INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

EDITED BY F. W. HODGE

No.  44

A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS AND BOUNDARIES OF THE WAMPANOAG, MASSACHUSETT, AND NAUSET INDIANS

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION
1928

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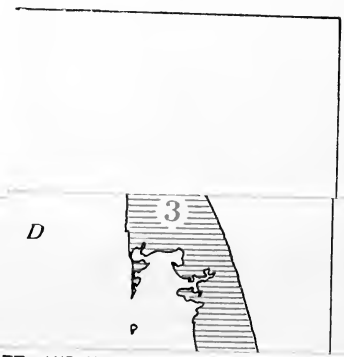

ETT, AND NAUSET INDIANS

TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS AND BOUNDARIES OF THE WAMPANOAG, MASSACHUSETT, AND NAUSET INDIANS

By Frank G. Speck

INTRODUCTION

THAT the colonial annals of New England are replete with information concerning the tribes of the region is well known to most ethnologists. Yet few have so far made an attempt to use the available sources for purposes of ethnological reconstruction, in spite of the fact that the southern New England Algonkians constituted a group of particular importance when we come to consider the now pressing problems of culture-trait distribution, localized culture developments, and in particular that engrossing one of the time and extent of the Algonkian eastward migration. The extent of the knowledge possessed by our colonial forefathers may be imagined when it is recalled that they were in more or less close touch with the Indians about them for fully two hundred years, during which time they engaged in the varied pursuits of fighting, Christianizing, defrauding, and civilizing the proud and independent tribes whose recognizable descendants as a result now number fewer than a thousand in

MAP OF EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS SHOWING THE TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS AND BOUNDARIES OF THE WAMPANOAG, MASSACHUSETT, AND NAUSET INDIANS

their own territories.[1] How much of this knowledge preserved in literature can be made to serve the ethnologist's purpose is yet to be determined. So employing one opportunity, out of a desire to put the possibility to a test, I recently scanned the literature pertaining to the Masachusett and Wampanoag in a search for material bearing on territorial divisions and land proprietorship in the area of eastern Massachusetts. The results are accordingly presented as a small but desirable contribution to our present knowledge of the East.

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[1] In 1861, Earle (*Massachusetts Senate Papers*, no. 96) enumerated, after careful surveys, 376 families and 1438 Indians in the state; and including foreigners intermarried or adopted among them, 1610 total. The Wampanoag proper included 306, 67 belonging to Herring Pond, 78 to Fall River, 111 to Dartmouth, 25 to Mamatakesett, 15 to Tumpum Pond, and 10 to Middleboro. On Cape Cod and the islands the related bands the same year showed a census of 403 belonging to Mashpee and 126 to Yarmouth; and on Marthas Vineyard, 253 to Gay Head, 53 to Christiantown, 74 to Chappaquiddick, and 13 to Deep Bottom: being 529 on Cape Cod, and 393 on the islands. At the same time the Massachusett proper had 117 descendants belonging to Punkapog and 12 to Natick, only 129 for this tribe as compared with a total of 1228 for the Wampanoag. Earle also found 184 Nipmuck descendants in the central counties, 90 belonging to Hassanamisco near Marlboro, and 94 to the Dudley band. Many of these mixed-bloods were even then dispersed throughout the towns and cities adjacent to their reservations, and they have continued the process since to such an extent that the total number of descendants may have increased considerably but with a corresponding loss of identity and racial distinctiveness.

It would seem hardly necessary to explain that the question of land divisions and ownership is one of great importance in our attempt to solve the Algonkian puzzle. A brief review of some aspects of the general situation may make this statement, as well as our material at hand, somewhat clearer.

The northern and northeastern Algonkians in general, those north and east of the Great Lakes and down the Atlantic coast as far as New Hampshire being only loosely organized, are engaged almost exclusively in hunting, trapping, and fishing. Their notions of land proprietorship are those to be expected among peoples living under conditions of a limited nomadism. Their interests are centered in the wild-animal field, and their occupancy, in consequence, is extended over a very wide territory: a very wide one indeed for a sparse and mobile population. With this as a point of departure, our knowledge of land regulations and hunting-territory rights in the north is now extensive enough to provide a working basis for the pursuit of traces of similar institutions under variant economic conditions elsewhere.

The tribes of the same general culture type, however, which occupied the fertile and populous regions south of New Hampshire, had other interests in the land besides those of the chase. Agriculture here added much to the resources of their country and made them to a greater extent village-dwellers attached more definitely to a settled life. It made

them, too, more jealous of encroachment by strangers and resulted in a certain development of offensive as well as of defensive warfare, dependent on the intensity of their ideas of nationality centering within the tribe. These factors would account for the greater independence and assertiveness characterizing the tribes of the fertile zones, for their greater unity under recognized chiefs, and for their military resistance to the advance of the covetous Puritans, culminating in the Pequot, King Philip's, and the eastern wars which racked the New England colonies to their foundations. It becomes easier to understand the depth of this Indian patriotic sentiment when we realize that just before the outbreak of King Philip's war (1673) the English inhabitants of New England numbered 120,000, of whom 16,000 were able to bear arms, while the Wampanoag, daring to contend against them, probably numbered about 2,000.[1] Resistance like that offered by the Pequot, Narragansett, and Wampanoag could not, indeed, have been maintained under any circumstances by the Indian populations of the lower St. Lawrence watershed. It seems doubtful if it would ever have been conceived. Harassed by famine and climatic rigors, and few in number, the latter have evinced throughout their history a disposition toward passiveness, if not timidity, which is quite inconsistent with the

[1] S. G. Drake, I, 21, quoting Holmes, American Annals, I, 416.

general impression gained by looking over the records of central and eastern Algonkian behavior. We may now, I believe, safely propose some conclusions relative to the territorial institutions of the southern New England tribes. A sentimental attachment to their habitat, sedentary occupations among which regular agricultural and stationary fishing industries play a part more vital than hunting and trapping, a more emphatic responsibility toward government under hereditary chieftains, and a disposition toward warfare proportioned to density of population, are those characteristics which at present seem to me deducible from the survey undertaken. In illustrating the latter statement it need only be mentioned that the Montagnais, who typify the northern culture, number not much more than 3000 souls in the whole southern Labrador peninsula, ranging as hunters formed in family groups over that stretch of country about 1000 miles east and west, and 500 miles north and south. They have never had a national existence, never a tribal chief nor organization, seldom even local chiefs, and never conducted organized resistance to the whites, no matter what may have been their provocation. How this contrasts with the well-known history and character of their southern New England relatives need not be further dwelt on. Again we observe that, in the north, the family units may include from 5 to 20 persons whose inherited hunting territories may average from

1000 to 10,000 square miles, while in eastern Massachusetts we define groups of families forming local units or bands under hereditary chiefs numbering, as we are in one case informed, 60 fighting men, or at least 250 souls, all belonging to one locality not exceeding 100 square miles in extent. On the whole the Massachusett and Wampanoag were fairly populous tribes, the territory of each having been approximately 800 square miles. The Massachusett, although much reduced by war and disease at the time of English settlement, are estimated to have held this territory with a population exceeding 3000.[1] They have even been estimated as high as 3000 men, though Mooney[2] regarded this as excessive. In 1631 the group numbered only 500, and in John Eliot's time (1650), Natick, a Massachusett "praying town" of importance, had about 150 souls, while Punkapog, the other Massachusett praying town, had only 60 in 1674. As a result I believe it might be well to allow not more than 2000 for the original maximum at the time of English contact.

The Wampanoag probably had 2000. The best evidence for this estimate is that based on Captain Church's statement that about 1300 of King Philip's people were either killed or captured. Hubbard thought that 700 of the Wampanoag were

[1] Hubbard (see reference on page 16), 238.

[2] Handbook of American Indians, *Bull. 30 Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pt. 1, 816.

killed or taken and 300 surrendered.[1] A remainder of 700 would therefore seem to be an ample estimate. King Philip is thought to have had about 500 warriors of his own tribe, again accepted by Mooney as a basis for enumeration.[2] Estimating for the two tribes respectively, the population average would be from two-fifths to one-third of a square mile to the individual in each group. I would suggest comparing this estimate with previously published ones by Davidson and myself for the territorial occupancy of the Wabanaki tribes and those of the Labrador peninsula.[3]

There is significance here underlying the correlation of population density, the development of agriculture as a food supply replacing the chase, the centralized type of government and the feudal order of society. If, as Sollas [4] thinks, 300 hunting people

[1] Hubbard (243) thought that Philip had about 300 men of his own and 300 belonging to Weetamoe.

[2] Loc. cit., pt. 2, 903.

[3] D. S. Davidson, Family Hunting Territories of the Waswanipi Indians of Quebec, *Indian Notes*, vol. v, no. 1, 1928, pp. 47–48; Notes on Tête de Boule Ethnology, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1928; F. G. Speck, The Family Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1925, pp. 303–04; Beothuk and Micmac, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, misc. no. 22, 1922, pp. 109, 136–37; Mistassini Hunting Territories in the Labrador Peninsula, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1923, p. 461; Family Hunting Territories of the Lake St. John Montagnais, *Anthropos*, Bd. XXII, 1927.

[4] W. J. Sollas, Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives, London, ed. 1915, pp. 55–56.

in a fertile region require more than 100 square miles, then population was at its maximum in eastern Massachusetts—for a hunting people here supported in a large degree by maize-growing. The treatment of data from the area of northeastern America newly reported is about ready for the attention of students dealing with the ethnological aspects of population as did Carr-Saunders in 1922 and Pearl in 1925.[1]

Our scrutiny of the records furthermore discloses other interesting facts which fall in line with those recorded at large among the northern tribes, namely, the localization of territories, resentment against trespass, the hereditary descent of proprietorship in the male line, the theoretical ownership of game in the district, the incidental feature of temporary stations and subdivisions in the territories, and, finally, the prevalence of geographical territory names.

The survey has yielded another result, as will be seen. By tracing the boundaries of the local proprietors it has become possible through knowing their tribal allegiances, admitting a few exceptions, to fix the tribal boundaries for at least three more groups—the Narragansett, Wampanoag, and Massachusett—to within an allowance of from 5 to 10 miles. I make bold to propose that a similar

[1] A. M. Carr-Saunders, The Population Problem, Oxford, 1922, chaps. VII, IX; Raymond Pearl, Biology of Population Growth, N. Y., 1925; also J. S. Sweeney, Natural Increase of Mankind, Baltimore, 1928.

research pursued in central and northern Massachusetts and New Hampshire may do as much for the boundary complications of the people known to us as Nipmuck, and likewise for those included under the Pennacook confederacy. Joining this advance with that being made in the division limits of the Wabanaki tribes of Maine on the east and the recently established Mohegan-Pequot boundaries in Connecticut,[1] we shall be in a position to supply the much needed determination of tribal geography in the *terra incognita* of the New England coast.

Before proceeding to the actual material I will add that the sources consulted on boundary questions have been diffuse and unsystematically published. Of great value have been the several works, now a century old, of that indefatigable historian S. G. Drake, whose pages supply numerous references to the colonial records containing information desired. They will be referred to in the notes. Other sources are:

I. Thomas Church, History of King Philip's War, 1675–76, with notes and an appendix by S. G. Drake (2d edition), Exeter, N. H., 1834. He quotes, among others, Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, Salem, 1795; W. Hubbard, Narrative of Indian Wars, Brattleboro, 1814: S. Penhallow,

[1] Evidence on the tribal confines of this group I have brought together in a contribution entitled Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut, *43d Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, 1928 (in press).

Wars of New England, Boston, 1726; and the *Historical Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the New Hampshire Historical Society from 1794 and 1824 respectively.

H. S. G. Drake, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, Boston, 1837.

William Hubbard's record of the events of King Philip's War gives us another version of the actions of the times from a somewhat different but also contemporaneous point of view. I have referred frequently to A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, Stockbridge, 1803.

Another source of value may be mentioned, viz., E. W. Pierce, Indian History, Biography and Genealogy, North Abington, Mass., 1878. A casual treatment of Wampanoag history from secondary sources is that of H. E. Chase, Notes on the Wampanoag, *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.*, 1883, no. 69, pp. 878–907.

THE FEUDAL RÉGIME

A group of associated phenomena confront us which can hardly be regarded, as I can conceive it, in any other sense than that *they form a part of the ubiquitous old Algonkian institution of male-hereditary land proprietorship*, which pivots around the hunting industry in the far north and prevailed formerly among tribes having the combined agricultural and hunting industries to the southward. Here we see

the family units enlarged into communal groups. In the general prospect they seem like stages in the progressing series of developments from the primitive biological family, in its appropriated, or better perhaps preëmpted, tract, growing under advancing complexity into the small feudal tribe under hereditary family sachems or chiefs.

FIG. 1.—Mrs. Zerviah G. Mitchell, descendant of Massasoit in the ninth generation. Died 1895, at ninety years of age, at Betty's Neck, near Middleboro, Mass.

That the Algonkian peoples of southern New England were subject to their hereditary chiefs to a degree unknown among their hunter kinsmen of the far north is shown by numerous allusions. In the case at hand we can see how the local chiefs held the prerogative of disposing of the lands belonging to the band, how they received in person

the payment therefor. They also had the liberty of independent allegiance, for, as we see, the local ruler, whether man or woman, in several instances sided with the English against his own tribe in the colonial contests. This independent action of local sachems is strikingly illustrated in events connected with the history of both tribes considered. The power vested in the chiefs or sachems, moreover, is emphatically illustrated by the tribute, even personal service, which was expected of their followers. In practically all the tribes of southern New England the sachems were supported economically by their people. A concrete instance of this interesting sovereignship is met with in the statement of Kutshamakin, a Massachusett sachem (page 103). When the missionary Eliot desired to know why the sachem was opposed to his people becoming Christians, he said then they would pay him no tribute.[1] Then most explicitly one of the Christian converts told Eliot that the sachem had no reason to complain, because for the past two years they had given him as tribute 26 bushels of corn at one time and 6 at another; that in two days' hunting they had given him 15 deer, broke up for him 2 acres of land, and made him a great wigwam, 20 rods of fence with a ditch, and paid a debt for him of £3, 10s. One of the men, moreover, had given him as an individual a beaver-skin of two

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 52.

FIG. 2.—Mrs. Emma Safford, daughter of Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, age eighty years (1928). (*Photo. by Kupsinel, Gloucester, Mass.*)

FIG. 3.—Chief Leroy C. Perry, Wampanoag of the Fall River Band (1924).

FIG. 4.—Leroy C. Perry (in costume), Wampanoag, elected chief of the Wampanoag group by the Indian council of New England, 1923.

pounds, besides many days of work in planting corn.[1] But the sachem treated this declaration with indignation. We learn that the sachems were absolute masters of their people, their services and fortunes being subject to command. On the whole this

FIG. 5.—Lake Assawampsett, looking eastward across ice (January, 1920).

feudal feature is distinctly a southern, not a northern one. The Algonkians of the middle regions and the central states show it to an extent not generally understood. But here in New England the social superiority and economic status of the several grades of chiefs seem to indicate a thoroughly feudal type of

[1] Drake, op. cit., 114–115.

society. Nothing like it is found among the scattered and semi-nomadic hunters of the loosely organized Algonkians of the far north. Yet the centralization of power toward the south, as we observe the tribes within the Maryland and Virginia area, becomes more and more striking. There is evidently a metabolism in social development here in relation again to economic complexity and population.

FIG. 6.—Assawampsett lake, south shore, looking toward Betty's Neck.

Without endeavoring to treat at this time the subject of the native class system in detail, some material from early authors is given to show the prospects of the topic for extended investigation, and also on account of the bearing it has on the local land-tenure regulations.[1] The most explicit

[1] An interpretation of the forces behind the development of the caste system has recently been published, with a review of the facts recorded among the Indians of southern New England, by Wm. Christie MacLeod, Origin of the State, Phila., 1924, pp. 19, 48.

account we have for the immediate area with which we are concerned is that of Mayhew (about 1640–50), applying to the tribe on Marthas Vineyard.

The statement of Mayhew has much of interest and importance, therefore it is given in full as published by Banks.[1]

FIG. 7.—King Philip's Lookout, overlooking Lake Assawampsett (1920).

Their Government was purely Monarchical; and as for such whose dominions extended further than would well admit one Princes personal guidance, it was committed into the hands of Lieutenants, who Governed with no less absoluteness, than the Prince himself; notwithstanding, in matters of difficulty, the Prince Consulted with his Nobles, and such whom he esteemed for wisdom; in which it was admirable to see the Majestick deportment of the Prince, his speech to his Council, with the most deliberate

[1] Matthew Mayhew, Triumphs and Conquests of Grace, pp. 13–17, quoted by Chas. L. Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, I, 38–39, Boston, 1911.

discussion of any matter proposed for their advice, after which, what was by him resolved, without the least hesitation was applauded, and with at least a seeming Alacrity attended.

The Crown (if I may so term it) always descended to the Eldest Son (though subject to usurpation), not to the female, unless in defect of a Male of the blood; the Blood Royal, being in such veneration among the People, that if

FIG. 8.—Shore of Quittacus lake, looking north.

a Prince had issue by divers wives, such Succeeded as Heirs who was royally descended by the mother, although the Youngest, esteeming his issue by a Venter of less Quality than a Princess, not otherwise than Sachems or Noblemen.

Their Nobles were either such who descended from the Blood Royal, or such on whom the Prince bestowed part of his Dominions with the Royalties, or such whose descent

FIG. 9.—The neck between Little Quittacus and Great Quittacus ponds, in which neighborhood Captain Church escaped being ambushed in 1676.

was from Ancestors who had time out of mind been so Esteemed as such.

Their Yeomen were such who having no stamp of Gentility were yet esteemed as having a natural right of living within their Princes Dominions, and a common use of the Land; and were distinguished by two names or Titles, the one signifying Subjection, the other Titles of the Land.

Although the People retained nothing of Record nor use of Letters, yet there lived among them many families, who, although the time of their Forefathers first inhabiting among them was beyond the Memory of man, yet were known to be Strangers or Foreigners, who were not privileged with Common Rights, but in some measure Subject to the Yeomanry, but were not dignified, in attending the Prince, in Hunting or like Exercise, unless called by particular favor.

The Princes, as they had not other Revenue than the

Presents of their subjects (which yet was counted Due debt), Wrecks of the sea, the Skins of Beasts killed in their Dominions, and many like things, as First Fruits, etc., so they wanted none; for in case of War, both People and Estate was wholly at their dispose, therefore none demanded nor expected Pay. In respect to their Court, it was doubtless maintained in great Magnificance in distinction from the Subject which is the utmost can be obtained by the greatest monarch, their families and attendants being well cloathed with Skins of Moos, Bear, Deer, Beaver, and the like, the Provisions for their Table, as Flesh, Fish, Roots, Fruits, Berries, Corn, Beanes, in great abundance and variety was always brought by their Neighboring subjects; all of which they were as void of Care as the most Potent Princes in the Universe.

As the Prince was acknowledged Absolute Lord of the Land, so he had no less Sovereignty at Sea, for as all belonged to him, which was stranded on the shore of the Sea Coast, so whatever Whales or other wreck of value, or floating on the sea, taken up on the seas washing his shores, or brought and Landed, from any part of the Sea, was no less his own.

FIG. 10.—Long pond from the eastern shore.

The class divisions of medieval European society could scarcely be better outlined in the same number of words than as we see them described here. It is, indeed, difficult to vision them as applying to the society of an Indian tribe on the Atlantic coast. Yet the evidence confronts us as a piece of positive testimony to the existence of a class

FIG. 11.—Snake creek connecting Lake Assawampsett with Long pond. Here an ambush was laid for Captain Church.

subdivision in southern New England. A classification of chiefs into several grades is also pointed out for the Narragansett in 1643 by Roger Williams, who designates the supreme rulers as sachems and the others as lords and under-sachems, to whom they carried "presents and upon any injury received and complaint made, their protectors will revenge it."[1]

[1] Roger Williams, Key into the Language of America (1643), *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, 120–122, 1827.

Willoughby[1] has brought together from 17th century sources (Mather, Wood, Williams, Morton, Gookin) the essential references to the three-class system in eastern Massachusetts. There were sachems or the "royalty," as they were unanimously

FIG. 12.—Snake creek between Long pond and Lake Assawampsett, where Captain Church was ambushed.

designated by contemporary writers, the "common people" who represented the mass of the community and who "possessed rights to the tribal lands." Outsiders who had joined the tribe had no legal rights nor ownership in the land, being attached to the landed families. Subjugation to the will and

[1] In A. B. Hart, Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, I, chap. VI, 131–132.

FIG. 13.—Eastward view of neck separating Great Quittacus from Poksha pond. (*Photo. by A. I. Hallowell.*)

authority of the class above was the rule in the case of all.

One other matter it would be very desirable to elucidate. This is the character of land tenure within the band. In the various subdivisions that we have determined, the land may have been held in common by all the families forming it. Yet there seems to have been some permanency of location of families and power of disposal vested in individuals of both sexes. The deeds of transfer to the English in such cases generally bore the signatures of the individual making the sale and others of his connection, but especially the mark of consent of the sachem to whose band they belonged. This array of testimony is met with throughout the New England records and seems to give an idea of the typical procedure in transferring land. Summarizing on this uncertain point one

might be tempted to imagine that the status of land within the band was something like the following: The band, being a group of more or less related individuals, controlled a rather definite tract of country as its own. A chief or sachem, whose office was hereditary in the male line within some leading family, was recognized as its head. Certain political, social, and economic distinctions went with the office. To dispose of any part of the common tract by a family who had resided in and developed its resources required the consent of the chief as well as of the individuals occupying it. In short, the band-holding in control of the hereditary overlord continued in such division among families which occupied and utilized for agriculture and hunting the same holdings, handing the privilege down to male

FIG. 14.—Sampson's or Sassamon's cove, looking eastward, in winter with ice on the lake. This cove, on the north shore of Lake Assawampsett, was where Sassamon was killed and disposed of, furnishing an immediate incentive for the outbreak of King Philip's war.

descendants, or to females if there were no male offspring, until the tracts had come to be regarded as their personal property.

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

The information available in our sources permits an inference to be made as to the boundaries of the Massachusett and Wampanoag: marking an advance of some decided value in the gradual process of ethnological reconstruction in the East. The results are shown on the chart (pl. 1).

The two ethnic groups seem to have constituted political rather than linguistic or economic units, their differentiation depending more on allegiance to certain distinct hereditary chiefs whose policies seem to have been actuated on different principles of peace and war and of land negotiation. It may be added that the political unit was more or less the determining factor throughout southern New England in general, inasmuch as it is difficult, almost impossible, to specify bands of the adjacent groups of Nipmuck, Pennacook, Narragansett, Massachusett, Wampanoag, and Nauset, except as being subject to this or that group of chiefs or as holding a certain political attitude toward the colonial governments. Affiliation, however, was of considerable importance in the local case, because tribal recognition generally meant life or death to those concerned after the campaigns of destruction waged in turn against the Pequot, Narragansett,

Nipmuck, and Wampanoag. The contemporary groups, however, were evidently of a rather fixed character even before the arrival of the English, since we hear of intertribal broils based on territorial claims and to avenge encroachments, affronts, manslaughter, and similar causes.

FIG. 15.—Sampson's or Sassamon's cove, looking northward, in summer.

In the case of the Wampanoag our endeavor to define boundaries is made simple by the natural water boundaries of their habitat and by the records of dispute between them and their western neighbors, the Narragansett, over islands in Narragansett bay.

The boundary between the Wampanoag and the Narragansett was a matter of some continued dispute between the parties concerned, according

to statements of Drake and Roger Williams. In 1632 a brief war occurred between Massasoit and Canonicus of the Narragansett. Under pressure of the English this contest was soon ended, but as a result Massasoit changed his name to Ousamequin. Roger Williams fled to Rhode Island in 1635 to avoid being seized and was sent to England for being a Quaker. He patched up a friendship

FIG. 16.—Dense white-cedar swamp at Betty's Neck. (In such retreats the Wampanoag had their hiding places.)

between the two tribes; induced Massasoit to give up the land in dispute, namely Rhode Island, Prudence Island, and some others besides Providence. It appears that Miantonomo had gained possession of some of Ousamequin's dominions, for in 1643 the latter was aided by Plymouth colony

in respect to encroachments by the Narragansett.[1] It is recorded also by Roger Williams that in 1656 Ousamequin was at feud with Pumham, a Narragansett, about the title and lordship of Warwick, Rhode Island.

That the Wampanoag jurisdiction extended to Pawtucket river is fairly assertable from the fact that Massasoit and his sons, by heredity, laid claim to and sold at various times the land reaching to its banks. Southward following Narragansett bay, his headquarters at Mount Hope neck and his enmity toward the often mentioned Narragansett chief, Pumham, who possessed Warwick and environs in Rhode Island, give us a further definite line. Pocasset, which lay on the eastern mainland of the same bay, is definitely known to have been owned by Weetamoe, a woman chief, and kinswoman of the Massasoit family. But when we come to the point of deciding how to trace the Wampanoag boundary line in regard to the large island in the bay known as Rhode Island, we encounter some difficulty because it changed possession several times as the result of combat and exchange between the Wampanoag and the Narragansett. This large island lies only three miles or so off the eastern shore of the bay and was easily accessible from it.

The name of Rhode Island was Aquetneck, and it was first settled by the English in 1638, when its

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 27.

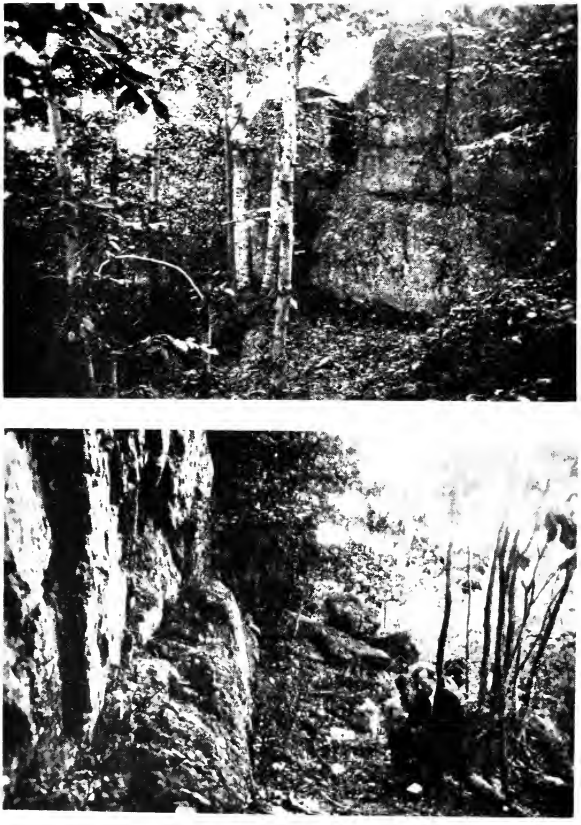

FIG. 17.—Views of Annawon's Rock in the Wampanoag country, about eight miles east of Taunton (Sept. 4, 1922). See footnote on opposite page.

name became Isle of Rhodes. Presumably at that time it was under the domination of the Massasoit band of Wampanoag. In several cases, however, the colonial records inform us of change of authority among its native owners, though first and last its control seems to have been Wampanoag and therefore we mark it as such. Now, with the exception of Saconnet neck, including the present town of Compton, where lived a small but independent band known as Saconnet under the female chief Awashonks, the tribal line is a water boundary and continues eastward to Cape Cod, where at the base of the cape a line of national separation evidently divided the Wampanoag from the Nauset. It is so marked on the chart without, however, documentary proof of its accuracy within a range of five miles. Referring to the Saconnet just mentioned, there is an interesting possibility that this small group may have been of an original separate identity to the extent of being a Narragansett partition. In the war records of the time and region the independence of the Saconnet is emphasized, and Narragansett ties are indicated by social intercourse

* *Note to fig.* 17. Here, on the border of Squonnaconk swamp, which begins a few feet in back of the figure seated in the lower view, was the rockshelter camp and hiding-place of Captain Annawon, where he and some sixty of his band were captured through strategy by Captain Church on the night of August 28, 1676. The scene has not altered much since. The upper view shows the rock-shelter about thirty feet above and to the northwest of the lower ledge. Both shelters face southward. (See page 61.)

FIG. 18.—Cynthia Conant (Attaquin), Herring Pond Wampanoag.

FIG. 19.—Russel Gardner, Herring Pond Wampanoag.

referred to in the Church chronicle. We have a similar perplexity in the decision about the Indians of Marthas Vineyard. They have been generally listed as Wampanoag, although they did not submit to the control of the war chief of that nation at the time of its national crisis during King Philip's war.

We have now the Wampanoag bounds fairly covered except on the northern frontier, and here the only possible course is to harmonize the division line between the claims of chiefs whose allegiance is known to be either Wampanoag or Massachusett.

This course is possible by reference to the land transactions of Tuspaquin, the Wampanoag owner of the Assawampsett Lake region, those of Philip and his brother toward the headwaters of Neponset river, and, on the other hand, the negotiations of the Massachusett chief Chickataubut and his sons, chiefly Wampetuck, and Wampey (possibly a corruption of the same), which are known and recorded as extending down to Namasket and Titicut rivers. That Ousamequin (Massasoit) sold a district about Bridgewater in 1649 is well known from the original deed, though later the Massachusett chief gave a deed for part of the same land. The uncertainty and change form the reason for marking the territory in question with two enclosures on the accompanying chart (pl. 1), which shows the habitats of the tribes investigated.

Beginning with the already adjusted Wampanoag-Massachusett frontier, we trace the tribal confines

FIG. 20.—Lizzie Ellis (Fletcher), Herring Pond Wampanoag.

FIG. 21.—Adrian Cesar, Herring Pond Wampanoag.

FIG. 22.—Mrs. Mary Chappelle, one of the survivors of the Punkapog band of "Praying Indians" of the Massachusett tribe.

of the Massachusett themselves, on the east, beyond and including Boston harbor and its islands north to Lynn and evidently almost to Salem. The reason for lining off the Massachusett boundaries at Salem is the knowledge gathered from Salem and

Manchester records that Masconomo, whose identity is given as Pennacook, was their proprietor. Accordingly, running a line inland below Masconomo's claim and joining the jurisdiction of the chief and disposer of the region about Concord, whose name was Nahattawants, and he a Nipmuck, we have our Massachusett boundary approximated in the north. For several reasons the Massachusett as a political body lack the definite character noted for the Wampanoag. We hear of their suffering at the hands of the Wabanaki on the north, of their coöperation, for defense with the Pennacook, and of intermarriage among their leading families on both the male and the female side with Pennacook and with Nipmuck. Their character in a political and social view seems to have been somewhat intermediate. To mark out their bounds inland on the west we can depend only on the known location of those towns of Praying Indians, founded by John Eliot, which are definitely stated to have been composed of Nipmuck. This is possible to within five or ten miles of approximation, which completes the geographical circuit for the two bodies under discussion.

Using the documents for our ethnological purpose, and the topographic charts of the Geological Survey, accuracy in the boundary determinations is possible to within an allowance of little more than say five miles of the actual limits. This, in view of the lapse of time intervening and the importance of the

FIG. 23.—Mrs. Mary Chappelle, Punkapog descendant.

FIG. 24.—Tamsen Weekes, Gay Head Wampanoag (died about 1890), one of the last speakers of the language.

object sought, is a range of probable error, I feel safe to assert, hardly worth considering. Gookin, in 1674, gave roughly the same territorial bounds of the principal southern New England tribes as those which we arrive at through our reconstructive survey.

WAMPANOAG TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS

At least nine subdivisions under local headmen may be listed for the Wampanoag. These are not all contemporaneous, but represent a time perspective of some fifty years, over which period the hereditary transfer in the male line comes into view. The details of our information pertaining to the territories laid claim to and sold by the different chiefs show that in all probability the majority of the locality groups in this tribe have come to be noted in the records. The reason for this is fairly obvious; for the Wampanoag territory was relatively a small one, the subdivisions were fairly definite in their location, and in the various campaigns against the Indians the Plymouth soldiers under Captain Church hunted down and captured one band after another, as these retreated into their native haunts, and subsequently recorded what they did.[1] Then the band chiefs were well known: the names of

[1] Some aspects of the significance of ethnology in history are brought out in W. C. MacLeod's The American Indian Frontier, 1928, chap. XVII.

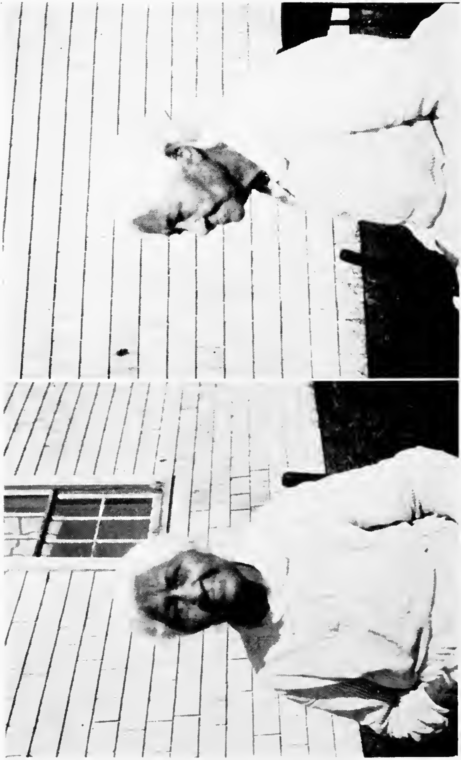

FIG. 25.—Mrs. Lucina Jeffers, Wampanoag of Gay Head, age 96 (1928).

FIG. 26.—Wampanoag types at Gay Head. (Mrs Charles H. Ryan, and Thomas Jeffers, son of Lucinda Jeffers.)

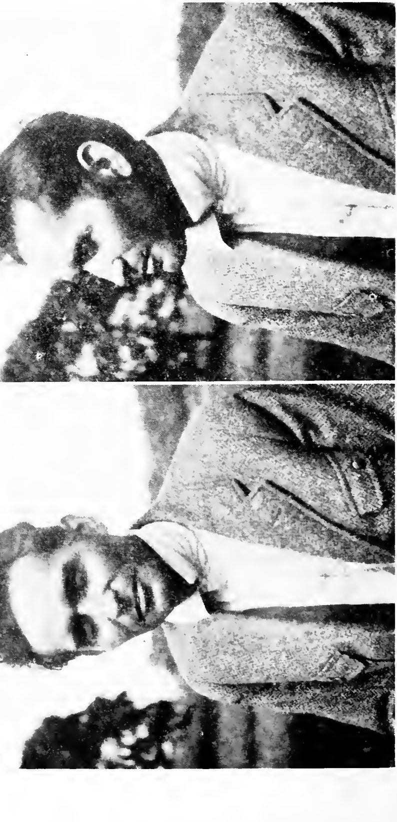

FIG. 27.—Grover Ryan, Wampanoag of Gay Head.

important personages recur frequently in the annals of the times both as fighters and as land sellers, and their haunts at last were remembered by their Indian names in most instances by the settlers and the names perpetuated until the present time. It would seem that for this tribe we have the means of

FIG. 28.—The colored cliffs at Gay Head, legendary scene of culture hero's home.

a rather complete reproduction of the habitat divisions and something of the particulars pertaining to the proprietors themselves.

No. 1. The principal family, in which the office of tribal sachem was hereditary in the male line of descent, was that of Massasoit who was sachem or head chief of the Wampanoag at the time of the first

FIG. 29.—The colored cliffs at Gay Head, legendary scene of culture hero's home.

coming of the English. His name is fairly clearly to be translated as "he who is great," equivalent to "the leader." Mention is first made of this man and his dominions by Samoset, the Indian who befriended the settlers on their setting foot at Plymouth. Samoset informed the English that the neighborhood where they were landed was called Patuxet, that the sachem over it was Massasoit, and finally that he had about 60 men under him. Later Massasoit changed his name to Ousamequin, the meaning of which is accepted as "yellow feather."

Massasoit's territory was an extensive tract

bordering on upper Narragansett bay, covering from Bristol around Mount Hope bay almost to Saconnet. It bore the Wampanoag name of Sowwams, and the better known Narragansett name of Pokanoket,[1] neither of which seems satisfactorily interpretable. That the same holding included part of Bridgewater, which bore the Wampanoag toponym of Saughtucket, is inferred from a sale of the district of seven miles square in 1649. Later, in 1653, he and his son Wamsutta, afterward known as Alexander, sold to the English of Plymouth all the land lying southeast of Sinkunke or Rehoboth, "bounded

FIG. 30.—Easkissy (*i'skis'i*) hill in the distance (legendary location), showing character of country.

[1] Drake, op. cit., I, 18; II, II, 19.

FIG. 31.—Celia Law, Mashpee.

by the brook Moskituash westerly and running by a dead swamp eastward to a great river and to a neck called Chackakust also Papasquash neck also from the bay [Narragansett] to Keecomewett." [1] The same son deeded away what was left of their claim to Rehoboth in 1661.[2] Massasoit's other son, King Philip, of undying fame, disposed of inherited lands which show the extent of the family proprietorship: around New Bedford, called Acushena, probably meaning "fish weir," and Coaxet, or Compton, in 1665, and Wrentham, called Wollomopoak, possibly meaning "red paint pond," a tract six miles square within the limits of Dedham in 1662; another tract two miles long and a mile broad between Dartmouth and Mattapoisett, between rivers Wanascottaquett and Cawatoquisset in 1667; an island called Nokatay near Dartmouth in 1669; and a tract south of Taunton twelve square miles and another of four square miles near it, of which a certain chief, Captain Annawon (Territory No. 2 of the chart) was part owner in 1672.[3]

On the basis of this information, then, we indicate on the chart the confines of the territory owned by the family of Massasoit and his heirs.

Another ethnological point to be noted here is the following: Massasoit, we are told, had several places of residence. Like the Indians of Maine and

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 28. This is now Kekamuit.
[2] Ibid., III, 4, 16.
[3] Ibid., III, 14, 16.

FIG. 32.—Martha Attaquin (sister of Mrs. Sturgis), Mashpee.

northern Canada he resorted to one or the other, depending on the abundance of game and fish, but, unlike them, also to a considerable extent on the seasons of agriculture. One was Mount Hope (native form probably Montaup) or Pokanoket.[1] King Philip inherited these resorts, and we hear of his making his headquarters, as his father did, at the same Mount Hope, at Raynham near Fowling pond (where there was formerly a pond nearly two miles long and three-quarters wide, but now is a cedar swamp), and at another picturesque spot overlooking the western shore of Lake Assawampsett. The latter is still pointed out to the traveler as King Philip's lookout (fig. 7). Referring to the hunting camp at Raynham, the words of a Dr. Forbes are interesting: "It was called King Philip's hunting house, because in the season most favorable for hunting he resided there, but spent the winter chiefly at Mount Hope probably for the benefit of

FIG. 33.—Rosanna Gerard, Mashpee of Gay Head.

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 18.

fishing."[1] Drake further informs us that Philip had temporary residences at Titicut and Munponset pond, besides the places mentioned previously.[2]

No. 2. Of considerable importance in the social history of the tribe is the personage of Annawon, whose patrimonial estates are known to have been near Rehoboth. He is regarded as having been one of King Philip's chief men, if not the next in authority to him. From several accounts it appears that the environs of Squannaconk swamps in Rehoboth township constituted the home and hunting grounds of this chief. It was he who held in his possession the "royalties" belonging to Philip after the demolition of the tribe following Philip's death.

FIG. 34.—William Mills (on mother's side of Pocknet family), Mashpee.

[1] Cf. Pierce, op. cit., 245.
[2] Drake, op. cit., II, III, 7.

FIG. 35.—James Mye, Mashpee.

This episode is too deeply fraught with ethnological interest to overlook in this connection, since it provides an insight into the political customs of the Wampanoag, involving the use of wampum, analogous to those of the Wabanaki tribes of Maine,

all of whom were no doubt in this particular affected by Iroquois contact.

After Philip's death Annawon returned to his swamp[1] and there made his last stand. Here he was taken by Captain Church through a move of picturesque strategy, and the Wampanoag or King Philip's war was ended. Church dictated an account of the event.

FIG. 36.—Melissa Conant, daughter of Cynthia Conant, Mashpee.

While Annawon was lying with his company hidden in Squannaconk swamp, Church captured an old man of his band and his daughter. From them he learned

[1] Drake, op. cit., I, 132.

where Annawon lurked with some 50 or 60 men.[1] Church resolved to try to surprise the chief and in the following words describes his accomplishment:[2]

The Captain then asked the old fellow if he would pilot him to Annawon? He answered, that he having given him his life he was obliged to serve him. He bid him move on then, and they followed. The old man would out travel them so far sometimes that they were almost out of sight; and looking over his shoulder and seeing them behind he would halt. Just as the sun was setting, the old man made a full stop and sat down; the company coming up also sat down being all weary. Captain Church asked, "What news?" He answered, that about that time in the evening, Captain Annawon sent out his scouts to see if the coast were clear, and as soon as it began to grow dark the scouts returned; and then said he "we may move again securely." When it began to grow dark the old man stood up again and Captain Church asked him if he would take a gun and fight for him? He bowed very low, and prayed him not to impose such a thing upon him as to fight against Captain Annawon his old friend. But says he, "I will go along with you and be helpful to you and lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you."

It being now pretty dark, they moved close together; —anon they heard a noise. The Captain stayed the old man with his hand, and asked his own men what noise they thought it might be? They concluded it to be the pounding of a mortar. The old man had given Captain Church a description of the place where Annawon now lay, and of the difficulty of getting at him. Being sensible that they were pretty near them with two of his Indians he creeps to the edge of the rocks from whence he could

[1] Hubbard (op. cit., 241) notes that Annawon had twelve men and as many women and children.

[2] Drake, op. cit., I, 132–142.

see their camps. He saw three companies of Indians at a little distance from each other; being easy to be discovered by the light of their fires. He also saw the great Annawon and his company, who had formed his camp or kenneling place by felling a tree under the side of the great cliffs of rocks, and a setting a row of birch bushes up against it; where he himself, his son, and some of his chiefs had taken up their lodgings, and made great fires without them, and had their pots and kettles boiling and spits roasting. Their arms also he discovered, all set together in a place fitted for the purpose, standing up on end against a stick lodged in two crotches, and a mat placed over them to keep them from the wet or dew. The old Annawon's feet and his son's head were so near the arms as almost to touch them. The rocks were so steep that it was impossible to get down only as they lowered themselves by the boughs and the bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. Captain Church creeping back again to the old man asked him if there were no possibility of getting at them some other way? He answered, "No." That he and all that belonged to Annawon were ordered to come that way and none could come any other way without difficulty or danger of being shot. Captain Church then

FIG. 37.—Mary Jonas, Mashpee.

ordered the old man and his daughter to go down foremost with their baskets at their backs that when Annawon saw them with their baskets he should not mistrust the intrigue. Captain Church and his handful of soldiers crept down also under the shadow of those two and their baskets. The Captain himself crept close behind the old man, with his hatchet in his hand and stepped over the young man's head to the arms. The young Annawon discovering of him whipped his blanket over his head and shrunk up in a heap. The old Captain Annawon started up on his breech and cried out "Howoh." And despairing of escape threw himself back again and lay silent until Captain Church had secured all the arms, etc. And having secured that company he sent his Indian soldiers to the other fires and companies giving them instructions what to do and say. Accordingly they went into the midst of them. When they had discovered themselves to the enemy they told them that their Captain Annawon was taken and that it would be best for them quietly and peaceably to surrender themselves which would procure good quarter for them, otherwise if they should pretend to resist or make their escape it would be in vain and they could expect no other but that Captain Church with his great army who had now entrapped them would cut them to pieces. Told them also that if they would submit themselves and deliver up

FIG. 38.—Melinda Simonds, Mashpee.

all their arms unto them and keep every man in his place until it was day, they would assure them that their Captain Church who had been so kind to themselves when they surrendered to him should be as kind to them. Now they being old acquaintance and many of them relations, did much the readier give heed to what they said; so complied and surrendered up their arms unto them, both their guns and hatchets, etc., and were forthwith carried to Captain Church. Things being so far settled Captain asked Annawon, "what he had for supper?" "for (said he) I am come to sup with you." "Tau-but," said Annawon with a big voice, and looking about upon his women bid them hasten and get Captain Church and his company some supper. He then turned to Captain Church and asked him whether he would eat cow beef or horse beef? Captain Church told him cow beef would be most acceptable. It was soon got ready, and pulling his little bag of salt out of his pocket, which was all the provision he had brought with him. This seasoned his cow beef. So that with it and the dried green corn which the old squaw was pounding in the mortar while they were sliding down the rocks he made a very hearty supper. And this pounding in the mortar proved lucky for Captain Church's men getting down the rocks for when the old squaw pounded

FIG. 39.—Lucy Simonds (niece of Daniel Queppish).

they moved and when she ceased to turn the corn they ceased creeping. The noise of the mortar prevented the enemy's hearing their creeping, and the corn being now dressed supplied the want of bread and gave a fine relish with the cow beef. . . . Now when Captain Church found not only his own men but all the Indians fast asleep, Annawon only excepted who, he perceived, was as broad awake as himself; and so they lay looking one upon the other perhaps an hour. Captain Church said nothing to him, for he could not speak Indian and thought Annawon could not speak English. At length Annawon raised himself up, cast off his blanket and with no more clothes on him than his small breeches walked a little way back from the company. Captain Church thought no other but that he had occasion to ease himself and so walked to some distance rather than offend them with the stink. But by and by he was gone out of sight and hearing, and then Captain Church began to suspect some ill design in him; and got all the guns close to him and crowded himself close under young Annawon; that if he should anywhere get a gun he should not make a shot at him without endangering his son. Lying very still awhile waiting for the event, at length, he heard somebody coming the same way that Annawon went. The moon now shining bright

FIG. 40.—Phoebe Pognet, Mashpee.

he saw him at a distance coming with something in his hands and coming up to Captain Church he fell upon his knees before him and offered him what he had brought, and speaking in plain English said, "Great Captain, you have killed Philip and conquered his country; for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English, so suppose the war is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong unto you." Then opening his pack, he pulled out Philip's belt, curiously wrought with wompom, being nine inches broad wrought with black and white wompom in various figures and flowers and pictures of many birds and beasts. This when hanged upon Captain Church's shoulders, reached his ancles; and another belt of wompom he presented him with wrought after the former manner, which Philip was wont to put upon his head. It had two flags on the back part which hung down on his back, and another small belt with a star upon the end of it, which he used to hang on his breast, and they were all edged with red hair which Annawon said they got in the Mahog's country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder and a red cloth blanket. He told Captain Church that these were Philip's royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with, when he sat in state; that he thought himself happy that he had an opportunity to present them to Captain Church who

FIG. 41.—Olivia Pognet, Mashpee.

had won them, etc. They spent the remainder of the night in discourse. And Captain Annawon gave an account of what mighty success he had had formerly in wars against many nations of Indians when he served Asuhmequin, Philip's father, etc.

This event took place on the night of the 28th of August, according to Drake. How tragically the narrative portrays the deep attachment that the local bands had for their lands!

Squannaconk swamp, where the event took place, is in the southeastern part of Rehoboth township, about 8 miles from Taunton in nearly a direct line to Providence. It contained nearly 3000 acres in Drake's time (1722).[1] Now it is a local landmark of some note, and the traditional scene of the action is pointed out as Annawon's rock. A visit to this notorious spot in 1922 showed that its environment has suffered little change since the days of the events just described (fig. 17).

No. 3. The third territory, one of frequent mention and description, is that called Pocasset, embracing the region about the present Tiverton. The name survives in Pocasset neck, a promontory of several miles extent jutting into Narragansett bay. This was the district controlled by another female proprietress, Weetamoe (evidently meaning "lodge keeper"). Her husband, whose name was Petanowowet,[2] appears in the records only as a

[1] Drake, op. cit., I, 136–138, n.
[2] Ibid., II, III, 4.

secondary figure beside that of the woman, the "queen of Pocasset." During King Philip's war Captain Church had dealings with him as a spy among his tribesmen and referred to him as "Peter Nunnuit."[1] Weetamoe was a near kinswoman of Philip, which is borne out by the adjacency of their lands. Mather is quoted by Drake as authority for the statement that she had some 300 men in her band at the opening of the war, but only 26 at its conclusion.[2] We learn little more of this unit except that one of its villages or camps was in a swamp back from the shore. Weetamoe was driven from place to place, but stuck to her dominions, finally being drowned out of a canoe in attempting to cross Swansea river while escaping from a party of English. She then was accorded the distinction of having her head cut off and exhibited upon a pole at Plymouth.[3]

FIG. 42.—Old Phoebe Pognet, Mashpee. (Mother of Lucy Simonds.)

[1] Drake, op. cit., I, 27.
[2] Ibid., II, III, 5. Hubbard (op. cit., 238) made the same estimate.
[3] Ibid., I, 27.

No. 4. One of the earlier proprietors, whose location was given in 1621 as being about Swansea, is Corbitant or Caunbatant. About him little can be said. Evidently his position was that of a subordinate to Massasoit, as a minor chief with small a local, possibly only a village, dependency. He is regarded by some authorities as having been the father of Weetamoe of Pocasset.

FIG. 43.—Angeline Pognet, Mashpee.

No. 5. One of the most noted chiefs under King Philip was known as Tispaquin or Tuspaquin, to the English sometimes as the "Black Sachem." The name was hereditary in the male line, as we learn from reference to "old Tispaquin" to distinguish the father from his son.[1] A region, large and bountifully supplied with fish and game, lying south and east of Namasket ("fish place") river, including a number of picturesque ponds, was their territory. This tract bore the name of Assawampsett,[2] a term

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, III, 57.
[2] Ibid., I, 97.

now applied to the largest of these ponds, the largest body of fresh water in this part of the state (figs. 5, 6, 14). Tispaquin's bounds are reconstructed by the knowledge of several sales which he made to the Plymouth men shortly before the war. In 1667 he made over a deed for land east of Namasket river bounded by Black Sachem, or Tispaquin, pond, and on the other side by a small pond called Asnemscutt.

In 1669 he sold the land extending from the ponds to "the Dartmouth path," and in 1672 from the outlet of Namasket river south by the "pond" to "Tuspaquin's pond." The next year "old Tispaquin" gave a deed to his daughter Betty who had become the wife of Sassamon. Tispaquin's wife was Amie, a sister of Philip and daughter of Massasoit.[1] An interesting and important sequence followed the transfer of land referred to as the bequest by Tispaquin to his daughter. The bounds of this gift of land are specifically given—Masquomoh, a swamp; Sasonkususett, a pond; and a large pond called Chuppipoggut.[2]

The tract became known as Betty's neck, and so it is still called. And what is of still more interest to the historian and ethnologist is that descendants of the Wampanoag and the actual heirs of old Tispaquin still hold and occupy the legacy in an apparently unbroken line of descent from the original proprietor, and at the same time represent lineal descent from Massasoit. The unique char-

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, III, 57. [2] Ibid., 10.

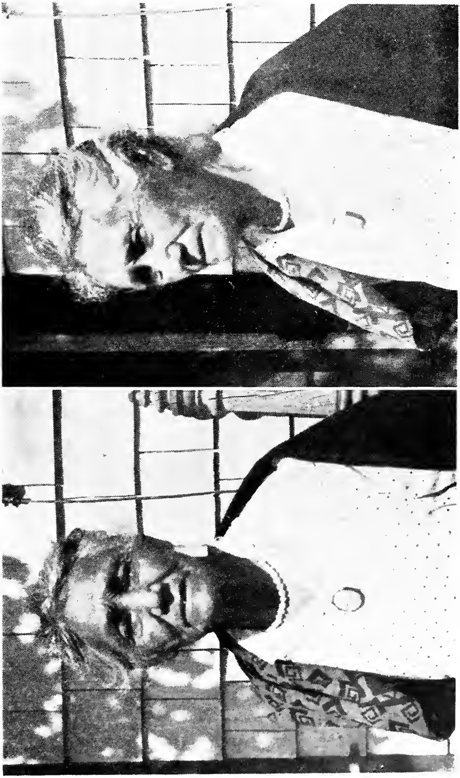

FIG. 44.—Mrs. R. F. Sturgis (Attaquin), Mashpee, age 97 years (1928).

acter of this case, which incidentally has been unduly ignored in literature, seems to deserve a special review which will be given to it shortly. But before alluding in detail to the present-day survivors of the Tispaquin band and giving such ethnological information as was obtained by Dr. Hallowell and myself in several visits to Assawampsett, I shall complete the general treatment of the family subdivisions. Drake, writing in 1827, evidently from first-hand knowledge, stated that the Indians were still living on the northeast side of Assawampsett lake, being known locally as the Middleborough Indians.[1] He adds that the last full-blood, named Cymon, evidently Simon, had died lately at the age of 100 years.[2] In his other work Drake further notes that in 1793 there were living at Betty's neck eight families of Indians.[3] That some of these Indians, when they were dispersed, went away to Mashpee on Cape Cod is evidenced by the claim of the Pells family there, in which tradition asserts the grandmother of old Foster Pells, of Mashpee (fig. 55), to have been from the Middleboro band.

Earle,[4] who wrote the report on the Indians of Massachusetts in 1861, enumerated 10 Indians of four families, their names being Hemenway, Monroe, Roman, Wing, and Lee (of Mashpee). At that time also Lydia Squinn (Tuspaquin corrupted) was living.

[1] Drake, op. cit., I, 94.

[2] Thos. Weston, History of the Town of Middleboro, p. 419 (1906), notes the death of the last full-blood here in 1852. He also refers to other survivors, and cites local native place legends.

[3] Drake, op. cit., II, III, 10.

[4] Earle, op. cit., 117.

FIG. 45.—Dorias Coombs, Mashpee.

No. 6. Adjoining the Tispaquin lands on the southeast lay the holdings of another of Philip's chief captains known as Tyasks, or Tyashk. He is said to have been the "next man to Philip": evidently an important local chief of whom Captain Church's journal said that his men, wives, and children numbered some hundreds.[1] Tyasks was proprietor of Rochester. Toward the end of the war he was encountered in his native haunts below Assawampsett neck on the west side of a "great cedar swamp" and north of New Bedford.

No. 7. Totoson or Tatoson, a chief of whom it is incidentally mentioned that he was of Narragansett affinity, resided in a swamp between Mattapoisett and Rochester. His dwelling is described as being on a plot of high ground in the swamp connected with the surrounding land by a neck over which all had to pass to visit him. This, say the authorities, was on the left of the main road passing from Rochester to Mattapoisett, two miles from the latter.[2]

Some incidents of Totoson's career, given by Captain Church, are of enough ethnological interest to quote. Church met and attacked him in a swamp in Swansea, on the west side of Taunton river, when the hostile Wampanoag were trying to escape from the country. He described Totoson as "a great stout surly fellow with his two locks tied up with

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, III, 63.
[2] Ibid., I, 115.

FIG. 46.—Chief Eben Queppish, Mashpee.

red, and a great rattlesnake skin hanging to the back part of his head."[1] Also Totoson afterward had all his family killed or taken except an eight-year-old boy and an old woman. He returned to his old haunt and there died of grief on the death of his little son. His wife then went to Sandwich and told of it, and there died also.

No. 8. Another of the older proprietors, who lived a generation before those we have just presented who were contemporaries of King Philip and the last to represent the Wampanoag as a nation, was Coneconam or Cawnacome. He was sachem of Manomet, a seemingly rather large tract reaching from Manomet point and Manomet pond almost to Sandwich and evidently partly down the eastern shore of Buzzards bay.[2] Little more can be done with this and the following proprietor than to enter them on the list and roughly indicate their bounds.

Some Wampanoag descendants still linger in this territory. We shall return to treat them in a few notes farther on under the title of the Herring Pond band, by which name they have become known to local history.

No. 9. A chief named Piowant, or Piant, is recorded as possessor for many years of a tract bounded by a certain Mastucksett brook, extending to Assonet river and so to Taunton river. The place

[1] Drake, op. cit., 115–118.
[2] Ibid., II, II, 30, 32.

on Taunton river was called Chippascuit, and was situated a little south of Mastucksett.[1]

Besides the locations and chief proprietors just given, there are several vacancies which cannot seem to be filled by reference to the chronicles. They are chiefly in the immediate neighborhood of Plymouth. Evidently the neighborhood had been depopulated by the plague which ravaged New England four years before the arrival of the English, as Samoset informed them. Again, nearby was the band of people inhabiting the shores of Munponsett pond in the northern part of the town of Halifax.[2] That the so-called Munponsett Indians belonged to the Wampanoag may possibly be imagined from the fact that they were joined with the hostiles under King Philip's control and were so treated during the campaign against the Wampanoag by Captain Church.

The Herring Pond and Fall River Bands of Wampanoag

Finally we may trace the survival of the actual Wampanoag residing within the confines of their own territories down to recent times.

In an interesting report by the Indian Commissioners of Massachusetts,[3] an extensive account of

[1] Drake, op. cit., III, II, 4.
[2] Ibid., I, 94–95.
[3] J. Milton Earle, Indians of Massachusetts, *Senate Papers*, no. 96, 1861.

the social and economic conditions among the Indian bands of the state in 1861 is given. From this document we derive authentic information on family names and numbers of the Mashpee, Herring Pond, Dartmouth, and Marthas Vineyard bands, besides the Wampanoag at Fall River, and some Indians near Dudley in the territory of the Nipmuck. Referring exclusively to the Wampanoag bands, the census of those at *Herring Pond* gave 62 souls in 19 families. The family names were: Johnson, Nickerson (from Yarmouth), Parker, Pratt, Saunders, Courtland, Webquish (from Mashpee), Wood, Thompson, Ellis, Fletcher, Fowler (from

FIG. 47.—Mrs. Hammond and daughter, Mashpee.

Nova Scotia), Gardner, Hersch, Blackwell, Jackson, Folger, Conet (Conant), Danzell (from Narragansett), Denison ("mixed foreigner").

At *Dartmouth*, not far from New Bedford, the same author reported a band of 29 families and 99 souls on the west side of Westport river.[1] They comprised Wampanoag descendants of the Acushnet, Acoaxet, and Aponegansett bands. The family names were Wainer, Cuffe, Tilghman, Talbot, Fowler, Boston, Boyden, Crouch, and Potts, Miller, Knobb, Jones, and Douglass, the last five rated as partly of colored blood. They then resided mostly in Westport.

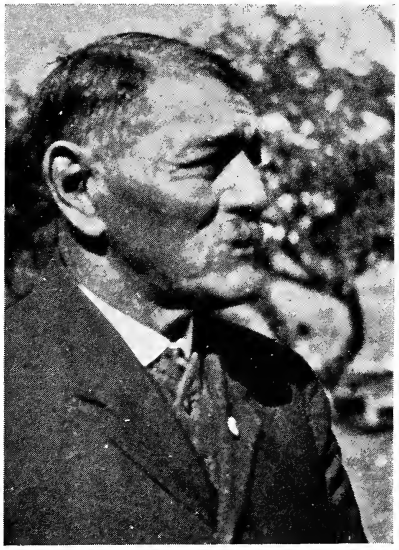

FIG. 48.—Ezra Conant, Mashpee and Herring Pond Wampanoag.

[1] Ellis, op. cit., 111.

Earle also reported in 1861 a small band of 5 families and 25 souls at *Mamatakesett* pond in Pembroke township near Plymouth,[1] and a few stragglers under the name of Tumpums at *Tumpum* pond.

FIG. 49.—Lewis Mills, Mashpee.

The largest group of the Wampanoag proper, however, seems to have survived at *Watuppa* pond, three miles from Fall River. They were known as Fall River or Troy Indians. We shall have to devote more attention to them. I am indebted to Dr. A. I. Hallowell, who has prepared the following report on the history of this group, based on a report published by Dubuque, cited below.

In 1686 the colonial government of Plymouth allotted a tract of land to a handful of friendly Wampanoag Indians. It was situated in Freetown, organized three years before, which at that time included about one-half of what is now

[1] Ellis, op. cit., 113.

Fall River, as well as the territory occupied by Freetown today. A considerable portion of the tract had been in the hands of white men only since 1656, having in that year been sold to 26 of them, in what was known as "Ye Freemans Purchase," by none other than a son of Massasoit and the brother of King Philip. No doubt it originally constituted a portion of Wamsutta's family hunting territory. But Wamsutta did not live to participate in the pivotal events of the succeeding years, and he little dreamed that within so short a time the ancient heritage of his family would be doled out by the English to the traitorous remnants of his tribe who had supported them in their conflict with his nation. For, although Wamsutta's wife, Weetamoe, espoused Philip's cause, her third husband, Petonanuit, together with many of the Pocasset, joined the English, and following the subjugation of the Wampanoag, found themselves in such a disorganized state that their semi-dependence on their white allies became a responsibility which the latter felt obliged to recognize. Not only had these Pocasset friends of the English severed the sentimental bonds which bound them to the defeated remnant of their race, but every family had suffered by the death or disablement of one or more of its members.

The "plantation" originally assigned to these Indians comprised some 120 acres south of the present Notre Dame cemetery, immediately beyond the Rhode Island line, and in addition, a tract on the east side of North Watuppa pond, opposite where the Fall River pumping station is now situated. Eighteen years later the Indians petitioned the Massachusetts government for a single tract of land because they wished all to be together as well as to be farther away from the English. A committee was appointed to look into the matter and to see what land could be had in exchange. In 1707 certain other land in Freetown, belonging to Benjamin Church, was consigned to the Indians.

It is not until forty years later that we get a glimpse of the internal affairs of the reservation. In 1747 it is reported that Rev. Silas Brett is nurturing the spiritual needs of the tribe under the support of a missionary society in far-off England. He mentions that they have a small meeting-house and school in one building. Two years later the State of Massachusetts inaugurated an administrative policy which was designed to keep the legislature in closer touch with its wards and which permits us to gather more definite information concerning the reservation in succeeding years.

FIG. 50.—Irving Oakley, Mashpee.

The first step was to appoint three guardians who were to render a biennial report on the condition of the Freetown Indians. But before a report was made, the Indians initiated a request (1763) to have the reservation divided in severalty, and this was granted the following year, at which time there were only 59 of the aborigines in Freetown. Dubuque[1] cites the result of the census taken in 1764–65, together with the names of the Indians residing

[1] Hugo A. Dubuque, Fall River Indian Reservation, Fall River, 1907.

there. At this time, as in the petition of 1704 and probably earlier, we find the Pocasset assuming English names, usually adopted from the white families friendly to them. The name Church was particularly prominent.

During the remainder of the eighteenth century the plan of having periodical reports made to the legislature does not seem to have been successful, at least no information appears to be extant; but the policy seems to have been re-adopted in the nineteenth century and more systematically carried out. In 1849 the committee reports that 20 acres are owned in severalty and 190 acres in common, that the soil of the land is good but that the "indolent and improvident habits of the tribe render it of little use to them as a means of support." The population is 37 at this date, consisting of 17 males, 20 females, and comprising 10 families. Day labor seems to have been the means by which subsistence was gained by some, others were at sea.

In 1857 the population is 33, six families living on the Indian land and three in the vicinity. "The general condition of the tribe is much better than in former years; the dwellings are in good repair; and some small portions of land well cultivated." During this year Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, of North Abington, Massachusetts, entered a claim to four lots of the Fall River reservation. She based her rights on the fact that she was a lineal descendant of Massasoit through Benjamin Squannamay mentioned in the allotment of 1764.[1]

It is said that "a great portion of them have, for some time, mingled with the general community, their families separated alike from those on the plantation and from each other, while those remaining on the reservation are almost entirely in the incipient or more advanced stage of pauperism, and it is an unquestionable fact that those who have left the plantation are, as a whole, in a better con-

[1] This refers to the Mitchells, still living, who claim rights to the Indian land at Middleboro. See page 87.

dition than those who remain upon it." This centrifugal tendency was of course accelerated beyond repair when the Massachusetts legislature, in 1869, granted full rights of citizenship to the Indian population of the state. The handful of Pocasset then left at Fall River had the

FIG. 51.—Mashpee mother and child.

choice of claiming individual title to the land belonging to their respective families or of having it sold for their benefit. In the year 1907 only one family, that of Fanny L. Perry, was found to be living upon what was formerly the reservation.

We learn something about the fate of the survivors of King Philip's war from the Indian family names

FIG. 52.—Mashpee mother and child.

recorded in 1763 denoting the owners of land on this reservation. The list is given below. When we encounter here the names of characters who were

prominent in the war, such as Sasamon, Titicut, Washunk, and Squin (short for Tispaquin), it is not difficult to conclude that this band of Indians was composed of reconciled warriors, and also included some of the Saconnet, who inhabited the Saconnet peninsula and who, under their woman sachem Awashonks, seem to have formed an independent political body of the Wampanoag. The names in question are Peter Quonewa, Elizabeth Nebe, Sarah Quan, Samuel Titicutt, Abigail Tellicutt, (probably an error for Titticutt, there being no *l* in Wampanoag), Betty Cockaway, John Sasamon, Peter Washunk, John Yokine, James Demas, John Schomoick (Sochomoick in the partition of 1764), Benjamin Squannamay, Sarah Squinn.[1]

In 1849 the following families held land on the reservation: Page, Cuffee, Perry, Crank, Alben, Abner, Simonds, Slade, Talbot, Freeman, Terry, and Landry.[2] In 1861, Earle listed 72 souls and 16 families as having rights in the reservation. The names of the latter given by him are Allen, Crank,* Simpson, Drummond, Freeman, Gardner, Lindsay,* Mason,* Mitchell, Northrup,* Perry, Robinson,* Slade, Saunders, and Terry.[3] At the present time Leroy C. Perry of this group holds the office of chief of the Wampanoag (figs. 3, 4).

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[1] Earle, op. cit., 77.

[2] Dubuque, op. cit., 63–64.

[3] The asterisk denotes "foreign" ancestry noted by Earle.

In a volume written in 1878 by E. W. Pierce and published by Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, is given the documentary and traditional evidence of the descent from Massasoit of the Mitchell family of Wampanoag residing at Betty's neck near Middleboro. This has been referred to previously. The volume presents the Mitchell genealogy connecting the present generation through eight generations with the famous chieftain. Massasoit's daughter Amie married Tispaquin, their son Benjamin married Weecum, their son Benjamin Tispaquin married Mary Felix, daughter of John Sassamon of King Philip's war fame, their daughter Lydia Tispaquin married a Wamsley, their daughter Phebe married a Gould, their daughter Zerviah married a Mitchell,

FIG. 53.—Alonzo Brown, Mashpee.

which brings us finally to the present generation of three living representatives (figs. 1, 2).

At Herring Pond, some 12 miles south of Plymouth itself, there had always dwelt a band known as the

FIG. 54.—George Oakley (Ockree) at the age of about 93. He was a Connecticut Indian adopted by the Mashpee.

Herring Pond Indians on a small missionary reservation established in 1655. Mooney[1] identifies

[1] Mooney in Handbook of American Indians, *Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn.*, pt. 1, 544.

them with a band called *Comassakumkanit* mentioned by Bourne in 1674. A few descendants are still to be found in the neighborhood, though during the last century many of them removed to the Mashpee and intermarried there.

At Plymouth there are records of missionary effort and enumerations of these Wampanoag, but their scrutiny may be left for another occasion when it is possible to pursue the opportunity of securing specimens and fragments of ethnology which have undoubtedly survived among the descendants.

As to numbers we have some references. Drake, in 1836, gave them a population of about 40.[1] Mooney evidently based his estimate of 40 in 1825 on the same source.

From Mrs. Rhoda Attaquin Sturgis of Mashpee, however, I obtained some interesting information relative to the Herring Pond people, and the loan of daguerrotype portraits of some of them for reproduction (figs. 18–21). Mrs. Sturgis's mother was of this band, her name being Jones, her own memory covering a span of almost ninety years. She informs us that in her mother's time there were probably 100 Indians living there, the family names being Nickerson, Hersh (Hirsch), Jone or Jonas, Conant or Conet, Pletcher or Fletcher, Gardner and Blackwell. The only family actually represented on the ground in 1921, to my knowledge, was that of Hersh. Many of the families at Mashpee are

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, x.

descended from or related to those of Herring Pond as I have indicated in the captions of their portraits (figs. 36, 37, 44, 48).

Mrs. Sturgis also remembered some Wampanoag living at Half-way pond; several families of Chummucks ("poor," cf. Mohegan tcα'm'αηks). Into

FIG. 55.—Foster Pells and wife, Mashpee. (Pells is of Wampanoag descent from the Middleboro Band.)

this family had married two daughters of William Apes, the well-known Indian minister, originally a Pequot, adopted by the Mashpee in 1833. He wrote a book of his life.[1] Two brothers, descendants of this family, are known to Mrs. Sturgis—Isaac Chummucks of New Bedford and Jacob Chummucks of Plymouth.

[1] Wm. Apes, A Son of the Forest, N. Y., 1829; and Indian Nullification of Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Mashpee Tribe, Boston, 1825.

Concerning the native populations of this part of the Wampanoag territory there exists an interesting document, written by Wait Winthrop in 1693, giving the names and numbers of converts of three congregations in the environs of Sandwich. This document is in the form of a letter, and it may be seen in the collections of the Pilgrim Society in Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth. It has never been published. Through the kindness of the curator, Mr. Hunt, it was placed at my disposal that its contents might be used in this report. It is superscribed in the following manner: "The number of all the Indians that belong or owns the meeting house of Pomppashpissit in Sandwich of the Mr. Thomas Tuppur his teaching house, of Quâhassit and Wawontat." Two of these three names are native forms of the locations well known today as Cohasset and Waywayontat, both near the region that now bears the names of Bourne and Sandwich. Then follows a list of names, which are very interesting both as a record of native personal naming and as a means of identifying some of the Indian family names at Mashpee, Herring Pond, and elsewhere on the cape and the islands. In the first column are given the names; in the second the numerals refer to children. The orthography not being in every case consistent, and the handwriting often obscure, I have italicized, in my copy, the uncertain letters, since it makes a great deal of difference in Algonkian whether a syllable contains an *n* or a *u*, an *h* or a *k*, and the like.

John Wohnuk	3	
Thomas Wa*rtehman*.	4	
Widow *j*opet	5	
papôm	4	
wunnanamu*h*-tukoogk	3	
dor*h*as	4	
John Connot	3	
Will Connot	4	
Old Warterman	2	
Widow nanomut of nanamot bonts	5 (or 6)	
John Wanna	6	
Isaac Wanna	2	
Joseph Wanna	3	
Robert Hood	8	
Samuel Sannow	2	
John S*k*upoog	2	
Job	4	
Widow poog	4	
Will Sachimôs	3	
Widow Wanna	5	
John Jopet	1	
Will Sannaw	1	
Abel Sannaw	1	
	—	88
of Manamat		
Widow haght	3	
Rebecka haght	3	
Isaac Nick	3	
Jacob haght	4	
quanootas	4	
James Otas	5	
Jame Wappog	2	
Widow Jonas	6	
rafe Jonus	4	
John Quoi	5	
Mahtoaanum	3	
squa appo*b*an	4	
James Dillingham	3	
Peter Joseph	5	
Sampson Waapnut	5	
Paul Quoi	3	
Ollever	5	
John Ollever	2	
Old Peter	7	
Saul	7	
Job	4	
Daniel	1	
J*ames*	1	
jag p*e*ny	1	
Thom Buttler	1	
	—	74
Robert cakunnoyu	5	
old cakunnoyu	4	
Elisha cakunnoyu	2	
Jonas Numu*h*	4	
Will numu*h*	2	
Will numu*k* junr	2	
Lazarus numuk	1	
Sha*n*ks	6	
Moses numuk	3	
Sam cakunnoyu	4	
Sam aywit	2	
quakom	3	
joel Shupoog	3	
hopo	3	
	—	44

The number is 226 begin at the ten years of old children. 226 this is the number from the ten years old children to the oldis man theris amongst us in March 28th 1693, the famalis rackoned by Raph Jouns

hopo
John Putquoi
Marges*htat*s

One of the purposes this letter serves us is that it gives location to some names still extant among the bands, though today they show a modified form. Among these is Conot, now Conant or Conet of Herring Pond and Mashpee, and Ollever, now Oliver. It is to be noted furthermore that there was a strong tendency to abbreviate the long native names by using the first syllable or two, sometimes the last, resulting in modifications which become almost impossible to reconstruct again. Examples are: Wunnanamuktukoogk to Wanna, Shupoog to Poog, Putquoi to Quoi; likewise, at Middleboro, Tispaquin to Squin; and at Mashpee, Popmonet, Popnonet, to Pocknet and Pognet, one of the commonest names among the families of that band. The fourth name of the foregoing list, papôm, has a suspicious appearance as a possible form of Popmonet.

FIG. 56.—Horatio Amos, Mashpee.

The Wampanoag descendants of the several bands,

mindful of their past, have in recent years reconstituted the tribe and elected officers. From one of them, Clarence M. Wixon, their own figures for the present numbers of the bands are furnished: Gay Head, 164; Mashpee, 80; Herring Pond, 42; New Bedford, 18; scattered over Cape Cod, Bristol, and Plymouth counties, 146.[1]

MASSACHUSETT TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS

There seems to have been somewhat less cohesion among the bands forming the Massachusett tribal body than what appears to us in the case of the Wampanoag. This may be traceable in part to their less fertile and evidently less populous country, but especially to the proximity of the tribes north of them whom they so dreaded under the name of Tarratines. One of the Massachusett sachems, met by the English near what is now Boston, informed them that they could not remain long in one place on account of the Tarratines who came at harvest and took away their corn and killed many.[2] Later the infant colony at Boston was even threatened by an invasion of the same Tarratines in whose name we recognize the Wabanaki tribes of Maine. To a degree which can only be imagined at this time

[1] Correspondence C. M. Wixon, Onset, Mass.; Gladys Tantaquidgeon, August 14, 1928.

[2] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 40–42.

the depopulation and the transciency of occupancy of the natives of this region may be attributed to its frontier situation, being on the borderland of the agressive Wabanaki area. It should also be recalled that a devastating epidemic had swept through the territory.

The Massachusett had close political affinity with the Narragansett in later times and held amity with the Wampanoag.[1] The fact that they suffered, however, from the pressure of the Iroquois is clearly shown by the record that in 1669, after six years' continuance, the war ended in the death of Wampatuck, chief sachem, who invaded the Iroquois country with a band of six or seven hundred men.[2]

FIG. 57.—Austin Pocknet, Mashpee.

No. 1. Of corresponding rank and importance with Massasoit, of the Wampanoag, we first encounter the figure of Chickataubut, the hereditary

[1] Drake, ibid., 42–43.
[2] Ibid., 45–46.

principal chief of the Massachusett. That his control extended over a rather wide district south of Boston and included several dependencies which later were subdivided among his heirs is clearly shown by an examination of the records of land transfers from 1665 onward. His name is said to mean "house afire," which is etymologically reasonable enough to accept. This chief had his principal residence near Weymouth at a place called Passonagesit. At Titicut in Middleboro, adjacent to Massasoit again, he had a family residence, where it seems he was considered a subject of Massasoit. Like him he too had different places of resort at Neponset, Wessaguscusset, later Weymouth, and especially at Titicut. Further details are wanting, except that in 1621 he with eight other chief sachems

FIG. 58.—Lester Pocknet, Mashpee.

acknowledged himself subject to King James.[1] This gives us, fortunately, an idea of the number of minor dependencies among the Massachusett at that time. We can plot out and locate almost the same number from the literature, following our method of reconstruction. Chickataubut died in 1633 of smallpox, and the disease carried away many of his people;[2] whereupon his territories became subdivided among heirs, the principal one of whom we have mentioned being Wampatuck, who is next to be dealt with.

No. 1a. Wampatuck, whose name is generally supposed, and with good reason, to mean "wild goose," was son and successor of Chickataubut. The lands actually controlled by him are known from records of sales. In 1665 he sold the district about the present Quincy.[3]

Wampatuck's name and property went to his son, and it was this Wampatuck, grandson of Chickataubut, who received payment in 1695 for the site of Boston and the neighboring islands. In 1653 he sold a large tract in the vicinity of Accord pond and North river. On this testimony we extend the territory of the Massachusett at least to below North river. In 1662 he sold a tract between Namasket river and a branch of Titicut river, and another between Plymouth and Duxbury on one side and Bridgewater on the other.[4]

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 43.
[2] Ibid., 44.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 45.

No. 1b. On the arrival of the English at Plymouth, one of the first events in their history was to come into contact with a certain Obatinnewat or Obtakiest,[1] a sachem of the Massachusett who claimed country south of Boston. He is said to

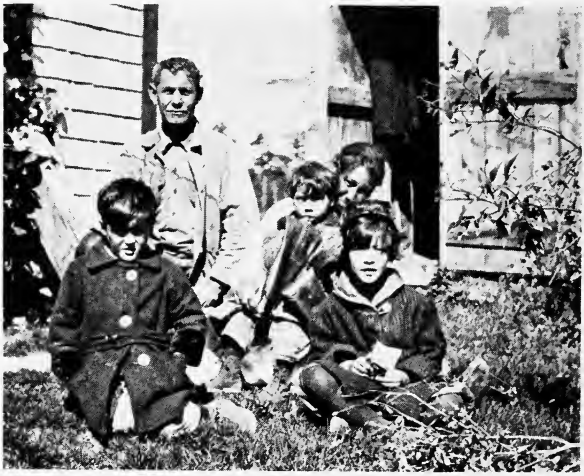

FIG. 59.—Family of William Sturgis, Mashpee.

have been subject to Massasoit. What this chief's relationship to Chickataubut might have been is not mentioned, but the territory was later ceded by the latter. There is no way of knowing whether both names referred to the same person or whether they were brothers.

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 40.

No. 2. North of Charles river, reaching to about Lynn and Marblehead, the land was owned by a certain Nanepashemet, who, however, is said to have died in 1619, leaving his title to his widow and some sons to be mentioned soon. The name of this

FIG. 60.—Family of Lewis Mills, Mashpee.

chief is clearly translatable as "he who walks at night" or "moon." Several interesting facts which give an insight into local ethnology are connected with his history.[1] His grave, for instance, was in a house erected upon a scaffold and surrounded by a palisade. The use of palisades was evidently a

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 40–41.

result of contact with the Iroquois and is known among the Algonkians as far as the Penobscot. Nanepashemet's wall was moreover encircled by a ditch.

The wife of Nanepashemet, renowned as the "squaw sachem," succeeded him, married a chief

FIG. 61.—Types of Mashpee children.

named Webcowit, and later divided the patrimony with three often mentioned sons. This band of the Massachusett was evidently in close touch with the Nipmuck and the Pennacook, because the "squaw sachem" later married a Nipmuck chief of near Concord and one of the sons married a daughter of the head chief of Pennacook. No doubt this was the outcome of the weakness of the Massachusett resulting from the combined effects of the plague

which decimated them just before the coming of the English, and the attacks of the Tarratines of whom their complaints are so frequently cited in the literature of the times.

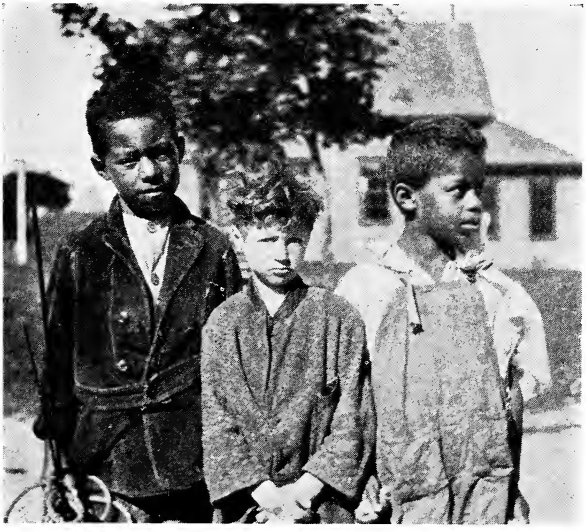

FIG. 62.—Mashpee children showing extremes of foreign mixture (1921)

No. 2a, 2b, 2c. The three sons of Nanepashemet were respectively Winnepurkit, proprietor of Deer island and Boston harbor, 2a; Wonohaquaham, sachem of Chelsea and Saugus, 2b; and Monto-

wampate, sachem of Lynn and Marblehead, 2c.[1] There is but little more to say of these men or their territories. The smallpox of 1633 greatly reduced the population of their lands. We learn that on the territory of Wonohaquaham, as recorded previously of other chiefs, there were shelter wigwams at places where they were accustomed to pass. The occasion of this reference is that these lodges were burned by an Englishman for which the chief finally received compensation by voyaging to England.[2] Winnepurkit made himself famous by marrying a daughter of Passaconaway, chief sachem of the Pennacook, and has been immortalized by Lowell in "The Bridal of the Pennacook."

No. 3. Nahant and Swampscot belonged to a chief named Manatahqua, or Black William, of whom we hear little beyond the statement that his father was sachem there before him, affording another evidence that in this region descent was patrilineal.[3]

No. 4. A tract five miles square east of Concord river, lying between the lands of the "squaw sachem" (No. 2) and those of Cutshamakin, is recorded as the possession of one Cato, a brother of the latter. This tract adjoining Sudbury was sold in 1648.[4]

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[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 47.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., 48.
[4] Ibid., 53.

No. 5. Based on a statement that the territory around Natick, where John Eliot commenced his missionary efforts in 1648, was preciously owned by a chief named Nahaton, we outline this tract as a minor holding, No. 5. This, however, is all that is known concerning it.

No. 6. Cutshamakin, Cutshamequin, or Kutchamakin, translatable as "big feather," was a sachem of considerable importance among the Massachusett, and brother to Chickataubut.[1] His name appears in many connections in the documents, first in 1632–33 as one of the signers of the allegiance of the Massachusett chiefs to King James, and later, in 1636, as one of the factors in ushering in the war between the English and the Pequot of Connecticut. He at that time accompanied a party of English and deliberately killed a Pequot which involved the native process of vengeance. His territory was about Dorchester, Sudbury, and Milton, which was sold by him in 1636.[2]

In the territory of this chief, and no doubt one of the important inland settlements, was Punkapog, which by 1674 had become one of the two "Praying towns" of Massachusett Indians converted by the missionary John Eliot. The town in 1674 had a population of about 60 in 12 families.[3] Punkapog is now the only locality where descendants of the

[1] Drake, ibid., 45.
[3] Ibid., 52–53.
[3] Ibid., 114, 115.

almost forgotten Massachusett may still be found. Owing to the unusual interest associated with this circumstance I subjoin a short account of a visit to

FIG. 63.—Mashpee boys and Indian schoolhouse at Mashpee (1907).

the community which I made in 1921, and some ethnological and historical information obtained at the time (see Appendix).

There are two important Massachusett chiefs of 1623 whose locations do not seem to be given anywhere, so far as search has gone. They were Wittuwamet and Peksuot. These men were implicated in a plot among certain bands on Cape Cod and the islands to destroy the English in 1623.[1] Capt. Miles Standish quelled this uprising and killed both.

INDIANS OF THE ISLANDS

The tribal identity of the Indians inhabiting the islands south of Cape Cod has never been accurately recorded. In early times the general name of South Sea Indians was often applied to them as well as to those of Cape Cod. In most narratives those of Marthas Vineyard and the islands were definitely considered subject to the Wampanoag, though it is a noteworthy fact that they did not coöperate with King Philip in his war upon the English. An affinity in dialect, however, did exist between the peoples of the islands, both Nantucket and Marthas Vineyard, and even over entire Cape Cod. Yet on several occasions differentiation was noted in the records between the speech of the mainland and Marthas Vineyard which would mean something to us if we had more comparative material. Since

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 32–35.

FIG. 64.—Scene in village of Mashpee near the Indian school.

their cultural affinities cause us no trouble, we are perplexed only by the political ties. Yet there are several statements on record which complicate the situation somewhat, and these, I believe, should not be lightly waived. For example, the inhabitants of Nantucket are asserted to have formed two groups originally hostile to each other. The island is approximately only 10 by 15 miles in extent. And yet the circumstance of hostility among small insular groups seems not so unusual when other similar cases in adjacent regions are considered. We learn of tribal wars on Block island, a very small spot not

far away, which originally belonged to the Pequot and later passed by conquest to the Narragansett. It might be inferred that the condition described for Nantucket was due to a similar cause, namely, the invasion of one population by another. We may imagine that, since Marthas Vineyard was Wampanoag, by the authority of competent sources, the people on the western end of Nantucket, facing Marthas Vineyard, were likewise Wampanoag invaders, and the others Nauset whose history and ancestry were associated with the next nearest inhabitants, namely, those of southeastern Cape Cod in the neighborhood of Chatham, Nauset, and Monomoy, not more than 12 miles directly across from Nantucket by water.

On the assumption then, which may indeed seem

FIG. 65.—Mashpee homestead overlooking Mashpee pond.

bold to anyone who has taken enough interest in this question to pursue it thus far, I have indicated on the chart the tribal connection of the western Nantucket peoples with those of Marthas Vineyard, here distant only about 8 miles by open water separ-

FIG. 66.—Daniel's (Daniel Queppish's) island at Mashpee neck—a typical fishing station and home location of the Mashpee.

ating the intervening islands. The Cape Cod populations then, the so-called Nauset, I have marked as including those of northern and eastern Nantucket. At the most, however, we are distinguishing now only the subdivisions of a single ethnic and dialectic group, whose boundaries embraced everything from

the Narragansett to the Pennacook about Merrimac river.[1]

Commencing with the band on Marthas Vineyard, which bore the native names Capawack,[2] Cepoge, and Nope, there is little that need now be said

FIG. 67.—View from landing place on Daniel's island, looking eastward. A Mashpee fisherman passing the point.

concerning geographical divisions beyond repeating that they were regarded as an original offshoot of

[1] The dialectic stamp of this group is the use of *n* where others employ *h*, *v*, and the *c* (*sh*) inanimate plural.

[2] Some discussion has arisen among historians over the meaning of this term and its original application. Not to add to the confusion existing, I could nevertheless suggest that a derivation from southern New England *guppi*, "covered, cloudy, overcast," be considered.

the Wampanoag, and adding that they are still the best preserved and most numerous of the southern New England Indian remnants. At the time of their conversion by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., shortly after 1642, they were ascribed a population of some 1500. In 1698 they were reduced to 1000, including those on Chappaquiddick. Their number appeared as 313 in 1764, and 360 in 1807. Drake computed them in 1800 at 200, and said that they were probably Wampanoag.[1]

At present they have kept their identity intact, residing in a community at Gay Head at the western extreme of the island, where they dwell far from the beaten track of commercial influence (figs. 24–30). And here they still preserve enough of ancient characteristics and ethnological knowledge to require attention at the hands of investigators for some time before the matter can be dealt with in print.[2] Some of them have intermarried with the inhabitants of Mashpee over on Cape Cod. The former occupants of the island of Chappaquiddick, the considerable island adjoining Marthas Vineyard on the east, under a chief of 1642 named Pahkepunnassoo, may also be mentioned from contemporary knowledge, for there were until lately some recognized Indian descendants on that island.

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, x.

[2] In 1928, Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon, of Mohegan, a student at the University of Pennsylvania, undertook the task of recording tales and folklore from the members of this community and intends to devote some time to its fulfilment.

From the State report by Earle on the Indians of Massachusetts in 1861, referred to previously, we derive our knowledge of the fundamental family names among the three or four bands on Marthas Vineyard and Chappaquiddick. From this source I have arranged the table of names and numbers as

FIG. 68.—View from landing place on Daniel's island, looking southward.

representing the status of these people in 1859–61.[1]

On Chappaquiddick Island, 74 souls, in 17 families. The family names were: Belain, Cook, Curdoody, Goodrich, Gould, Simpson, Harris, Joseph, Summons, Taylor, Joab, Layton, Jonas, and Sams. The foreign Indian and other racial family heads were

[1] Earle, op. cit., 15, 25, 115.

Curtis, West, Ross, Brown, Martin, Mathews, and Webquish of Mashpee.

At Christiantown (Tisbury), 53 souls, in 14 families. The family names were Anthony, deGrasse, Mingo, Francis, Goodrich, Peters, James, Spencer, Grant, and Belain.

At Deep Bottom Earle met a small independent group having at that time no organization but remaining separate from those of Gay Head and Christiantown. They numbered 13 souls and formed 4 families. Being only about five miles west of Edgartown, they were evidently but an offshoot of the other group. The family names here were Easton (Narragansett), Freeman (Chappaquiddick), Jackson, and Harris.

At Gay Head, 253 souls and 54 families. The family census and general treatment of this large band will be reserved for a separate study and report. Much still remains to be done among the descendants here because their isolation has caused the preservation of some native customs and beliefs.[1]

[1] Earle's list of Gay Head family names may be given to serve as a check on the distribution of names among neighboring bands. He gave Ames, Anthony (Portuguese), Bassett, Bclain (Chappaquiddick), Bowyer,* Brown,* Cole, Cook, Cooper, Corsa,* Cuff, David, Devine, Dodge, Diamond (foreign Indian), Francis, Howwoswee, Holmes, Jeffers, Jerard (foreign?), Johnson, Madison, Manning, Nevers, Peters, Randolph (Haiti), Rodman (Narragansett), Rose, Sylvia (Portuguese), Sewell, Shepherd,* Stevens, Thompson (Mashpee), Thomas, Vanderhoop (Surinam), Walmsley, Weeks, Williams,* Aucouch, Deming,* Henry,* Haskins,* Howard,* Jordan,* Powell,* Ockray, Lewis. The asterisk denotes mixed ancestry noted by Earle.

No Indian survivors have dwelt on Nantucket since the death of Abram Quary in 1855. Although there is no definite information coming from him which would help us in solving our problems, nevertheless several not uninteresting reminiscences concerning this old Indian are handed down by Mrs.

FIG. 69.—Marshes and islands near mouth of Mashpee river.

Sturgis, an Indian woman of 93 years of age at Mashpee. She recalls having visited Quary at Nantucket with her father, Solomon Attaquin, when she was about 15 years of age. Quary was very Indian in appearance, wore long hair, and could speak Indian.

We may conclude the mention of the Marthas

Vineyard Indians, for the present, with the statement that the body formerly had subdivisions to the number of four, with local sachems and some minor proprietors. The sachems Epanow and Miohqsoo (also given as Myoxeo) are mentioned for the island, though it is not expressly stated which one, if either, was supreme. The latter made him-

FIG. 70.—Parker river near Yarmouth, territory of Iyanough (No. 8)

self notorious to the missionaries of early days, and interesting to the ethnologist of this day, by declaring that he could reckon up 37 of his gods.

On the neighboring islands of the Elizabeth group, especially Naushon, were populations evidently culturally but not politically affiliated with the Wampanoag, judging by the testimony of several

accounts. The Indians of Naushon were said to be hostile to those on the mainland; for a local legend relates how the mainland people persuaded the devil to throw a rattlesnake onto the island. The snake grew and bit a woman, hence the breach of friendship. Another related how the "devil" was building a bridge from the mainland to one of the smaller islands, how a crab caught him by a finger, and how he then threw it toward an island 20 miles away, where as a result the crabs now breed.[1] These tales belong in the transformer hero cycle of the island Indians, the tales being now in process of preparation by Miss Tantaquidgeon. That the Wampanoag had frequent recourse to the shelter of the Elizabeth islands is shown by the flight of Tatoson, one of Philip's captains (page 74), with his son or nephew, Penachason.[2] The latter may have even given his name to one of these islands now called Penekese.

Fortunately for the purpose in view we have a dependable study of the Indians of Marthas Vineyard by Banks,[3] the historian of the island. Access to this material and additional aid rendered through the Dukes County Historical Society, by its president, Mr. Marshall Shepard of Edgartown, have enabled me to collate and arrange the informa-

[1] Gustave Kobbé, An Island in New England, *Century Magazine*, LVI, N.S. XXXIV, p. 754 (1898).

[2] Drake, op. cit., II, III, 86.

[3] Charles E. Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, 3 vols., Boston, 1911.

tion pertaining to the land-tenure system and social characteristics of this interesting division of the Wampanoag in the following manner:

Four major sachemships existed in the region at the time of the coming of the whites, about 1641. Two of the chieftaincies were situated upon the main island, another on the western promontory, and the third on the adjacent island of Chappaquiddick.[1]

On the map these are denoted by numbers. The two extreme divisions were separated by water boundaries from the island; the two on the island itself were segregated by a line drawn from Blackwater brook to Watchet on the south shore, according to our authority, established by bounds "settled many years ago." [2]

1. Nohtooksaet, sachem of Gay Head, known as Aquinuh in the records (*Aquene ut* as rendered by Banks, evidently on the authority of W. W. Tooker whose aid was sought by Banks in his study of local native nomenclature). This chief came from Massachusetts Bay.[3] His son Mittark, 1675, succeeded him. He in turn was supplanted by Omphannut who established a claim to the office as the eldest son of Nohtooksaet.

2. Mankutquet, sachem of the western section of the island called Takemmy (rendered as Taakemmy).

[1] Banks, op. cit., p. 39.
[2] Ibid., p. 43, quoting Tisbury Records.
[3] Ibid., p. 40, quoting Indian converts, 67.

A. Wannamanhut, sub-sachem of Christiantown, who came from toward Boston and "settled at Takeemee."

B. Toohtoowee, sub-sachem, 1673, of the north shore of Chilmark, known as Keepigon.

3. Tewanticut, sachem of the eastern section of the island called Nunnepaug (Nunpoak).

A. Cheesehahchamuk, sub-sachem of Homes' Hole, 1658, succeeded by his son Ponit, 1685.

B. Wampamag, sub-sachem of Sanchakankacket, 1660, son of Adommas, "queen sachem," as she was called.

C. Tom Tyler, a prominent Indian, 1675, living about Edgartown, who had come from Ipswich, Mass., where his father, a sachem Masconomet, had sold away the land. Tyler does not appear in the records as a sub-sachem.

4. Pahkepunnasso, sachem of the island of Chappaquiddick (rendered as *Tchepi aquiden et* by Banks, probably on the authority of Tooker).

That the islands, and it seems especially Marthas Vineyard, proved a haven for refugees fleeing from the devastating conditions that confronted the Indians on the mainland is evident in the instances of migrations recorded and by the relatively high population estimates for the region. The fugitives continued to come after the close of the colonial wars; for among the Indians still living at Gay Head the mainland extraction of many of the family

ancestors is pointed out, as for instance, the Jeffers family traces its sources to Thomas Jeffers of about the fourth generation back from the present man of this name, who came from the Middleboro band, the Cooper and the Taknot families from Mashpee, and so on. That the same was true of earlier times still is vouched for by the provision, noted by Mayhew in the middle of the 17th century (see page 26), to fix in the social scheme the subordinate position of outsiders who came to reside on the island.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE NAUSET OF CAPE COD

The question of the territorial boundaries of the Nauset, which term comprises the populations of Cape Cod, is rendered simple by the water boundaries of this remarkable projection of the coastal plain. The only difficulty lies in the determination of the eastern extension of the Wampanoag claims. If, however, we accept the statement that the territory known as Manomet included both the headland south of Plymouth and the eastern shore of Buzzards bay, which preserve the name in common, the difficulty is lessened. East of the Manomet area, then, we hear little of Wampanoag control. Evidently it is to be accounted as the boundary of the independent Nauset group, subdivided into several well-known chieftancies whose bounds are in general

possible to define. Before giving the survey of these subdivisions, however, a few remarks might be repeated concerning what little is known of the culture features of the Nauset of the Cape and their Wampanoag relatives. From specimens of the Cape Cod dialect, preserved by some of the descendants

FIG. 71.—Stunted pitch-pine forest and marshes near mouth of Pamet river, territory of Aspinet. (Near here were found the Indian corn-hills at the first landing of the Pilgrims, 1620, and more again in recent times.)

still residing there, it would seem that the phonetic characteristics of the Massachusett-Wampanoag-Narragansett group are here maintained.[1] Lexically there may have been a slight deviation. In other respects the ethnological memories of the Cape tribe seem to show a slight variance from the mainland

[1] J. D. Prince, Last Living Echoes of the Natick, *Amer. Anthr.*, IX, 493–498, Lancaster, 1907.

customs, judging by the fragmentary records that we possess. The use of sedge-grass covered wigwams might for instance be mentioned, and the greater prominence of fishing. Moreover, a rather numerous body of descendants, at Mashpee near the south shore, survives and gives promise of yielding considerable information when time and opportunity may be found for complete investigation. Mashpee has, however, been a haven for Indians from different parts of Massachusetts, so much so that it is not easy to decide whether the people here are more Wampanoag than Nauset. Drake in 1827, for instance, recorded them as "chiefly a mixed remnant of the Wampanoag," numbering about 400.[1] From the personal testimony in respect to genealogy of older Indians at Mashpee it would seem that the band has received accretions from the Wampanoag of Middleboro and Herring Pond, also from Marthas Vineyard and even slightly from the Pequot of Connecticut. Nevertheless, from the location of the mission and its absorption of Christian converts from various parts of the Cape, the first tendency would be to regard the surviving ethnological fragments as Nauset characteristics. There is little reason to suppose that borrowing was not a general trait over the whole extent of southern Massachusetts. The geographical nature of Cape Cod makes it logical to assume that the relatively dense population sub-

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, x.

sisted largely by fishing. The location of many missions over the extent of the Cape gives a good idea of the distribution of the units and their population, but the bounds of control of the various sachems and their names are not so well recorded. Nor do we meet the same information concerning the questions of inheritance and control that gratify

FIG. 72.—Typical stunted *Pinus rigida* forest near Wellfleet, territory of Aspinet.

our curiosity on this point among the Wampanoag.

Only four local sachems are well known by their names. The records of land sales do not serve the explicit purpose here that they do in the neighboring regions, making it impossible to do more than to locate the territorial subdivisions by announcing their centers.

At the upper part of the peninsula, where the Cape populations adjoined the Wampanoag of the

Manomet division, there is much uncertainty. Mashpee, the largest mission of later years, and its predecessor, Sandwich, being in this undesignated territory, undoubtedly owe their heterogeneous composition to their border situation and their easy accessibility to refugees from the Wampanoag and other tribes which were destroyed by the English from time to time.

A total population of 462 in 1674 is computed for the various inhabited centers,[1] known then as "Praying towns." At Meeshawn, since Provincetown or Truro, and Punonakanit, since Billingsgate, 72 persons; at Potanumaquut or Nauset in Eastham, 44; at Monomoyik, since Chatham, 71; at Sawkatukett in Harwich, Nobsquassit in Yarmouth, Mattakees in Barnstable and Yarmouth, and Weequakit in Barnstable, 122; at Satuit, Pawpoesit, Coatuit, Mashpee, Wakoquet near Mashpee, at Codtaumut in Mashpee, Ashimut on the west line of Mashpee, Wessquobs, 22; Pispoqutt, Wawayoutat, in Wareham, Sokones in Falmouth, 36.[2]

The population for the same area was computed as being even more numerous at a later time when in 1685 Governor Hinckley reported about 1000 Praying Indians in Barnstable county. But by the

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, 11, 118, quoting Rev. Richard Bourne, the missionary of the time residing at Sandwich.

[2] In a previous passage (p. 91) information from the period 1693 has been given on the settlements around Sandwich, the places Pispoqutt and Waywayontat being referred to as Pomppashpissit and Wawontat.

time of the Revolution it had shrunk to much less, and the survivors then held only a few points, at Yarmouth, at Sandwich, and especially Mashpee. When we come to mention this last stronghold of the Cape tribes, no small amount of confusion in identity is met. For Mashpee has become the

FIG. 73.—View across Wellfleet Harbor from near Indian Neck, territory of Aspinet.

melting-pot of the tribes whose dispersed members congregated from all the adjacent territories. Accordingly a brief review of the vital history of this native settlement seems called for. Some attention has evidently been given to the population of Mashpee because the range of years shows frequent visits from writers, both clerical and secular, who recorded their observations and enumerations rather generously for us. Illustrating this, we have

the following chronological summary of historical events and estimates of population.[1]

1674....117
1685....141 (Gov. Hinckley's report)
1698....515
*1767....292
*1771....327
1800....380 souls, 80 houses
1812....357
*1832....315
1834....Mashpee incorporated as a town
1838....278
*1849....305
1850....202
*1859....403
*1861....371 (93 families) including absentees
1880....346
1885....311 (79 voters)
1889.... 75 assessed voters, males
1910....206 (U. S. Indian Census, p. 125)
1920....about 230[2] (total population of town, about 252, about 20 whites and others, mostly Portuguese, known locally as Bravas)

A brief survey of the genealogy of Mashpee families makes possible the ensuing classification, giving the most important family names and their tribal connections, from information furnished by Mrs. Sturgis:[3] Attaquin, Amos, Coombs, Cooper, Pock-

[1] Some of this material is based on records published by S. L. Deyo, History of Barnstable County, 1890, p. 708, while the figures marked with an asterisk are taken from Earle, Indians of Massachusetts, 46–47.

[2] Information from Mr. Ferdinand Mills, Mashpee town clerk.

[3] Earle in his frequently cited report (1861) lists the following families with the racial derivation of some of them: Attaquin, Amos, Alvis, Butler, Brown, Baker (Chap-

net, Wilber, Tobias, Jones or Jonas, Mye, Simon, Briant, Asher, Cowit, Squibs, Queppish, Webquish, are all old original Mashpee families. In addition the list includes Mingo, said to have migrated from Chappaquiddick; Foller, of unknown extraction, but possibly tracing back to Fowler, which is common among the Long Island Indians and at Mohegan, Connecticut; James, also uncertain; Pells, given as of Wampanoag extraction from Middleboro; Alvas, of Portuguese origin; Keeter, thought to be of Narragansett origin; Hammond, thought to have migrated from Sag Harbor, Long Island, possibly Montauk; and Oakley, Ochrey, of rather recent Connecticut origin, supposedly Pequot. In addition, the descendants of the Simonds or Simons family entertain a belief through traditional information that their ancestor was a Pequot. This being a common family name among the Mohegan of Connecticut and likewise mentioned by Drake as having occurred at Middleboro, we are left in uncertainty as to whether it was formerly a single family group springing from Connecticut, possibly Pequot, or whether the name appeared severally

paquiddick), Cesar, Coombs, Ceturn, Casco, Cowett, Carsar, De Grasse, Edwards, Foller, Freeman,* Gardner,* Godfrey,* Hammond, Hendricks,* Hersh, Holmes, Holland,* Hicks,* Hinson, Jackson,* James, Jonas,* Johnson,* Keeter, Kennedy, Lippett,* Layton,* Low,* Manning, Lee, Lyons, Mashow,* Mingo,* Mills, Mye, Ockry, Pells, Pocknet, Pompey, Quippish, Sewall,* Simon, Simmons, Stanley, Thompson (Gay Head), Webquish, Wickham, Webster, Whiting, Wilbur, Young,* Smith, Rollins. The asterisk denotes alien ancestry noted by Earle.

FIG. 74.—Brush sacrifice heap, or "tavern," at junction of Mashpee and Waquoit road, an old Indian trail to shellfish grounds at Waquoit (September, 1922).

among the early New England tribal groups. Colonial history records some of these names in events connected with the Indians involved in King Philip's war in the service of the English. The original Amos, whose name is still prominent among the Mashpee, is mentioned as a Wampanoag of Cape Cod who immortalized himself by a noteworthy action, in the words of Drake [1] as follows:

Amos, commonly called Captain Amos, was a Wampanoag, whose residence was about Cape Cod. We have no notice of him until Philip's war, at which time he was entirely devoted to the service of the English. After the Plymouth people found that Tatoson was concerned in the destruction of Clark's garrison, they sought for some friendly Indians who would under-take to deliver him and his abettors into their hands. Captain Amos tendered his services, and was duly commissioned to prosecute the enterprise, and to take into that service any of his friends. Meantime, Tatoson had fled to Elizabeth Island, in company with Penachason, another chief who was also to be taken, if he could be found. This Penachason was probably Tatoson's brother's son, sometimes called Tom, whom if the same, was also at the destroying of Clark's garrison. Yet the wily chiefs eluded the vigilance of Captain Amos, by flying from that region into the Nipmuk's country, where they joined Philip.

To encourage greater exertion on the part of the friendly Indians, to execute their commission, it was ordered, that in case they captured and brought in either Tatoson or Penachason, "they may expect for their reward, for each of them four coats, and a coat apiece for every other Indian that shall prove merchantable."

[1] S. G. Drake, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, Boston, 1837, Book III, pp. 85–86.

FIG. 75.—Site of the sacrifice heap, or "tavern," at the junction of the trail from the Mashpee village to the old Indian church and road from Santuit. The spot is now overgrown with scrub. The figure stands directly in front of the pile of decaying brush.

We have mentioned in a former chapter the horrid catastrophe of Captain Peirse and his men at Pawtucket. Captain Amos escaped that dreadful slaughter. He fought there with 20 of his warriors, and when Captain Peirse was shot down by a ball which wounded him in the thigh, he stood by his side, and defended him as long as there was a gleam of hope. At length, seeing nearly all his friends slain, with admirable presence of mind he made his escape, by the following subtle stratagem:—

Nanuntenoo's warriors had blackened their faces, which Captain Amos had observed, and by means of powder contrived to discolor his own unobserved by them. When he had done this, he managed, by a dextrous manœuvre, to pass among the enemy for one of them, and by these means escaped.

What were Captain Amos's other acts in this war, if any, we have not learned; nor do we meet again with him until 1689. In that year, he went with Col. Church against the eastern Indians and French, in which expedition he also had the command of a company. Church arrived with his forces in September at Casco, now Portland, and, having landed secretly under cover of the night, surprised, on the following morning, about four hundred Indians, who had come to destroy the place. Although the Indians did not receive much damage, yet, Governor Sullivan says,[1] the whole eastern country was saved by the timely arrival of this expedition. In the fight at Casco, 21 September, eight of the English were killed and many wounded. Two of Captain Amos's men were badly wounded, and Sam Moses, another friendly Indian, was killed. There was another Indian company in this expedition, commanded by Captain Daniel, out of which one man was killed, who was of Yarmouth on Cape Cod.[2]

Two of the other Mashpee family names are associated with traditions worth mentioning in this

[1] Hist. District of Maine, 102.

[2] MS. letter of Captain Basset of the expedition.

connection. The Attaquin family, represented by Mrs. Sturgis, entertains a tradition of descent from Massasoit. The family name of Pognet, or Pocknet, is probably the commonest one among the Mashpee. It is believed to be a corruption of Popmonet, or Popnonet, mentioned as one of the first converts to Christianity among the eastern Massachusetts

FIG. 76.—Mashpee "back baskets." (Note the diagonal pattern produced in the weave of the basket at the left)

tribes. In the first half of the eighteenth century Simon Popmonet preached for forty years to the Mashpee. The name Coombs at Mashpee may be the modernized form of Hiacoomes, a convert of Marthas Vineyard.

From the foregoing remarks it appears that the general makeup of the inhabitants of Mashpee, in

spite of some foreign Indian, as well as white and Portuguese, admixture, is fundamentally Wampanoag and Nauset. This determination may help us hereafter in classifying the ethnological survivals waiting there to be recorded.

The first definitely mentioned sachem of the usual type to be encountered on the Cape east of Coneconam of Manomet, a Wampanoag (territory 8 of this tribe), is Iyanough, Wiananno, or Hyannis, variously spelled, of the region about Cummaquid, now Barnstable.[1] How far west and east he controlled is uncertain. His population may have been near 122, judging by figures given in the above list. There is, however, little more recorded of this sachem that would serve our present purpose. Mention of him is mostly concerned with historical relations.

Some of the descendants lingered about Yarmouth, at Bass river, until 1861. In his painstaking survey Earle enumerated 105 souls and 23 families, more or less remotely of Indian blood. He says that the ancestor was an Indian, partly of Mashpee and partly of Herring Pond descent.[2] The family names were: Baker, Brooks, Cash, Chase, Cobb, Cook, Crocker, Craig, Holloway, Haskell, Nickerson, Rogers, Smith, Ellis, and Taylor, residing in Yarmouth, Barnstable, Orleans, and East Sandwich. Mrs. Sturgis of Mashpee remembers seeing in her

[1] Drake, op. cit., II, II, 14.
[2] Earle, op. cit., 109.

girlhood a family named Lindsey when she went there with her father. She thought there may have been about 10 families. They resided, in her time, on the western bank of Bass river. The site of the old reservation is now marked by an inscribed bowlder near South Yarmouth.

Beyond Iyanough, on the southern projection of the peninsula, lived the people of Manomoy, or Monomoy, now Chatham, under the chieftainship of Ouasson, the only leader of whom we have definite knowledge, dated rather late, 1762, whose band comprised only 30, the remainder of its content of 115 persons in 1685.[1] The Bourne list of Praying towns on the Cape gives 71 for Monamoyik in 1674.

Above this region was Nauset, now embracing the stretch of country from Eastham to Truro, where dwelt the Nauset group proper, under Aspinet of 1621. We lack also further territorial knowledge of the residence and conditions of this sachem and his people. When Aspinet was visited by the English in 1621 he had in his company no fewer than a hundred men. In the Bourne list, referred to above, 72 persons were mentioned for Truro and Billingsgate, and 42 for Nauset in Eastham, both within the Aspinet control, making a total of 114 for the band in 1674.

There was a marked difference between the disposition of the natives of the Cape and neighboring

[1] Stiles (1762?) quoted in article *Manamoyik* in Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1, 1907.

islands on one hand and those of the mainland on the other. While King Philip's war raged, the Nauset and the Marthas Vineyard tribes not only remained peaceful and friendly, but actually coöperated at times by individual service which was not a little valuable to the English. The autonomy of these bands has already been discussed from the ethnic point of consideration.

FIG. 77.—Mrs. Horatio Amos, Mashpee, with native pack-basket.

When dealing solely with the larger social units forming the constituency of some local chief, as we have been doing, we miss the satisfaction of knowing how the smaller family groups were adjusted and how they were distributed in the area inhabited by the band. The more detailed knowledge of this nature is of course only possible in the case of the better preserved tribes whose culture is more

intact. Such Algonkian groups are now to be found only in the far north. Yet it is gratifying to be able to progress as far as we have been permitted to go in reconstructing the social groupings in a region so long removed from its aboriginal setting.

Regarding the desirable but irrecoverable facts of family relationship within the local band, one further remark may still be added from certain forthcoming data obtained from the inhabitants of Mashpee. Here, along the southern coast of the Cape, where extensive marshes and inlets afford place for excellent clam and oyster beds, are high and picturesque islands. Some of them contain but an acre or so of elevated land, others more. On most of them are attractive landing beaches, which are always marked by the evidence of native occupancy in the form of shell deposits, the remains of clam- and oyster-smoking operations of the Indian landowners. A specific instance to be referred to is that of Daniel Queppish, a former Mashpee family head, whose forefathers owned a certain island (figs. 66–68) now known at Mashpee as Daniel's island. Daniel was the grandfather of some of the Mashpee of today whose ages range from 55 upward. Daniel's parents had a wigwam on this island, and a planting ground around it. The island was sold to an outsider by Daniel. If this case is typical, then we may conceive how the neighboring islands, and in fact all those along the south shore of the Cape, were inhabited by families who had wig-

wams on them, with corn and bean gardens roundabout, and where shellfish operations were carried on just above the landing beaches. Such a conception is

FIG. 78.—Mashpee mortar and stone pestle.

furthered by a general survey of the south shore and by the fact, remembered among the older Mashpee, that most of the islands, now covered over well with a thirty- or forty-foot growth of pitch pine, were in

their younger days unwooded on the high parts. Some of these islands have never been owned by white people and never built upon in the memory of living Indians. Why not, therefore, as suggested by Horatio Amos, one of Daniel Queppish's grandsons, imagine the local bands, as we have outlined them under their sachems, to have been composed of family units located on small island holdings when residing near salt water during the temperate part of the year, and on suitable sites in the interior in winter among the many ponds? These families, we infer, were unified by the consciousness of blood relationship and allegiance to a certain leading family in each case in which local chieftainship was hereditary in the male line. This reconstructive sketch conforms in general to the details which come to us in fragments pieced together out of time and space from various angles of research in southeastern New England. The result, moreover, is not in any direct disagreement with normal conditions so far as we know them among the more intact bands of northern and eastern Algonkians which have been studied up to the present time.

In our study we have accomplished the first step in clearing the way for a treatment of the culture and distribution problems of southern New England ethnology, by establishing group boundaries, ascertaining some political features, and identifying existing bodies of remnants whose inner life will next have to be studied in intimate detail for the rescuing of survivals of culture.

APPENDIX

The Punkapog Band of Massachusett

Of the seven Massachusett and Nipmuck towns of "Praying Indians," so important in the history of American colonies, little now remains. At the most famous of them, Natick, the Eliot Bible, the first in America, was printed by Indian converts; and of several hundred inhabitants there is not an Indian there now and none recorded in this century, except for the mention of two families of 12 mixed individuals noted in the report on Indians (1861, p. 71) of the State of Massachusetts, as still lingering in the environs. The names of the two families were Blodgett and Jepherson. Crispus Attucks, however, the first man to fall in the Revolution, killed in the Concord fight, was a negro-Indian half-breed from Natick. He evidently carried his Indian father's name, Attucks, which means "deer" (diminutive).

Of the other "Praying towns" in Massachusetts, those inhabited by Nipmuck are gone almost without memory, except for one, Hassanamisco, near Dudley. But in the former territory of the Massachusett there are still some vestiges of the "Praying town" of Punkapog. To find thus, within less than a dozen miles of New England's metropolis, individuals of marked Indian appearance and bearing, whose

conscious tradition connects them with the native mission villages of the seventeenth century, might appeal to the average reader as either a piece of imagination or fraud. Nevertheless, a recent trip into the much-frequented woodland districts of the Blue Hills near Canton resulted in the rediscovery of a new-old group of the "Praying Indians," whose name even the ethnologist might be excused for not knowing. It was with such reflections in my mind that in October, 1921, I inquired my way through the peaceful wooded districts of the Neponset lowlands in the suburbs of Boston in search of some individuals, following the instructions of friends, representing the remainder of the Punkapog tribe. With the fresh recollections of a recent journey among the Montagnais and Naskapi of northern Canada for a background, I compared the oak-clad Blue Hills and the slow-moving Neponset river with the wind-swept tundra and boiling torrents of the Laurentians, wondering what impression would result when its native Algonkian representatives, if they could be found at all, were compared with the memory vision of the northern aborigines. When in due course I met Mrs. Chappelle, I saw an Indian woman, refined and educated, a dressmaker by trade, whose physical appearance and racial consciousness would have placed her on an easy and natural footing in almost any real Indian assemblage!

It is more than remarkable that any of the living descendants of these Massachusett bands should

have been able to survive to the present time without such a fact of interest both to historian and ethnologist being known, it would seem, outside the limits of a small community. That such, however, is the case, is shown by the disclosure of some dozen individuals known as "the last of the Punkapog Indians" residing in the vicinity of Canton, Mattapan, and Mansfield, all within the radius of a few miles. Their central point, however, seems to have been a locality in Canton known as Indian Lane, near Glen Echo lake, formerly York pond. A few observations about this interesting place will show that here in all likelihood was a colonial-day settlement of the band. A number of hut-cellars and some remains of chimneys attest the location of their domiciles, and in a wood-lot not far back of some of the present Indian houses is a burial ground long known to the community, and betraying itself by some irregular stone slabs as headstones. From Indian Lane many of the Punkapog descendants have dispersed in the last generation, seeking employment abroad as farm life became more unprofitable —a condition which for some reason seems to have affected the New England population at large within the last twenty years or so.

From Mrs. Mary Chappelle, one of the Punkapog survivors (figs. 23, 24) and at present the one taking the most interest in the concerns of the tribe, some information was gleaned, fragmentary but with a magnified interest in view of its bearing.

The present living representatives of the tribe, besides Mrs. Chappelle, whose husband was a man of Micmac blood from Prince Edward island, are: Mary E. Crowd and her son Arthur E. Crowd of Mansfield; John Crowd of Abington and four children; Alfred Crowd of Indian Lane, Canton, and children, Daniel, Chester, Lena, Olive. Among the family names which, within the memory of Mrs. Chappelle, have died out are Bancroft and Moho. There may have been some mixture between the Punkapog and Narragansett, because Mrs. Chappelle thought there was a Narragansett family named Bencroft at one time at Indian Lane. The family names given for the tribe by Earle in 1861 were Bancroft, Crowd, Robbins, Davis, Elisha, Lewis, Manuel, Mooney, Moore, Roby, Talbot, and Williams. Besides these were colored and foreign names married into the band as follows: Foster (Narragansett), Toney, Thomas, Steinburg, Smith, Jackson, Burr, Burrill (white), and Hunt.

Like the older people of most countryside communities, those of the Punkapog have a few personal anecdotes, their only heritage, it seems, from the store of legends of their ancestors. Mrs. Chappelle relates a few which I shall list in nearly her own words:

(*a*) There was one old Punkapog woman, who lived well into her 90's, and although she had lost her sight, she desired to travel once before she died, over the lands of her tribe. So in winter they

pulled her on a sled all over the old roads which she was able to identify, sightless though she was.

(*b*) One summer, long years ago, when the Indians used to live in the log huts, whose cellars are to be seen at Indian Lane, there was one old woman, Aunt Dinah Moho, who became terrified at the approaching blackness of a thunder-storm. For the sake of companionship she ran out of her house to the house of a neighbor, but dropped dead as she entered the doorway.

The name and pronunciation of Kitchamakin or Cutshamekin are still remembered. He is said in one account to have been the last native chief.[1]

It seems that the native dialect died out some time before Mrs. Chappelle's mother's day. This old lady died in 1919 more than 90 years of age, yet she knew nothing of the Massachusett language, and it is Mrs. Chappelle's impression that her mother had not even heard it spoken.

The use of corn mortars and stone pestles, basket-making, and even bead-working, are still remembered as realities by Mrs. Chappelle, and some specimens are still extant. An old man named Bencroft, of Indian Lane, who died years ago, used to make bows and arrows and peddle them about.

Although the present condition of this small tribe as a social unit is one of hopeless disintegration on account of the scattering of its members, some

[1] Cf. Huntoon, History of Canton; also Dedham Historical Society Publications, Dedham, Mass.

considerable local interest has been developed on the subject among the cultured people of the neighborhood. Several appreciative and sympathetic newspaper accounts have appeared (for instance, *Boston Sunday Post*, October 9, 1921), and in local historical pageants Mrs. Chappelle has occasionally been induced to participate in Indian costume.

The principal and probably only time that the Punkapog have appeared in contemporaneous literature has been the account of the tribe in the report of 1861 of the State of Massachusetts on Indian affairs.[1] Here it is stated that the tribe comprised 103 natives and 14 foreigners married into the band. At that time the oldest members living were Rebeckah Davis, 71 years of age, and Mary Roby, 85. Only 31 of them resided on their lands at Canton. In a previous report, 1849, their numbers were underestimated by their commissioner, only 10 being reported, while in 1857 only 10 or 15 were said to remain.

[1] *Senate Papers* no. 96 (1861), p. 76.

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