which seems to support culture separation of steatite bowl making from ceramics.

Obviously, the most recent horizon is to be found in the humus stratum that overlies the area. In this upper level appear the following diagnostic traits, viz., clay potsherds from several periods of ceramic development, as well as the angular hoe, pestle, cross-based drill, and projectile point forms, namely, side notched (widely notched), and large triangular. The small triangular trait appears not only in the humus but also at the junction.

Nunkatusset's lowest horizon is seen to contain plummet, ulu, and ground slate, traits that have been given a northern provenience with Eskimo affinities by Willoughby in his Pre-Algonquian Culture and by Ritchie in his Laurentian Aspect. Therefore, since this yellow sand horizon alone displays some stone traits with probable Eskimo affinities, the term Eskimoid has been assigned to it in this paper for purposes of identification.

A glance at the trait chart will serve to call attention to the significance of the relationship between Heard Pond traits and those from other type sites. It now seems possible to postulate at least three well defined prehistoric culture epochs in Massachusetts and adjoining regions, which may in time be found to include other parts of New England. The first two type sites at Ragged Mountain and at Potter Pond have produced evidence of only the last two of these periods, namely, Stone Bowl and Ceramic-Agricultural. These occupations appear to be contiguous with racial descent indicated as explained in the conclusion. However, at the third site, Nunkatusset, appear not only evidence of the last two but also of an earlier Eskimoid occupation. Now, as Heard Pond Site is situated in a nearby New England area, it seems reasonable to expect the appearance there of culture sequence similar to that of the type sites. Therefore, since Heard Pond traits include forms resembling those of the different postulated culture periods, it seems possible to suggest for them chronological positions in either the Eskimoid, Stone Bowl or Ceramic-agricultural traditions.

HEARD POND SITE TRAIT CLASSIFICATION

Examination of stone artifacts from the Heard Pond Site shows a preponderance of Eskimoid traits, including about 1/0 grooveless stemmed gouges, 30 plummets, and 20 ulus. While some of these specimens, especially the latter, are represented by fractured segments, nevertheless, they show meticulous workmanship, and include many recognized types. Gouges and plummets equate closely with certain forms in the Maine Cemetery Complex, (Benjamin L. Smith, "An Analysis of the Maine Cemetery Complex," Bulletin Vol. 9, Nos. 2 and 3, Massachusetts Archaeological Society). Slate ulus include both plain and comb-backed styles, and while some are only chipped, a large majority are finely ground and polished. They equate with specimens from Willoughby's Pre-Algonquian Culture and Ritchie's Laurentian Aspect of New York State, with presumed Eskimo affinities. Other significant Eskimo-like traits from the site consist of a group of three small problematical chipped artifacts, somewhat sickle-shaped, that resemble certain Dorset Eskimo forms described by De Laguna in "Man in Northeastern North America," page 136. This pendant angular hoe, pestle, cross-based drill, and projectile point forms, namely, side notched (widely notched), and large triangular. The small triangular trait appears not only in the humus but also at the junction.

Nunkatusset's lowest horizon is seen to contain plummet, ulu, and ground slate, traits that have been given a northern provenience with Eskimo affinities by Willoughby in his Pre-Algonquian Culture and by Ritchie in his Laurentian Aspect. Therefore, since this yellow sand horizon alone displays some stone traits with probable Eskimo affinities, the term Eskimoid has been assigned to it in this paper for purposes of identification.

A glance at the trait chart will serve to call attention to the significance of the relationship between Heard Pond traits and those from other type sites. It now seems possible to postulate at least three well de-
Fig. 20. Heard Pond Stone Traits, probably Eskimoid Occupation. 1-6, Grooveless stemmed gouges; 7, 8, Ulus; 9-12, Plummetts; 13, Whetstone; 14-16, Expanded base drills; 17-19, Sickle-shaped forms; 20, Oval scraper (chopper); 21, Whale-tailed pendant; 22, 28, Corner-removed points; 23, 24, Corner-removed rounded based points; 25, Long eared broad-based point; Eared broad-based point (large); 27, Triangular convex sided point; 29, Oval banner-stone.
Fig. 21. Heard Pond Stone Traits, probably Stone Bowl Occupation. 1, Quarry pick; 2, Full grooved axe; 3, Grooved gouge; 4, Steatite sherd; 5, 11, Eared broad-based drills; 6, Drill without base; 12, T based drill; 8, 9, Rudely stemmed knives; 10, Oval scraper (chopper); 13, Small triangular point; 14, 21, Taper to straight base points; 15-18, Eared broad-based points (small); 19, Corner-removed point; 20, Corner-removed serrated point.

In addition to the illustrated artifacts are a number of Heard Pond traits that for various reasons have not yet been assigned to a culture group, and are not considered by the author to be diagnostic in the light of present knowledge. Some probably belong to all occupations, while others may be divided among them. Enumeration of these unclassified traits include; mullers, woodworking stones, rubbing stones of various shapes, small anvil stones, graphite, round pebbles with the appearance of having been shaped and polished into gaming balls, leaf-shaped knives, corner notched projectile points, snub-nose scrapers, and a grooved sinker. The latter trait occurs in the Eskimoid horizon at Nunkatusset as well as in the Ceramic-Agricultural at Potter Pond. It is interesting to note that only two or three small corner notched projectile points appear at Heard Pond, while none at all occur at the three type sites. That this projectile point form is generally an uncommon trait to New England seems quite apparent from this research.

CONCLUSION

The most conspicuous traits at Heard Pond are deep channeled grooveless stemmed
gouges, ulus and plummets. Relatively high frequency of these forms has given rise to the belief that the site belongs very largely to an early age when migration is thought to have stemmed from the north, bringing with it certain Eskimo traits. It is true that many Heard Pond artifacts are characteristic of Ritchie's Vosburg Focus, Laurentian Aspect of a northern provenience, having some traits with presumed Eskimo affinities. Supporting evidence is to be found in the three sickle-shaped forms of which one equates more closely with Ritchie's Brewerton Focus, Laurentian Aspect, Oberlander Site No. 1, "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State," p. 244, plate 115, nos. 17, 18, the other two with De Laguna Dorset Eskimo traits already referred to. However, it would be a mistake to overlook existence at the site of other implement traits that seem to have a different provenience. It now appears probable that Heard Pond has stone traits that belong to three well defined culture traditions, two with pre-ceramic and one with ceramic manifestations.

The Eskimoid pre-ceramic occupation was probably intrusive, as it brought with it new implement traits some of which apparently replaced whatever had previously existed. Settlement spread over a large area and probably lasted for a long time, as is indicated by its wide and heavy artifact distribution in the Northeast.

However, it seems to have been finally replaced by settlement of the Stone Bowl tradition that apparently introduced certain new traits of its own, and rejected much that was old. Probable rejected traits are the grooveless stemmed gauge, plummet, ulu, and corner removed round based projectile point, which do not appear in this culture replacement. (See Ragged Mountain and Potter Pond site evidence.) While it is possible that intermarriage with Eskimoid occupants may have taken place in part, racial descent is not probable. This hypothesis is based on the appearance in the Stone Bowl era of traits having new shapes with only a few exceptions. Exceptions are the corner removed projectile point that persists in modified form, and the broad broad-based projectile shape that assumes smaller proportions. New traits probably are grooved gauge, grooved axe, rude stemmed knife, and taper to straight base projectile point. In addition, the newcomers brought with them inventive ability and displayed apparent determination to maintain independence from outside influences. The most important contribution to cultural advance in this period was the invention of
There now seems to be sufficient evidence to suggest for the Ceramic-Agricultural tradition a genetic relationship with the preceding Stone Bowl culture, although outside influences may to some extent have caused diffusion of ideas through social infiltration. However, it is likely that much culture advance took place as a result of normal evolutionary development within the genetic group itself. Recent research has produced several manifestations that unite to furnish what seems to be a strong argument for this hypothesis. For instance, triangular cultivating hoes of this age apparently are modified adaptations of the triangular tailing breaker from the Wilbraham and Westfield steatite quarries of Western Massachusetts, where the trait was probably an original invention: William S. Fowler, "The Hoe Complex," American Antiquity, Vol. 12, No. 1. If this is so, then it seems likely that the later agriculturalists were racial descendants of the stone bowl people, accepting their inventions in preference to diffusive ideas from other regions, such as the digging stick of the Southwest. Furthermore, at Potter Pond exists additional evidence in the form of a thick irregularly shaped ground gorget in the Stone Bowl horizon, while above in that of the Ceramic-Agricultural occurs a thin symmetrical gorget finely ground. This may well represent an improved development of the former, and may suggest the presence of a desire to retain and improve inherited traits from a former age. Similarly, at the same site, eared broad-based points of the former period seem to become modified in the latter era to side notched points, in which the base is narrowed and the ears dropped. Add to this the quite obvious desire of ceramic potters to preserve the probable antique steatite bowls of a dying age by means of drilling and strapping, (Potter Pond site evidence), and the probability of racial descent becomes increasingly apparent. Outside diffusive ideas undoubtedly had their effect upon the culture to some extent, and are reflected most in trait modification and ceramic design refinement during the final stages of cultural development. However, the entire period is dominated by a ceramic-agricultural economy.

For purposes of comparison, correlation of Heard Pond's three culture occupations with those established by former research for nearby regions may now be made. Both the Eskimoid and Stone Bowl cultures should probably be considered to have relationship with Ritchie's Early Laurentian and Coastal Aspects and to Witthoft's Pennsylvania Late Archaic Period: "An Outline of Pennsylvania Indian History," by John Witthoft, Harrisburg, 1949. However, they seem to exhibit certain trait differences as determined by stratigraphy by which one may be said to have an earlier chronological position than the other. This sequence has been lacking in most cultural classification in the past. Finally, the Ceramic-Agricultural occupation probably contains marginal manifestations of Ritchie's Late Coastal and Oswasco Aspects, and fits into Witthoft's Early to Late Woodland Periods.

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