FROM MUSKET AQUID
TO CONCORD

THE NATIVE AND EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

Shirley Blancke and
Barbara Robinson
Logo design was adapted from a Native button mold and John Foster’s 1678 map of New England.

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Shirley Blancke
and Barbara Robinson

Introduction by
Dena F. Dincauze

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Foreword

For many years Concordians have known that Native American artifacts had been found within the town's borders. Few questioned their significance or what their presence meant to the history of the town.

In the 19th century prominent citizens such as Henry Thoreau, Alfred Hosmer and Adams Tolman did begin systematic collections of Native American materials and were intrigued by a culture that pre-dated European settlement. However, the emphasis of research on the town's history has focused on the relics and material culture of the European settlers. Native cultural materials have been relegated to a lesser role.

Ever since the Museum received the carefully collected and well documented native artifacts from the Ben Smith Collection, it has been the intention to explore this important aspect of Concord's history.

While our intent is not to become an ethnographic institution, we believe these valuable materials have been misunderstood and ignored for too long. By exploring their meaning through our educational programs and "From Musketaquid to Concord" we hope to heighten the awareness of Concordians and other visitors to their significance. The time has come for all of us to recognize our rich Native American heritage.

Most of the research, and particularly this exhibition, would not have been possible without the generosity of the GenRad Foundation. GenRad has consistently supported our efforts to explore new aspects of this region's cultural history. They deserve our most heartfelt thanks for their courage and faith. The Massachusetts Historical Commission was also instrumental, providing funding for the survey of the Ben Smith Collection and for underwriting, along with the GenRad Foundation, our pilot Native American education programs.

Materials for the construction of the exhibition were donated by The Concord Lumber Corporation which was founded by Ben Smith and his brothers Donald and Farnham.

The Concord Antiquarian Museum is a learning institution, constantly probing the past for meaningful insight. "From Musketaquid to Concord" is an important step, not only in the exploration of Concord's early history, but in demonstrating the seriousness of our intent.

Dennis Fiori
Director
Concord Antiquarian Museum
Preface

This exhibition is the Museum's first opportunity to interpret, through its collections, the culture of the people who were living in the Concord area at the time of European settlement. The Museum's collections include more than 6,000 objects found locally. They range in date from about 10,000 to about 1,000 years before the present and include projectile points and woodworking, skinworking and food-preparation tools found primarily at habitation sites. The principal collections are: the Benjamin L. Smith Collection; the Alfred Hosmer Collection; a group of objects donated at various times that are referred to collectively as the Foss-Barrett-Brown Collection, and a group of objects collected by Thoreau.

The significance of these collections has been recognized for some time. A number of projects intended to analyze the material and disseminate information about them have been undertaken in recent years. The Smith Collection was inventoried by Eric Johnson and Tom Mahlstedt of the Massachusetts Historical Commission. A project sponsored by the Historical Commission and the GenRad Foundation has also made it possible for Shirley Blancke, Carol Dwyer and Barbara Robinson to develop education programming that employs archaeological materials as interpretive tools. The Historical Commission and the Town of Concord sponsored a survey of Concord archaeological sites conducted by Shirley Blancke, and the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities has funded a program to present some of this material to students of the Concord Public Schools. Most recently, IBM has awarded a grant to the Concord Antiquarian Museum to date some of the faunal material from the Smith Collection which was found at the Concord Shell Heap site.

This exhibition and catalogue are intended to continue the interpretation of these objects by relating them imaginatively in an exhibition format to representative objects of the transplanted European culture. An exhibition is a collaborative effort of more than usual intensity. This one would not have occurred without the sustained interest and extraordinary activity of guest curators Shirley Blancke and Barbara Robinson. The Concord Museum would like to thank Will Twombley for his sympathetic and thoughtful installation design. The Museum would also like to thank Jeanne Abboud, Rita Anderson, and Carol Dwyer for design and fabrication of exhibition materials, and extend special thanks to Howard Taylor, Delores Lyon, and Barbara Oster for the installation.

David F. Wood
Curator,
Concord Antiquarian Museum
Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the following people and institutions who helped make “Musketaquid to Concord” become a reality.

Rose Marie Mitten, Director of the Concord Free Public Library provided important support and Marcia A. Moss and Joyce Woodman gave expert assistance with the Library’s valuable reference materials.

James E. Bradley of the Massachusetts Historical Commission offered research suggestions and guidance when they were most needed. Arthur J. Krim, formerly of the Commission and presently of Salve Regina College, contributed his expertise on native trails and settlement locations of the Contact period.

The Chaubunagungamaug Band of Nipmuck Indians helped our understanding of past and present native ways significantly. Little Turtle, Medicine Man of this Band, assisted with artifacts and insight and his drawings greatly enhanced the exhibition. Slow Turtle, Medicine Man of the Wampanoag Nation, added to our knowledge of native culture and reviewed artifacts to insure that sacred objects were not inadvertently used.

The New England Rivers Center and Rebecca Ritchie of Sudbury shared map resources on the river systems of Eastern Massachusetts.

Ian W. Brown of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University and John R. Grimes of the Peabody Museum of Salem provided generous curatorial research assistance.

Russell Handsman and Ann McMullen of the American Indian Archaeological Institute started us in fruitful directions on our research journey. Barbara Hail and her staff at the Haagenroffer Museum willingly shared “Burr’s Hill” exhibition and artifact knowledge, as did John Chainey of the George Hail Free Library.

Identification of Onondaga chert artifacts was made by Barbara E. Luedtke of the University of Massachusetts. William A. Turnbaugh of the University of Rhode Island shared his considerable knowledge about native pipes. Beyond her written contribution, Dena F. Dincauze made valuable suggestions on the recognition of wear patterns on tools. Tonya Largy and Anders G.J. Rhodin of Harvard University and Elinor F. Downs of Boston, have kindly made available their identifications of bone, turtle and shell remains from the Concord shell heap.

Animal pictures were provided by Arlene Nichols of the Museum of Comparative Zoology. Sally Farrow of Concord helped with research on animals and native relationships.

David G. Allen of Concord suggested references and contacts on English settlement patterns, and John W. Teale of Concord shared information on Concord church history. Mary R. Fenn helped to locate early Concord houses and landmarks.

Plimoth Plantation staff helped immeasurably: Rob Tarule on colonial tools and resource materials; Anita Nielsen, Daisy Moore and Anthony Pollard/Nanepashemet on Wampanoag foodways, shelter and technology.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the assistance of the staff at the Concord Antiquarian Museum and Edward S. Cooke, Jr., former curator, whose seminal ideas helped launch this project for the celebration of Concord’s 350th anniversary.

Shirley Blanche
Barbara Robinson
Concord, Massachusetts
1985
Introduction

Myths and Arrowheads

Among the special spots in Concord during my school years was the alcove in the Public Library that was given over to display of part of the Tolman collection of Indian artifacts — row on row of small pointed objects of greenish stone. The alcove, with its painted Indian on the window, drew me repeatedly to wonder about the objects, their meanings, and the value they held for someone who had obviously devoted time and care to amassing them. What could they mean, and why, separated from such meaning, were they worthy of display?

Years later, after making a full round trip from the archaeology of Archaic Greece to the archaeology of New England, I have partial answers to the questions, answers which open many windows in the mind. My adolescent distress at the meaninglessness of objects torn from context persists; most of my professional life has been devoted to supplying some of the missing background. Furthermore, I know now that more than the original two contexts require understanding — there is the context of the collector/antiquarian, that of the original makers and users, and a third that belongs to the researchers (archaeologists, historians, anthropologists) who deal with both of the others. The three contexts are inextricably and complexly linked, as human affairs usually are. They always involve both myths (ideas that we use to explain the world around us) and arrowheads (objects and “facts”).

Through time, the proportion between myths and arrowheads has varied. When the English first came, they scarcely recognized arrowheads separated from arrows — those in the ground held little interest. Even myths were in short supply, since the Bible failed to offer guidance for understanding why the new found land should be populated with unbaptized people. Myths were rapidly invented to explain whatever needed to be explained — the horrifying toll that European diseases took on the native people, justification for dispossession of the natives from “unimproved” land, the westward expansion of the frontier. Very little interest or effort was devoted to understanding the past of the people who soon seemed to have no future.

Once the land was secured and a new country established, some people found leisure and curiosity to wonder about their predecessors. In Concord, Henry David Thoreau was wandering, observing, and picking up arrowheads throughout his small universe. His journals reveal him as a romantic poet of arrowhead collecting — full of questions, wonder, and delight, but holding few of either myths or facts to comfort him. Others followed, literally and figuratively in his footsteps, in Concord and elsewhere throughout New England and the rest of the continent. Eventually, institutionally-based scholars became involved in the quest for understanding.

Antiquities

Archaeology in New England, as elsewhere, grew out of just such antiquarian interest and speculation. By the end of the nineteenth century, museums and the many local natural history organizations had begun to include the investigation of archaeological sites in their activities. The Boston Society of Natural History and personnel of the Peabody Museum at Harvard were among the first in New England to devote field observation to such phenomena, and to publish reports. Shell middens along the coast became objects of scrutiny and investigation, following the work begun in Europe on the late Mesolithic middens. However, larger middens in Florida drew researchers away before anything definitive of age or culture had been discovered in New England.

Attention then turned to Maine, to spectacular finds of finely shaped artifacts buried in pits with abundant powdered red iron oxides. The deposits were interpreted as burials, from which the bones of the “Red Paint People” had dissolved away in the acid soils. The age of the “Red Paint” graves was a matter for speculation, unconstrained by any recognizable data beyond the fact of the vanished human remains.

From an early involvement with such a cemetery, Charles C. Willoughby of the Peabody Museum went on to interview artifact collectors all over New England. He developed a classification for many of the kinds of artifacts he was shown, and arranged them into an approximation of a temporal sequence on the basis of his ideas of style and on the associations of the objects, some of which were known to have been used in the historic period. His book, Antiquities of the New England Indians, was published in 1935 and became a classic handbook for collectors and a guide into the intricacies of ancient
objects for beginning investigators.

The publicity surrounding the "Red Paint" finds and their implied antiquity stimulated interest in New England's prehistory. In Massachusetts, and about the same time elsewhere (late 1930s), artifact collectors and amateur archaeologists were forming organizations to support fieldwork and publication. Meetings were held, committees constituted, and publications appeared summarizing the knowledge available and indicating the information needed to advance that knowledge. The gasoline shortages of the Second World War also contributed by keeping people near home, where they began to enlarge and study private collections of relics.

Researchers affiliated with the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology in Andover, Massachusetts, and the Peabody Museum at Yale University, investigating sites that were neither shell middens nor cemeteries, had encountered evidence of artifact sequences that did not confirm Willoughby's ideas. With able assistance from others, including amateur archaeologist/collectors, these investigators established artifact chronologies based on stratigraphic principles (younger objects overlie older ones, etc.). It was realized that there was an early time when the Indians had not yet begun to make pottery, and a later time when they did. Furthermore, some of the sites without pottery had been occupied at a time when the sea level was lower than it was in the twentieth century. The actual ages of these periods, and their durations, were unknown. They were thought to be unknowable until an interdisciplinary team of scientists coaxed remarkably intimate details of past environments from the silts surrounding thousands of cut stakes driven into the bed of the ancient Back Bay under Boylston Street in Boston. They opined that the stakes were part of a fishweir that was at least 3000 years old because it had been built near the end of the postglacial warming period that had been dated in Europe. Such was the state of things up to about 1950 in New England archaeology.

Historians, on the other hand, had left matters pretty much as they were about 1850. By that time, there were two images, or myths, that defined New England Indians for their successors on the land. There was the image of the savage — childish or treacherous in turn, destined to be superceded by a more moral and enlightened race. There was also the image of the noble savage — the uncorrupted natural man doomed to lose in a conflict with inexorable fate. Both images became archetypes, inspired a large popular literature, and shaped the genre of "Western" movies. Whichever myth one cherished, there was little impetus to know more about the beings so depicted. Puritan history ignored or maligned the original people as it triumphantly chronicled and justified the events and actors that displaced and followed them.

The Long View

Atomic physics provided the tool necessary for further significant advance in knowledge about the distant past. A heavy isotope of carbon is radioactive, and the decay rate of the radioactivity can be measured. Willard Libby, a chemist at the University of Chicago, realized that the time since the death of organic matter could be estimated by measurement of residual radioactivity, and he was soon experimenting with archaeological specimens. The success of the initial trials led to rapid application of the method to specimens of wood and charcoal recovered from archaeological contexts, and surprises followed regularly for a few years.

The greatest surprise was the ages of the apparently oldest materials in North American archaeology. Where geological estimates had suggested 20-25,000 years for the oldest styles of spear heads, the radio-carbon method repeatedly implied 9-12,000 years. Where estimates of the ages of the familiar pre-pottery artifacts of the northeast had hovered between 1000 and 3000 years, radio-carbon analyses suggested 3000 to 5000 years. It appeared, therefore, that both more and less had happened in American prehistory than had been believed. The challenge then was to use the new chronology to frame a complete sequence of culture changes.

Field archaeologists took up the challenge and over the next two decades they built, from evidence painstakingly coaxed from the ground, culture sequences for both southern and northern New England. As the vacant places in the chronology were filled in it became clear that New England's culture history was part of a continuum that spread along the Atlantic coast between Florida and Labrador. At many times in the past, the cultural changes through space along that distance were less impressive than the temporal changes in any one place. With this broader context of inquiry investi-
gators were able to use information from most of eastern North America to supplement that available to them from the New England region itself. The outlines of 11,000 years of prehistory, of human experience, emerged.

The First Pioneers, Settlers, and Farmers in Eastern Massachusetts

Among the oldest sites in the eastern United States is that at Bull Brook in Ipswich, where the remains of caribou hunters of about 11,000 years ago were found in large numbers. The hunters arrived in what is now Massachusetts after the glacial ice had long gone, but before the modern landscape was established. Sea level was lower than now; the vegetation was more boreal, and the browsing mammals of the time included some of the last of the Ice Age giants — mastodons and perhaps giant beaver. These first people were true Pioneers. They came into a land never before peopled, explored its resources, and developed a lifestyle that was successful with minimal change over the next 2000 to 3000 years. Let's emphasize that time span — more than 10 times longer than this country has existed.

In the succeeding centuries, small groups of people lived in the area hunting, fishing, and collecting wild plants, while the plants and animals around them changed in response to warming climate and rising sea level. Modern species gradually replaced the ancient Ice Age forms, and the caribou withdrew to the north to stay within a climate and landscape to which they were well adapted. The forms of the hunters' weapons indicate that the people living here between about 10,000 and 8000 years ago were involved in communication networks, and probably marriage networks, that spread widely along the East Coast — inland as far as Tennessee to the south and northward to Maine and Ontario. Farther north and east of them were other peoples, as far as the Gaspé peninsula.

By about 8000 years ago, the climate had warmed to something like its modern range, and the vegetation also was approaching what would be familiar to us today. Deciduous trees dominated the forests, although the hickory and chestnut trees had not yet migrated here from the glacial refuges far to the south and west. Deer and turkey were present, their numbers and densities unknown to us.

However, the temperate forest already provided abundance to those who knew how to utilize it. The resident people were able to settle into rich environments for longer stays than had been possible earlier — perhaps entire seasons of two to four months. The domestic refuse of these Settlers appears in the archaeological record in greater abundance than before, implying a population expanding with environmental amelioration and developing skills in food collection, preparation and storage.

These trends toward greater domestic permanence and larger populations were leading toward the establishment of territority for the many communities of people on the land. Archaeological evidence indicates some geographical delimitation in the distribution patterns of raw materials used by the different communities — different kinds of stones were distributed in specific regions only — and in territorial marking as evidenced by the appearance of cemeteries. Cemeteries imply some territorial permanence and temporal continuity for the communities that create them. Cemeteries (which contained both interments and cremations) created in eastern Massachusetts between about 4500 and 2000 years ago record such stable communities, marking their self-awareness with elaborate burial rites. We can speculate that only relatives and friends, or at least friendly neighbors, would be invited to participate in the rites.

At this time, also, the Settlers began to build elaborate facilities for harvesting large amounts of seasonally-available foodstuffs. The fishweir under Boylston Street, now dated to 4500 years ago, fits well into our expectations for this period of settling-in, with food collecting restricted to delimited territories. At about the same time, we find a large village, probably a winter community, established on the shores of Massachusetts's largest natural lake, Lake Assawompsett in Middleboro. The village was equipped with small storage pits, which probably held food cached for winter use. Such villages, although rarely encountered by archaeologists in New England’s well-plowed land, were probably situated at nearly regular intervals across the southern part of the region.

This Settler lifestyle of fairly secure small communities arranged in patchwork fashion over the landscape persisted for many thousands of years. In fact, the skills necessary for such an existence — exploiting the natural abundance of the region and moving with the seasonal changes — were still in
evidence among the peoples the English met in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the modern era. It permitted a finite but adequate population density and a reasonable rate of replacement, with a very modest amount of damage to the natural environment. People developed a system of values, ethics, and beliefs that helped them to deal with the environment in a satisfactory way — taking what was available, knowing what alternatives were open to them in emergencies, demanding no more in the way of material amenities than was necessary for comfort and survival. It was a way of life that required considerable self-sufficiency as well as awareness of the interdependence of everyone within the community, and that engendered a degree of fatalism that also supported self-respect. This kind of life has characterized human existence for most of our species’ span upon this earth. It is the quintessential human condition. The New England native peoples were masters of it; we must not demean them by judging their lives in terms of our own quite particular circumstances and values.

There was no pressure for great changes in the New England lifestyles, even after cultivated plants became available sometime around 1000 years ago. Corn, squash, and beans were introduced into New England from the west and south apparently during a period of warmer climate (the warmth that made possible the Viking colonization of Greenland). The plants, offering storable foodstuffs to help tide people through the winter, were welcome additions to the diet and stores. In order to facilitate growing and tending the new foods, these Farmer communities moved to center their spring-fall settlements near good soils. Women planted and tended the crops, helped by children and those men too old for strenuous hunting. The Farmers were the people encountered by the English in southern New England.

The stores of cultivated plants were both admired and needed by the English, who engaged in trade for them as soon as suitable contacts could be made. What the English never understood was the part of the Farmers’ livelihood derived from wild foods. The corn, beans, and squash did not offer a totally balanced diet — it could be deficient in some proteins, vitamins, and minerals that the human body needs. By continuing to collect wild foods in significant quantities, the New England native people maintained themselves in a state of health superior to that of their distant relatives in the midwest and southeast, who depended on farming to supply most of their food, and who lived in larger, denser communities. Those people suffered a number of nutritional and endemic diseases that were not problems for the New Englanders.

The farming descendants of the builders of the Boylston Street fishweir did not themselves build such elaborate facilities; they used more permanent weirs, often of stone, and combined them with nets and spears. They harvested deer by driving them into pens or ambushes of hunters, and took individual animals, large and small, in traps and snares. They had created a network of footpaths leading all over the countryside, permitting travelers and news to move within a matter of days throughout New England and beyond. They periodically burned undergrowth to encourage the kind of browsing that deer like; the open woodlands that resulted were also convenient for foot travel and easy to hunt in.

New England was not a “wilderness” when the English came, however much they so perceived, defined, or willed it. It had been home to permanent communities of human beings for over 11,000 years, and had been tamed, shaped, and arranged to their taste. It was a landscape of small farming communities, hunting camps, and collecting stations, a land of sufficiency and sometimes abundance to people who had the skills and knowledge to make it yield its resources.

This vision of the past is our present “myth.” It is much closer to the “arrowheads” than were those current in prior decades, but we cannot claim to have achieved truth. What we have is a vision of men and women in a world unlike our own, but a world which, in another time, we inhabit. The intimate details of their geography and their lives are not familiar, but we recognize their humanity, even though we cannot share their particular joys, sorrows, or aspirations.

The Present Danger

As we celebrate this hard-won knowledge of the duration and complexity of the prehistoric record in New England, we realize that the sources of further information, the archaeological sites, are being destroyed at an unprecedented rate. Whereas 300 years of farming and industrialization had left quite a lot of sites in investigable condition, at current
rates land development, highway building and, yes, artifact collecting, will destroy the remnants within present lifetimes. The situation is of national scope and, fortunately, some national action has been taken to remedy it. Between 1966 and 1980, a number of laws were passed and agencies established by the federal government with the intent of preserving significant elements of the nation's past, including the prehistory.

In Massachusetts, state laws both anticipating and responding to the national concerns resulted in the establishment of the Massachusetts Historical Commission, which was given the responsibility to administer both state and federal historic preservation programs. A state inventory of archaeological sites was established, a state archaeologist appointed to oversee the inventory and to deal with the threats to sites that could be protected, and the review power of both the state and federal governments over major development activities began to provide some consideration of the archaeological and historical properties that were jeopardized by development pressures.

The state site inventory has grown from the seeds of the site inventory compiled by members of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society. Prominent among the contributors to that inventory was Benjamin L. Smith of Concord. Ben Smith was an avocational archaeologist of unusual enlightenment and skills. The site records carefully compiled by Smith and other Concord collectors such as Adams Tolman and Alfred Hosmer, as well as the large collections of Charles Dee and others, assured the Concord and Sudbury valleys prominence in the state inventory, where their known site densities are matched in few other areas, even now. Knowing where the sites were, however, is only the first step in a lengthy process of understanding why they were there. Smith's survey work matured into the first serious effort in New England to understand site geography in terms of land utilization. Anthropologically trained archaeologists have elaborated similar ideas into major analytical techniques that now illuminate such aspects of lifeways as community territoriality, seasonal rounds, population densities and the intensity and complexity of resource extraction in the distant past.

The Humanizing Perspective

As archaeological study showed that the prehistory of the original New Englanders was long and dynamic, it became imperative to reconsider our myths about the people who had created it. Younger scholars, rejecting the ethnocentrism of the traditional histories, turned to the original historical documents in search of the human realities of the seventeenth century. They found Puritans less saintly, and native people less benighted, than had their mentors, and they were prepared to defend their interpretations with impressive scholarship. A period of reevaluation ensued that brought historians into contact with archaeologists and anthropologists who were also engaged in reconsidering the record of the early history of the region.

Since the early 1970s a flood of new books and important articles on New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have changed forever our myths about those times. Particularly notable among the books are Cautantowwit's House by William S. Simmons, The Invasion of America by Francis Jennings, Manitou and Providence, by Neal Salisbury, The European and the Indian, by James Axtell, and Changes in the Land, by William Cronon. These works have restored to the New England native peoples some measure of their full humanity and individuality. Complexities too long denied or ignored have been restored to the record of human interactions in the early years, when Puritan and Indian met as equals, regardless of what each thought of the other's capabilities and table manners.

It is possible now to see individuals emerging from the mists of history on both sides of the interactions — individuals with life stories, with strongly held cultural values, with motives, and with goals. On each side were the dupes and the dupers, the betrayed and the betrayers, the upright and honest. And as often happens in human affairs, sometimes contrasting roles were played by the same person at different times. Historians have been most successful at revealing these truths among the English actors, whose motives are partly familiar to students of English and American history. Indian motives, values, and goals are being elucidated now through the work of anthropologists, often themselves archaeologists, who have become familiar with American Indian cultures and who may collaborate with or be influenced by Indian scholars presenting their side of issues.
today and in the past.

Contributing to the new awareness are descendants of the native peoples of Musketaquid who had withdrawn westward in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under pressure from the Colonists. After the fragmentation of the praying town of Nashoba, some of them may have been part of the Stockbridge experiment, from there moving to reservations in Wisconsin or Quebec. Others persisted in central Massachusetts, living in a state of social invisibility for over two centuries. Their descendants are among the Nipmuck people who are reasserting their existence and rights today.

New England’s prehistory, and its early history, is much more eventful and dynamic than Henry Thoreau’s arrowheads or myths could have told him. It is, similarly, much too valuable in its human insights to be lost to the carelessness, selfishness, or inattention of the few.

Dena Ferran Dincauze
University of Massachusetts
1985

Footnotes
1. Willoughby 1935
2. Johnson 1942, 1949
3. Ritchie 1969; Dincauze 1976; Sanger 1978
4. Snow 1980
5. Loring 1979; MHC 1978
6. MHC 1978
7. Blancke 1981
8. Smith 1944
10. Brasser 1971
Musketaquid: The Native Experience

On August 1, 1637, five Indian farmers signed an agreement to make over part of their ancient heritage — their planting grounds and weir at Musketaquid — to a new people for what was to become the village of Concord. The Europeans had been depending heavily on the Indians for food for two years. One of the signers was Tahattawan, known as Sagamore, and another was a woman known only by the title Squaw Sachem, both of them leaders, but their exact relationship and sway of influence unknown to the Europeans.

Most of the information we have about native life in the 17th century comes from European accounts, describing what, in many cases, those Europeans only partially comprehended or completely misunderstood. The eye of an anthropologist is needed to interpret them in light of present knowledge of social systems around the world but particularly in North America. Building on those insights, the archaeologist then tries to flesh out the more distant prehistoric record to create an interpretation of life from objects left behind — the relationship of those things to each other and how they are placed in an environment which changed through time. What is lacking is known personalities, language, most of the information about values and belief systems, and most of the perishable materials. But much may be inferred about ways of living, even though there are always different possible interpretations.

Moreover, we are not studying past peoples with no connection to the present. Their descendants still live here and differences in cultural attitudes persist between Americans of native origin and those whose ancestors came from Europe or other parts of the globe. This is as true of New England as it is of the West.

What follows is a reconstruction, a kind of myth, of the native way of life at Musketaquid (at the start of the 17th century) with comparisons made to earlier periods. It is related as a story that Tahattawan might have told. The terms Pioneer, Settler, and Farmer, have been used to designate different phases in the life of the valley. They apply to periods roughly 12,000 to 8,000 years before the present, 8,000 to 1,000, and 1,000 to 400 years ago respectively.1

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In the prime of his life, Tahattawan saw the newcomers, the Europeans, build a kind of settlement at Musketaquid that was strange and new to him. The village of Concord was alien with its rectangular houses and mill all clustered in one place, but particularly strange was the fact that these people never moved their place of residence with the seasons.

Tahattawan thought of his boyhood when his people gathered in large family groups in spring and autumn at Rushing-water Falls (Pawtucket in his native Algonkian), where the Reedy River (Musketaquid) met the Deep River, (Merrimack). This was the closest they came to a village for they split up again in winter and summer, hunting along the rivers in winter, staying occasionally in rock shelters and tending fields in summer.

The seasonal runs of alewife, salmon, and eel were good times for fishing. Weirs were constructed to catch fish in large numbers to be dried for future use, particularly in the fall. It was a time of abundance and feasting, marriage-making, and of forming new alliances whether for trade or defense. Competitive rivalries increased with the trading of European goods at the shore, and some of the old trading networks, particularly for workable stone for tools, were breaking up because European metal was more abundant than native copper and more serviceable.4

In summer Tahattawan’s family both fished and planted. Several families had planting fields at Musketaquid and other spots along the river which joined at the boulder known later as Egg Rock below Between-rivers Hill (Nashawntuck). They might spend their summers in a different place each year or return to one place for a few years, depending on the abundance of particular plants and animals.

Musketaquid was a favorite place because of the clams (mussels). There was a unique spot on the river, below Clam Shell Bluff, where they were abundant, and people tended to go to the area more often than other places. This was not so obvious in Tahattawan’s time because his people were few in number, nine out of ten having died of European diseases brought by the trading ships. But he was always coming across tools his ancestors had left behind making him think there were far more of them than of his people now. Either that, or they did not travel so far in each season, making their rounds within perhaps a five or ten mile radius of Egg Rock. These people were the Settlers, but an even earlier group of Pioneers had passed through the valley hunting or fishing and leaving
behind only the occasional stone point from a spear (1,2).4

The fishing was good at Muskeaguid and there were six places, most in the vicinity of Egg Rock, that were the favorite spots of Tahattawan and his father 5. While his father fished, Tahattawan would often try to catch eels by sticking a forked spear down into the mud and in winter through a hole in the ice 6. Musketaquid did not have any rapids but there were two sets of falls up and down the river (Saxonville and Billericia) which were good camping places that the Settlers used.7 Small weirs of brushwood and stones were constructed on the brooks like the one near the planting fields, and if there were enough families in Musketquauid at one time, they might build one in the river as well. In addition to the runs of alevines in spring, salmon in summer, and perhaps tomcod in fall, there were the year-round fish; in particular, eels, brook trout, perch, pickerel, and fall-fish 8. One valued object was a pestle with elk head handed down to the Farmers from the Settlers (3).9 They weighted their lines and nets with carefully shaped stone plummetts or sinkers which were pebbles with hammered groove to hold the line (4,5). Plummets were also used to weight throwing nets to catch birds at their feeding places.

The Musketaquid River, or Recy River, took its name in the Algonquian language from the wet meadows along its course which remained open naturally.10 Other drier areas were burned by Tahattawan's people to create clearings for the corn, beans, and squash so important to their diet. Brush and burned trees were cleared with rectangular stone axes (celts) made out of the local grey igneous rock (6). They were shaped first by flaking, then the surface was smoothed by pecking or hitting with a hard stone, and the bit was ground into a polished surface using wet sand.

Tahattawan had a particularly fine axe which his ancestors made of an unfamiliar brown stone obtained through the extensive trading network that distributed high-grade stone over a wide area, particularly cherts from west of the Hudson River (7). They were traded from one group to another through personal contact. His wife often used it for cleaning hides so that the polish produced by wear was visible over much of the surface. Unfortunately, it was dropped and lost near Egg Rock, one of their camping places (8).

When the spring fish runs began and the star-cluster (Pleiades) set on the horizon, the people knew winter was over and it was the season for planting corn.11 The seeds of the three sisters, corn, beans, and squash had been brought by the Crow from Cautantowwit's house in the southwest 12 for the women to cultivate, and Tahattawan's people danced their thanks to the Creator. As the story was told 13, the people long ago had depended on game and wild food which made it necessary for them to be constantly on the move. During a period when food was very scarce, a young man had a vision in which a wise Crow told him about a food which could prevent the people from ever facing starvation. The youth asked the Crow where this food could be found but was told that it was such a long journey that a man would never find it. Then the Crow told the man he would bring this food to him but he explained that crows would always follow the people because this food was one of their favorite delicacies. Several days later the man was walking in the forest when he heard someone calling him. Looking up into a tree he saw the Crow that had appeared in his vision. Crow flew to the man's shoulder and told him to hold out his hand. Opening his beak, the bird dropped three seeds on the man's palm. They were corn, beans, and squash, the three sisters (9). Instructions were given for preparing the soil and placing fish in the ground to feed the seeds.14 This would be women's work while the men went hunting and fishing.

The people knew that this was how it had happened for Crow's descendants still visited them at planting and harvesting time to get their share of the corn, but Tahattawan and others kept tame hawks to prevent the birds from obtaining too much. Tahattawan did not remember a time when his people had not grown those plants, but in fact most of his ancestors had lived without them. Corn and beans and probably soft-rind squashes were first known in Massachusetts only 600 years before Tahattawan's lifetime compared with the approximately 10,000 years since the Pioneers came through the valley after the great ice sheets had receded. The Settlers who were in the valley 8,000 years before the present may have started to grow hardrind squashes (gourds) for containers as much as six or seven thousand years ago. There is evidence they were being grown in the Ohio Valley at that time. Other cultivated plants of unknown antiquity in New England were the sunflower, grown for its seeds, and the related Jerusalem artichoke. All of these plants were domesticated by native peoples in the area of Mexico or the Ohio Valley.15
The gardens were tilled with wooden digging sticks or hoes that sometimes had stone blades (10), or the large sea clam-shell blades brought from the coast. The corn was ground with large stone or wooden pestles (11) usually in wooden mortars. The only plant the men tended was tobacco with its relaxing smoke which was used as a means of offering prayers to the Creator (12). It was stronger than the leaves of the sweetflag which were mixed with it or used in its stead when tobacco was not cultivated. In other places bearberry leaves were smoked but this plant was rare at Musketekaud.

The Reedy River had another attraction, particularly in summer. There was an abundance of turtles of many different kinds that were easy to catch and so lightened the gathering burden of Tahattawan's mother and sisters. The women had much work collecting summer plants not only for food but other purposes. They gathered clams at Clam Shell Bluff, and their brothers caught muskrats and beavers who liked to feed on clams. Deer, turkey, and fish were eaten, and occasionally a watersnake was roasted. The remains of all of these were tossed in a heap at the bluff.

Tahattawan spent winter evenings as a boy sitting by the wigwam fire listening to his parents or grandparents explain such things as how the world was made. Once the Creator looked down and saw Giant Turtle swimming in the waters that covered the earth, and he was carrying Eagle, Owl, Crow, Deer, Fox, Turkey, Muskrat, and Beaver on his back. The Creator joined them in the form of a Hare and sent Crow to search the water, bidding him to find brown earth to make an island. But Crow came back without any earth. So the Great Spirit sent others, but they all returned to Giant Turtle sent Muskrat who was gone a long time and at last appeared on top of the waters holding sand in his paws. From this the Creator fashioned the land, the animals and birds and people to roam the forests. The Great Snake came out from his hiding place under the sea to watch. (13) The muskrat still showed his knowledge of how the world was made by building his house in its shape, a dome. The people had learned from him and their houses were dome-shaped also.

Other good camping places were the bluff by the planting fields and the Great Meadows, and the people had camped at different times all around that swampy area. Some of the marsh and water-loving plants were valuable for their tubers which could be boiled in the stew-pot. Tahattawan's people had clay pots while the Settlers, about 3,000 years before, had made them out of soapstone (14, 15). Sometimes the Settlers even repaired broken ones by drilling holes to lash the pieces, and presumably glued the edges. Drills twirled in the hand must have made the holes since bows were not yet known. Glues were prepared from pine pitch or fish and animal bones. Before stone pots were invented the Pioneers and early Settlers roasted their tubers unless they were able to boil them adequately by putting hot stones in water held in skins. In mid to late summer they ate the roots of the arrowhead plant, the blossoms, seeds, and roots of water lilies, roots and stems of cat-tails, and the water parsnip. Cranberries were abundant, wild onions flavored their stews, and wild rice was culled from the wet meadows. Migrating ducks and geese that came to the meadows in the fall for the rice were an easy prey for the hunter.

Flags, bulrushes, cat-tails and cord-grass were made into baskets, bags, and mats to cover their house-frames in summer. The Farmers bound the rushes together with cordage made primarily from the bark and roots of the red cedar since their burned-over clearings had encouraged its growth and made it common. Red cedar was not as abundant in the past so the Settlers had to rely more on other species such as basswood and hemp for their cord. The Farmers made bags of twined threads of grasses or bark fibers, dying them to make geometric designs. Animal designs were frequently painted on the baskets.

The women gathered other wild plants in summer for their leaves, flowers, fruits, or seeds. Young stalks and blossoms of milkweed and the leaves and seeds of green amaranth (pigweed) were prized for eating. Teas were brewed from the leaves or blossoms of hemlock, black (sweet) birch, sarsaparilla, elder, goldenrods, checkerberry, pipsisswa, and the less easily found sassafras and squaw mint which had a mint flavor. Many of the gathered plants were brewed to make infusions for medicinal purposes, and the bark of certain trees was used as dressings for wounds. The berries eaten alone or used at times to flavor dried meat were numerous. In addition to cranberries, there were elder, checkerberry, shadbush, black cherry, choke cherry, rose hips, and the sweet strawberries, blueberries, blackberries, currants, and grapes. The Farmers noticed that many of these grew luxuriantly in their cleared planting fields and
sometimes burned areas to promote their growth. And then there were the plants which provided dyes to decorate bags, baskets, and leather clothing. For many of these tasks knives were required, sometimes semi-circular, sometimes elongated (16, 17), and small pestles for crushing and mixing.

While the women and girls were busily employed in the acquisition and preparation of foods, medicines, dyes, matting and basketry, the men spent more of their hours on wood-working, or manufacturing the stone tools. They made dug-out canoes for which they needed not only axes but large and small gouges and adzes for shaping (18, 19). The smallest gouges and chisels were probably for making wooden bowls for eating (20). It is likely they made the lighter birch-bark canoes as well. The technique for hollowing out a log of pine or oak was to burn the top of the wood and then scrape it out with a gouge. Pine grew everywhere; oak mainly on the flanks of the rounded glacial hills, such as Shallow-brook Hill (Punkatasset) across the river from the Great Meadows, Between-rivers Hill (Nashawtuc), and Look-out Hill (Annursac), and white birch on the north side of those hills.

The Settlers shaped their axes differently from Tahattawian's people. The early Settlers made grooves all the way round the butt to carry the lashing that held the blade to the wooden handle, and the bits were curved (21). Some of the later Settlers made grooves only three quarters of the way round the axes and gouges with a flat side to the blade to brace against an elbow-shaped handle (22). By contrast the adzes did not really seem to change over time, although there were variations in the length of the gouge channel. The same was true of many of the knives and scrapers.

The Farmers made large wigwams when those were needed for several families gathering in one place for a period of time such as in fall, winter, or early spring. Occasionally a very large one would be built as a dance house for ceremonies presided over by a pow-wow or medicine man. The small summer shelters erected near the fields were either carried from place to place by the women or they would rehang their mats on former frames still in place. They made even smaller shelters to serve as sweat houses. The framing the men erected was similar in all types; staves of aspen, willow, or hemlock bent into a curved roof, the uprights fixed with horizontal braces. The resulting structure was dome-shaped, either hemispherical or elongated into an oval. On these frames were hung mats of bark in winter and reeds in summer, and reed mats with designs were often hung inside the bark to provide insulation and decoration. Smoke holes were left in the roof with adjustable flaps of bark to break the wind. Furs were thrown on interior benches for sleeping. In winter a fire was kept in the middle of the wigwam and dogs, adults, and children would lie close to it and one another for warmth in the smoky darkness, telling stories and lulling themselves to sleep with song. The cries of the wolves outside reminded them of the Wolf's lesson in how to survive: stay together as a family. The Wolf and the Bear were given special recognition as beings closer to man than any of the other animals. The Settlers had even given a bear skull special burial at one of their rockshelters.

Little is known about the shelters of the Pioneers and Settlers other than a few floor plans found outside the valley in other parts of Massachusetts. The Settlers had dwellings with entrances which overlapped the outer wall of the hut leaving a snail-like design of post molds in the ground. The Pioneers probably had tents since circular living floors of discolored earth have been found but no post molds.

As summer cooled and the leaves began to turn, a very important wild crop began to ripen: nuts. The people learned from Squirrel that in order to survive in a cold climate it was necessary to store nuts for the winter. They watched to see which nuts were ripening first so if they were slipsheod in knowing where and when to gather, the squirrels would collect them first. Hickory nuts were their favorites. There were chestnuts, hazels, and acorns, but the white oak acorns were preferred because they were sweeter. There were also butternuts, in fewer numbers, whose oil was valuable for cooking or anointing the body against cold and insects. Oil from the pennycress plant, fish oil, and bear grease served that purpose too. From the soil came groundnuts in abundance. Nuts were often pounded to a pulp with grinding stones or pestles and mortars (23, 11) and added to stews for thickening. The Farmers used cornmeal for that purpose, and carried it in pouches for winter travelling. They also made it into cakes.

The Settlers had not known chestnuts. Over the centuries the composition of the forest had gradually changed. The early Pioneers had travelled through open spruce and pine woodland which had become established after the glacial tundra 13,000 years ago. This gave way to the mixed oak,
birch, beech, and hickory forest of the early Settlers with the incidence of hemlock and pine fluctuating over time, according to warming or cooling trends in the climate. The period of the early Settlers is thought to have been considerably warmer than the present, a permanent cooling trend having started about 3,000 years ago. But the chestnut did not become common until Tahattawan’s day. When it did, it grew on hills of acid glacial gravel, such as the ridge to the south of the planting fields (Revolutionary Ridge), and in the southern portion of the village of Concord.38

The fall also was the start of the winter hunting season. Successful hunting required group co-operation. Tahattawan’s people would sometimes erect v-shaped fences to corral deer into one place where they could more easily be shot with a bow and arrow. Boys would drive the animals towards the fence which would steer them to the point of the “Y” where hunters were waiting.39 They depended mainly on deer, particularly the white-tailed deer, for both meat and clothing, but the beaver also was important. Other animals they hunted were elk (wapiti), muskrat, woodchuck, rabbit, and an occasional moose. The carnivores they hunted included bear, wolf, fox, raccoon, skunk, and bobcat or lynx. Boys tested their aim on squirrels or birds such as turkey, heath hen, ducks, and geese.

Bows were cut from aspen, willow, hickory, or witchhazel, and strung with sinews. If available, moose sinews were preferred. The arrows were of elder or arrowwood (viburnum), foreshafts holding the point of stone or in Tahattawan’s day occasionally brass, fletched with eagle feathers. The points were sometimes made out of quartz or argilite nodules found in the local glacial gravels. They were also made from stone traded at the coast or Blue hill, or on the Merrimack: red rhyolite, black and white porphyry, grey or purple banded or speckled porphyries, buff-colored or grey-green felsites. Most of these stones were the result of long past volcanic activity. It is likely that some of the Settlers were specialized craftsmen in stone since their skill in making very fine large blades cannot be matched (24). Other Settlers made unusually large slate spear points with central midrib, a shape more often associated with metal blades than with stone (25).

Bows and arrows were acquired by Tahattawan’s ancestors a few hundred years before his time. Before that the spear was the only weapon, often propelled by a spearthrower or atlatl (an Aztec word). The spearthrower was a stick as long as the arm into which a spear was fitted to provide extra power to the throw. The early Settlers used light woods for their spearthrowers so that stone weights needed to be attached to achieve the balance needed for accuracy (26). Heavier spearthrowers did not need weights, and it seems that the later Settlers did not have them.

Whether by spear or bow and arrow hunting took skill both in following animal tracks and getting close to the quarry. Before the hunt prayers were directed to the Creator to provide the needed food. When a boy Tahattawan found it easy to recognize tracks in the snow, but for many years he despaired of being able to see deer tracks in the autumn leaves. One day to his joy he found he had acquired that ability.31 To get close the men would sometimes disguise themselves in deer skins with the heads still attached. Setting dead-fall or spring-pole traps was another way of acquiring game and there were other simpler kinds of trap with string and sinker for small animals like muskrats and ducks. A stone-headed club might be used if necessary (27, 28).

Hunting required a group of men and boys working together, making decisions together, and this co-operation was the basis for the egalitarian, democratic, unstructured method of organization by which Tahattawan’s people ordered their affairs. The wolf was viewed as close to man, an ancestor perhaps, because he lived in the same way as the native. He lived by a kind of tribal order, in packs with a leader, which divided up into smaller groups when food was scarce.32 Groups coalesced for various tasks, or for purposes such as defense, and then would split up again as it suited them, or as needs determined. Leaders, sachems or sagamores, were designated expeditors or facilitators, who depended largely on personal ability for their success. The group’s internal cohesion depended on the extended family relationships of clan kinship, and women, as clan mothers, had a say in decision-making. With the tendency towards a less mobile way of life which farming encouraged, leadership began to pass from father to son, or to stay within the same family at least, the ultimate criterion always being ability. The sachem began to store grain for the needs of the community at large but he was always a spokesman for a group rather than an authority in his own right. The prominence of certain
female sachems in the seventeenth century may indicate the loss of male spokesmen to disease.

In Tahattawan's boyhood all clothes were made of skins except for some capes woven of reeds or made of turkey feathers, the latter for special occasions. The hides of the larger animals provided breech clouts, leggings, capes, and coats worn by both men and women with some variation in style between the sexes. Skins and furs and the occasional European-traded blanket were used for coats and bedding. Deerskin was used most of all but coats of beaver, raccoon, bear, fox, and other smaller animals whose pelts were sewn together with bone needles, kept them warm in winter. The heavier moose hide was used for moccasins when available. The hair might be left on or removed. In winter the hair was worn on the inside, and the smooth outer hide was painted in patterns with dye or mineral. During the summer plants had been gathered by the women to prepare these dyes: reds from the inner bark of pine, white birch, hemlock, and red cedar, and from bloodroot, chokecherry, and the rare yellow plum. There was also yellow from goldenrods or bloodroot, black from hazel mixed with butternut, purple from pokeweed, and shades of purple or blue from the elderberry. Red ochre or hematite provided red and yellow paint, charcoal black, and clay white. Apart from clothing, pictures of animals and birds were painted on the body or tattooed. Stone pendants were worn for adornment (29). Hair-styles reflected age sets, boys versus warriors, maidens distinguished from married women, and perhaps clan membership as well.

Preparing the hides for clothing was also the task of the women and girls, and required hard work and skill to perfect. The rawhide was prepared by first removing all excess fat and tissue with a fleshers, a sharp-edged instrument. From the wear polish on some of the celts and gouges it is apparent that they have been used for this purpose rather than woodworking (6, 8, 18). Scrapers also were used this way (30, 31). The hide was then washed and cleaned further with scrapers and staked out to dry for a few days. It was then turned over and the hair removed by scraping with a sideways motion, a back-breaking job. The scrapers had to be resharpened frequently. Heavier skins, not deer or elk, were pounded with stones to make them supple. The hide was then tanned by rubbing oil into it when wet to make it water-resistant. It may also have been smoked. Holes were pierced in the hide with stone drills (awls) for sewing with thongs or sinews (32), and with bone awls.

The people knew how to survive in late winter and early spring when food was at its scarcest because Beaver had taught them. They noticed that he ate the inner bark of aspen and other trees, and so they did the same. They chewed the sap-filled bark of the pine or sweeter aspen, made it into cakes, and roasted green pine cones. Butternut trees and an occasional rare sugar maple gave their sap to make a treat of snow and syrup for the children. Their neighbors further west had more maple syrup which they traded to them on occasion. A little later in the season the leaves and roots of water-loving plants were again invaluable. Skunk cabbage sprang to life two moons after the winter solstice shortly followed by sarsaparilla in the wet and snowy woods. A little later still the Indian turnip (jack-in-the-pulpit) could be found. The Farmers with their corn stored in underground pits were less dependent on the winter wild plants than the Settlers and Pioneers had been which was a source of their gratitude to Cautantowvit. They saw that the crows hovered overhead to remind them of his gift. As spring warmed into summer, the gift of corn would be renewed once more and the cycle of life continued.

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1985
Footnotes

1. "Myth" is used in the same sense as Dincaze definition (Dincaze 1985; p. 4).
   Pioneer comprises the standard archaeological Palaeoindian and Early Archaic periods; Settler, the Middle and Late Archaic, Early and Middle Woodland, and Late Woodland up to 900 B.P.; Farmer, the Late Woodland after 900 B.P. and the Contact periods.
   The 17th century sources on which this account is based are: Johnson 1910; Wood 1898; Gookin 1972a; Williams 1936; Morton 1883. All faunal citations are from two archaeological sites in the Concord River Basin: the Concord Shell Heap (report in progress on Benjamin Smith collection materials, Concord Antiquarian Museum, and collections at Peabody Museum, Harvard University); Flagg Swamp rockshelter, Marlborough (Huntington 1982).
   Floral data in archaeological context from Flagg Swamp. General Concord environmental data from Eaton 1974; Kotteff 1963. Floral species cited are listed by Eaton as abundant, common, or formerly common in Concord unless otherwise stated. Note has been taken of species recently abundant through pollution. Native usages are derived from Hussey 1974; Erickson-Brown 1979; Marten 1970.
   Data on symbolic significance of certain animals from Slow Turtle, Wampunag medicine man; Little Turtle, Chumunagumagunaug Nipmuck medicine man.

2. Meanings of Algonquin place names after Hudon 1662.


9. Middle Woodland sherds from Call site, Billerica (Johnson and Mahlstedt 1984; p. 59). Clay sherds in Longworth collection, Saxonville (A. Mansfield, personal communication).

10. Bigelow and Schroeder 1953; pp. 102, 103, 124, 125, 127, 152. Salmon are recorded historically as being in the Merrimack in great numbers. It is debated whether the Concord River has always been cold enough to support them, but they are cited by Shattuck as being present before the 1700 Middlesex Canal (Shattuck 1835; p. 202). They are not represented at Flagg Swamp or the Concord Shell Heap. Bigelow and Schroeder state that tomcod frequent estuaries and stream mouths in winter which raises a question about their identification at Flagg Swamp.

11. Eel identification by Slow Turtle. Animal-headed pestles in Archaic context (Ritchie and Funk 1973; p. 69); in Contact period context (Willoughby 1924; p. 14).


14. Williams 1936; p. 89.

15. Nipmuck legend from Little Turtle.

16. It has been persuasively argued that fish fertilizer was a European invention learned by the Plymouth native Squanto in Newfoundland and passed on to the Pilgrims (Ceci 1975). The reference to it in this story could be a late addition.


19. Turtles at Flagg Swamp, Concord Shell Heap, and a second site in Concord (Towle 1984; p. 75).


22. The natives must have processed the poisonous water parsnip to make it edible. Extreme care must be taken in experimenting with eating wild plants many of which have poisonous parts.

23. Eaton 1974; p. 8. Eaton attributes this to the European colonists but the process must have started earlier with the natives.


25. Slow Turtle, personal communication.

26. Little Turtle, personal communication.

27. Robbins 1980 (Settlers); Jordan 1960 (Pioneers).

28. Slow Turtle, personal communication.


33. Little Turtle, personal communication. Seeing tracks in such conditions is no doubt a learned method of perception.

34. Little Turtle, personal communication.

35. Olsen 1970. There are no local accounts of skin-dressing.
From Muskeguck to Concord: Trading Places

"It is ordered that there shall be a plantation at Muskeguck, and the name of the new town shall be Concord." The General Court permitted Peter Bulkeley, Simon Willard and company to settle there in 1635, and in 1637 to purchase six miles square from Sagamore Tahattawan. To the Concord settlers, Muskeguck was virgin wilderness. To Tahattawan and his people, it was home. The settlers claimed religious freedom and land ownership in the New World. The Muskeguck people had no concept of land ownership. The English viewed the land as a commodity, the natives in terms of relationships within a natural system. What did the Concord settlers and Muskeguck people know of each other's views, and how did they deal with each other after contact?

From Exploration to Trade

Contact between the Old World and the New did not begin with Simon Willard and Tahattawan. They are just two actors in a story that has been slowly unfolding over hundreds of years through exploration, discovery, and contact. As trade and land claims increased in New England, the effects of interaction became dramatic for both European and native cultures and would later become catastrophic for the natives.

Explorers' narratives and drawings provide insight into ways of life before and after European contact. Verrazzano, in the employ of the French, was the first to describe New England's lands and people. In 1524, he explored the interior from Narragansett Bay and marvelled at the extent of open, fertile countryside. Careful notation was made of the technology and traditions of a friendly people, who were "... the most beautiful and have the most civil customs that we have found on this voyage." The natives already had sheets of European copper which they prized more than gold. Cloth, metal, and guns were not coveted. The gifts they accepted, bells and blue and red ornaments, were considered just "trinkets" by Verrazzano, who did not realize the religious significance of ornaments of certain color and shine. In the exchange, the natives "were very generous and gave away all they had."

In contrast to this welcome, Verrazzano met with hostility from natives along the rocky, wooded northeast coast. Because of its rich fishing grounds, thick furred mammals, and accessible harbors, the northeast coast was more frequently visited during the 16th century than the more difficult to navigate southern New England coast.

By the beginning of the 17th century, competition for the North East had narrowed down to the French and English in New England and Canada, and the Dutch from Chesapeake Bay to southern New England. French explorations by Champlain and Lescarbot resulted in claims for "New France," including parts of Maine and Canada. Champlain's expeditions took him farther south to "better inhabited places" in Massachusetts Bay and Cape Cod. In the Bay Champlain met large numbers of joyful natives in canoes and he received their chief very cordially. Southwest at Cap St. Louis (Plymouth harbor), friendly inhabitants of Patuxet village "came to the shore and began to dance." While anchored in its distinctive harbor, Champlain carefully drew up a map of the village which is rich in ethnographic detail.

In 1614, Capt. John Smith was mapping the coast from Maine to Cape Cod, which he first called "New England." In a tract seeking backing for a colony, he declared that "Massachusetts... is the paradise of all those parts." Smith found that natives up and down the coast were being increasingly exposed to ships of merchant-adventurers looking for quick profit in furs. (33, 34)

As merchant-adventurers established trading posts among the Indians, native sophistication with foreign technology grew. At first, copper and brass pots were desired only as raw material and were cut into native-style pendants, beads, and composite tools. (35) Soon metal pots and knives were adopted as time-saving additions and guns were sought to supplement the bow and arrow. Some crafts and skills were displaced, as natives became more active trade participants. Native leaders who were the most active saw the exchanges as beneficial to their tribe, and trade items were used to strengthen territories, personal standing and to exact tribute.

In this coastal area of heavy trading and dense population, the people fell victim to European disease. The robust, healthy natives described by Verrazzano, Champlain and Smith, had no immunity against an unknown contagious "pestilence" that raged from 1616-18, and reduced their...
numbers by as much as 90%. Hardest hit were the Massachusetts Indians near the Bay and those with whom they had kinship or trading relations. It is believed Musketaquid was one of the devastated Massachusetts villages. Thomas Morton, who was trading with the natives at Merrymount (Weymouth), reported that, "... the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortal stroke that they died on heapes as they lay in their houses; For in a place where many inhabited there hath been but one left alive to tell what became of the rest..."

From Trade to Settlement

Whole villages were left vacant, a fact that did not go unnoticed by Europeans who saw their chances for settlement increase. Plymouth Colony was settled at Patuxet two years after. A treaty was negotiated with the nearby Wampanoags who were in a weak position due to the epidemic. Their sachem, Massasoit, sought peace with the English in exchange for protection from Indian enemies.

The new Colony wanted to impress neighboring natives with its strength and superiority, but it also needed their friendly relations to promote essential trade. Plymouth leaders spent considerable time cultivating trade networks to pay their investors in England and Holland. Trading posts were established as far north as the Kennebec River where they rivalled the French, and as far west as the Connecticut River where they competed with the Dutch.

As European traders sought to learn which goods natives would accept for furs, they seized on the opportunity to be middlemen in the ongoing, small-scale inter-tribal trade of shell beads. These beads, which were sacred and conveyed status in the native culture, became known as wampum. The Long Island Indians who made these shell beads, and their Pequot allies, were willing to trade them directly to the Dutch who in turn traded them to Maine and inland river Indians. Plymouth began to acquire wampum as currency in 1627. When metal drills were introduced to help mass produce wampum beads, the coastal tribes, including the Narragansetts, were drawn more into the fur trade and European market economy. Short-term trade advantages, and gains in intertribal and European-Indian relations, took precedence over long-term resource preservation and cultural considerations.

To acquire furs the Europeans demanded, especially for men's beaver hats, traders had to depend on the superior hunting and trapping skills of the natives. By taking advantage of the native desire for wampum beads, the pelt supply was assured in a trade in which fewer European goods were offered. The rapid spread of wampum throughout all of the North East is witness to the high value natives placed upon it and the advantage Europeans saw in using it as currency. (36, 37)

The Plymouth experiment set a standard for aggressive settlement and trade that was not matched by Champlain in Quebec or the Dutch in New Amsterdam. Another group in England preparing to pursue colonization even more strenuously was the New England Company. In 1630 a fleet of 17 ships set sail to settle the Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Winthrop, the new governor, arrived with a charter and gifts for native leaders as part of the proposed peaceful conquest.

The King's Charter for the new Puritan Colony claimed superior rights to settle the "vacant land" between the Charles and Merrimack Rivers. The natives' rights were inferior, according to Winthrop, because "they indoe noe Land, neither have any settled habytation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the land by, and so noe other but a Naturall Right to those Countries." In the areas actually being "improved" by farming, native rights to the land were acknowledged. The territories beyond the planting fields where hunting and gathering took place seasonally, however, were considered vacant and free to the newcomers. Eventually some deeds were sought from native leaders who might claim territorial rights, as the Concord proprietors did of Tahattawen and kin.

New Puritan towns mushroomed along the coast on "vacant lands," in the same territories of surviving tribal bands. Native people were already actively trading with the English who lived among them on a small scale. Some natives even greeted the newcomers in English coats, speaking some English. Socially inclusive, they did not view the first settlers as strangers, but welcomed them. But Winthrop's ships kept sailing in and before long the socially exclusive settlers saw the natives as trespassers on their lands. (38)

The change from trade to settlement did not bode well
for natives who did not fit into the English idea of a town. An English town had written laws and tangible bounds which made everyone accountable to authority. The native way of moving at certain times of the year for fishing or hunting was considered shiftlessness. The apparent looseness of the native political and social structure was incomprehensible. Unless the natives could be removed or brought into subjugation to English civil and church law, the new Colony feared it would not thrive.  

The next catastrophic event for the natives strengthened the position of the colonists. The second devastating epidemic in 1633-34, identified as small pox, fell on natives from the coast of Maine to Long Island, and as far into the interior as the Connecticut and Hudson River valleys. The surviving natives were demoralized. Their confidence in themselves and their God, their healing powwows and sachems, was undermined. Many natives believed the Puritans who claimed their superior God had saved the English from illness, but it is doubtful any implored, as the first Colony Seal depicted, “Come Over and Help us!” (39)  

Several sachems died from small pox, including Chickataubet of Nipmuc, and Sagamoses John and James, sons of Squaw Sachem of Mystic, who were well known as traders and community leaders. The English had initially treated them as equals, but as they became more entrenched, they worried about the sachems’ independent power and sought ways to make them subject to Colony laws. Small pox removed part of their worry.  

Disease affected the wampum-producing areas of Connecticut, Long Island and Rhode Island where Narragansett and Pequot trade competition was strong. Rising numbers of settlers moved into the new Connecticut Colony, and tensions increased as white traders jockeyed for advantage. In the first major confrontation with the natives which erupted out of trade rivalries, English colonists joined forces, and Indian allies were enlisted to fight the Pequots and their allies. This became an English policy.  

Interracial warfare was not uncommon and in fact increased along with trade conflicts, but traditionally native warfare was short and not disastrous. Now new rules were being established by the English in a war to exterminate the Pequots. The Pequot War served notice to sachems who did not fall in line.

The Settlement of Concord

In 1634 many Cambridge (Newtowne) settlers considered moving because of overcrowding, and one group left to found Hartford, Connecticut. Those anxious to remain in Massachusetts looked toward the Merrimack, considered rich in resources. The beaver meadows near the river and its tributaries, including the Musketaquid, beckoned. Willing natives there were already carrying furs into coastal trading posts and would welcome one nearer their source. If a trading post were established in that direction, it made sense to secure it with a settlement.  

At this time Simon Willard arrived in Cambridge and became a key figure in seeking new lands which would become Concord. He had the necessary money, good social standing and Puritan contacts to become involved immediately in the fur trade.  

In 1635, however, he was a young man of 30 and a risk as a town founder. It would take a minister of good reputation to give the proposed settlement the status needed for the blessing of the General Court. When Peter Bulkeley arrived in Cambridge in the summer of 1635, Simon Willard quickly became attached to him. Winthrop’s Journal noted that a “grant was made to Mr. Buckley and — merchant and about 12 families to begin a town.”  

Peter Bulkeley was wealthy, learned and respected by his ministerial peers. Already 52, he was used to comforts and the stimulation of intellectual company and does not seem a likely candidate to explore the unknown. But Cambridge had too many ministers, and there was pressure on Bulkeley to have his own pulpit. He soon joined the new company, as would several others associated with him.  

By 1636 John Jones arrived in Cambridge and was persuaded to join the Concord venture as its second pastor. Another Puritan minister of prestige, he had been harassed by Anglican authorities and had not been able to bring wealth to the New World. At 42 years of age, he arrived with several other families and moved to the new plantation within the year. The support of two pastors did not eventually work out for the new town, but in 1636 discord was not in evidence.  

In contrast, church controversy was simmering in the Colony at large. Puritan codes were strict and details of theology a serious matter which engaged members of the state
as well as church. Bulkeley became an articulate spokesman for the legalist point of view in a synod which set forth pastoral rules, and he published a Puritan treatise on the gospel covenant. 19 (43)

Newcomers continued to join the Concord company in 1637. The most noteworthy was Thomas Flint who came to Boston in 1636 with a high recommendation to Governor Winthrop. "Like Bulkeley, he invested heavily in the new Colony and town. One other wealthy investor, Richard Spencer of Cambridge, lent his money and prestige and later built a mill. Most of the other Concord settlers invested on a small scale, and owned their planting ground for the first time.

Willard was instrumental in selecting the town's six mile tract along the junction of the two branches of the Musketaquid river. It contained abundant resources: more than nine miles of winding rivers with adjacent meadows, six potential mill sites and seven ponds (both natural and beaver-dammed), as well as hills and plains and plentiful woodland. 17. Upland plains had been cut and burned over in sandy fertile locations for farming, and underbrush had been fired to clear paths for attracting game. In this environment, the Musketaquid people achieved self-sufficiency through hunting, fishing, gathering and farming.

The new settlers struggled to survive in this environment, according to Edward Johnson's history of the early Puritan towns. 18 A contemporary of Willard, Johnson described the arduous trek out from Cambridge and Watertown along narrow paths to the Indian hillside planting fields and fish weir site which became the center of the plantation. The first group arriving in fall only had time to build "poore wigwams" into the banks of the hillside. Although some provisions were brought, they were dependent on trading with the local natives for corn and game. By spring "great store of fish" became available and planting began. But livestock died and English grains did not grow well, so "they were forced to cut their bread very thin for a long season." Many of the new group were unaccustomed to the roughness of land, hard labor and greater changes in climate, and soon became disillusioned with the plantation.

When the Concord settlers arrived, there was probably only a remnant of five to ten families of the former Musketaquid village remaining. Tahattawan and kin reportedly lived at Nashawtuc Hill prior to deeding the land to the Concord company. It is not known where they went for substitute sites, nor what the deeding of six miles square meant to them. Natives probably viewed the deed as sharing resources with the Concord people, and it would be some time before the full impact of the English legal system with permanent bounds became clear.

The deed is missing, but General Court records indicate that it was signed by Tahattawan, Squaw Sachem, Wibbacowet, Natanquatiek alias Old Man, and Carpe alias Goodman in 1637. 19 Almost fifty years later when the deed was sought as proof of ownership, further details were provided by four people who claimed to have been at the signing: Richard Rice and William Buttrick of Concord; and Jethro the younger and Jehojakim formerly of Musketaquid. Jehojakim's testimony 20 reveals that "a parcel of wampumpeage, hatchets, hoes, knives, cotton cloth, and shirts" were paid the Indians in the bargain. In addition "Wibbacowet, husband to Squam Sachem, received a suit of cotton cloth, an hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat." (40-42) Also present were Nimrod, Waban and Thomas, both sons-in-law of Tahattawan, and old Jethro or Tantamous. Simon Willard, Pastor Jones and Mr. Spencer were present and presumably Peter Bulkeley, because the signing took place at his new house, and as tradition has it, under Jethro's oak tree.

On top of the hillside overlooking the center area, 21 the meetinghouse was constructed to serve as church, civic center and eventually watch tower. Puritan standards of that day required a plain meetinghouse without adornment, and the burial ground surrounding would have been without worked stones. Between the base of the hill and the millpond the militia field was laid out.

The first division of land for house lots, meadow and upland has been roughly determined. 22 Peter Bulkeley's large acreage contained his house lot, adjacent upland, and meadow extending to the river which was let out as town pasture. Through Bulkeley's financing, the weir site was converted into a gristmill for the town. Rough wooden homes, probably just one large room with a loft overhead, replaced the "poore wigwams" along the Indian trail below the hillside. Additional lots are laid out on the west side of the mill, where Pastor Jones was located, and north of the meeting house on both sides of the river. Thomas Flint's large division and other lots west of the river were accessible by an
Indian fording spot. Another fording place led to Simon Willard's lot and 100 acres on the slope of Nawshawtic Hill at the junction of the two branches of the river, an advantageous location for a trading station.

The geography of the town divided these lots roughly into three sections which were later enlarged and formally organized as "quarters." Three general fields (probably Indian planting fields) were established beyond the clustered houselots, subject to common land distribution and regulation. Open fields farmed in common made sense where equipment and working cattle were scarce. An inland town like Concord had not been cleared as much as those along the coast, so temporarily clustering and common agricultural fields were preferred. While there may have been differences about agricultural systems practiced in their English place of origin, settlers shared long understood customs about planting times, crop rotation, fencing and control of livestock.23

When the second division of land occurred in 1654, the remainder of the six mile grant was apportioned and the movement toward consolidation of land into individual farms gained momentum. The second division was based on the first, and was three times in acreage, so that original proprietors with large holdings, such as Bulkeley, Flint and Willard, benefitted the most.24

Settlers who came after the first division complained they had to buy their lands from old proprietors, and that most of their tracts were barren, wet and unuseful. Petitions to the General Court for additional land began in 1643 and continued over the next ten years before coming to fruition.25

Complaints about wetness were not new nor limited to newcomers. As early as 1636, a Concord petition was heard by the General Court to abate waters in the meadows. In a second petition in 1644, Sudbury, a new town south of Concord, joined in seeking relief from flowage, and joint sewer commissioners were appointed.26 The English came with preconceived expectations about what rivers and meadows should do. They did not understand the nature of the Muske-guad and its grasses, and unlike the natives, could not adapt to its cycles of high and low flows.

For the Concord planters, this was not an experiment in adaptation but an investment. During those first lean years there were bills for livestock and goods; the deed from the natives; meetinghouse construction; support of two ministers; and General Court taxes and fines. These payments weighed heavily on them and in 1643 a committee of Colony elders "found them wavering about removal, not finding their plantation answerable to their expectation, and the maintenance of two elders too heavy a burden for them." Although patience was recommended by this committee, in October 1644 Pastor Jones left for Fairfield, Connecticut with 15 other families.

In 1645 Concordians expressed the fear of dissolution because of the loss of so many people. In a plaintive plea for tax abatement, they claimed "the povertye and meaneess of the place ..." consumed the physical and financial abilities of many. The General Court, worried that continued migration would leave a weakened frontier open to attack by Indians to the west, voted that no one could leave Concord, Dedham, or Sudbury without permission.24

The Growth of Concord

In retrospect, the move to Connecticut can be seen as the first of many pioneer efforts by Concord, but at that time it seemed more like the near-extinction of Concord. It took several years of perserverence, and the financial support of Bulkeley, before the empty houses gradually filled and new ones were built. Lands beyond the town looked inviting once more as the frontier spirit was rekindled. Simon Willard epitomized this spirit.

In 1641 Willard received General Court approval to become Superintendent of Trade with the Indians for three years, with "liberty to trade all manner of commoditics except guns, powder, shot and weapons." By 1642 liquor was a prohibited trade item as was later the horse. After 1644 Willard remained an important licensed trader without exclusive rights. His knowledge of the natives and the Merrimack area made him the Colony choice with Edward Johnson to survey the north end of the Merrimack as the Massachusetts boundary in 1652. As Willard extended his influence in Lancaster, Groton, Chelmsford and other posts along the Merrimack, the Court granted him and three others exclusive rights to the Merrimack trade in 1657. Although furs became less important in trade by 1660 because of decreased supply and demand, and intertribal wars, Willard maintained his involvement as land became the major item traded by the Indians.29
The western movement that began with Concord spread in the 1650’s, as additional trading posts were established and land was granted to individuals for Colony services. Land grants were also made to Concord and Sudbury to enlarge their western borders, and Lancaster, Chelmsford, Billerica, Groton and Marlboro became incorporated towns. Increased contact occurred between whites and natives in the “Indian country” beyond Concord. Traders like Willard who had civil and military leadership skills were in a position to deal on several levels with Indian merchants who were leaders in their communities as well, and thus prevent conflicts. Land negotiations were also facilitated as deeds for the new grants were sought from counterpart native trader/leaders. 

At the same time these new towns were founded, Minister John Eliot was promoting missionary work among the natives in the vicinity. The General Court approved land grants for the establishment of Natick, Nashoba and Wamesit in 1651 as the first of the Praying Towns set aside for Christian Indians. Ponkapoag, Hassanamesit, Okommakamesit and Magunkaquog were granted in the next few years. It was becoming increasingly important to avoid boundary conflicts along the western frontier. (44, 45)

The Praying Town of Natick was carefully planned by Eliot for the Nonantum people, but Dedham protested its bounds. Wamesit and Chelmsford shared land along the Concord and Merrimack Rivers which led to dispute. Sagamore John’s field was taken over by the English in exchange for land elsewhere. Muskeetaquid natives were granted Nashoba west of Concord. The conflict with Concord’s new bounds was worked out in “loving, Christian agreement.” The Praying Town of Okommakamesit granted in 1654 discovered that Marlboro, founded two years later, was less conciliatory. Settlers’ livestock encroached on native planting fields and ruined crops. Minister Eliot and Daniel Gookin, Superintendent of the Indians, and trader/leaders like Willard, were involved in the land conflicts that arose. The mission towns were set apart as much as possible, which paradoxically made their assimilation and conversion more difficult.

Indian lands were also deeded for payment of trading debts. Willard, for example, received acreage west of the Concord bounds and also between Lancaster and Groton as payment for debts from Tahattawan and Sagamore John of Pawtucket. At first the credit system was beneficial to natives who needed goods on a regular basis but produced commodities seasonally. Native debts were paid off in beaver skins for some years, but white traders began to demand land as collateral for credit.

By 1660 there was very little uncommitted land west of Concord and south of the Merrimack. The deed game was playing itself out, and soon the trader/leader/Christian Indians would be without any land to trade. (46)

The town of Concord had changed by 1660. Many townspeople left to settle other towns, and its founding leaders had either died or moved. Thomas Flint, major officialholder and investor, died in 1655 while in England attending business. Bulkeley, spiritual leader and leading citizen, died in 1659 still trying to exhort the flock to be faithful. At this time Willard, who benefitted so much from the association and largesse of both Flint and Bulkeley, was ready to leave Concord. After serving the town in every position from clerk, selectman, judge, surveyor to military captain (47) he now carried these skills to Lancaster, passing on some of his large acreage as inheritance to his children.

Second generation children were beginning to make their mark. Less educated and more fearful of the natives, they were more interested in their own land rights than in cooperation. They would usher in the new order leading to the King Philip War and near-breakdown of the native way of life.

The Decline of Muskeetaquid

The growth of Concord and decrease of Indian lands was more than acreage gained or lost. In the process of accommodation the Muskeetaquid people became the Nashoba Praying Indians with nowhere to go. They cast their lot with the English but were never really accepted by them. Natives outside the Praying Towns did not welcome them either, so they were squeezed in the middle. (48-50)

When Simon Willard and Tahattawan first met, living near each other and trading seemed mutually beneficial. After living together in peace in the same town for over ten years, change was in the air.

Sachems Cutshamakin, Squaw Sachem, Nashawanon and Mascanomet had declared their submission to English authority in 1645, agreeing to obey the laws, to aid the
government and notify them of any conspiracy, and promising "to bee instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." The agreement was finalized when the sachems presented 26 fathoms of wampum and the Court gave them "five coats, two yards in a coate, or red cloth, & a potfull of wine."

To follow-up the civil agreement, Minister Eliot was learning the Algonquian language to preach to the Massachusetts Indians. He found an enthusiastic convert in Waban, one of Cutshamakin's men, and began prayer meetings in Waban's wigwam in Nonantum in 1646 on a regular basis. At one of these meetings, Tahattawan caught on to the contagious zeal of Waban.

Some of Tahattawan's men opposed him in this conversion, but he was persuasive in arguing against the higher sachems who would "take away your skins and your kettles & your wampum." Consensus was reached on 29 orders and conclusions Simon Willard recorded, "the last of which was that they desired to be a town. Of the remaining 28 orders some repudiated old habits and appearances; many dealt with civil regulations and forms of worship; but several struck at the heart of the native religion by forsaking the powwow and powwowing, mourning rites and menstrual taboos. Time-honored beliefs in their God, good and evil spirits, healing rites, and their own world beyond death must be renounced. (51, 52)

As Eliot set up a regular schedule of preaching and catechism, the questions and comments of Praying Indians reflect the tension they felt between old and new worlds. Their anguish questions reveal difficulty in reconciling traditional beliefs with unfamiliar ideas of sin, guilt, hell and damnation. 37

Tahattawan and Waban did so well as Praying Indians, however, that they became missionaries themselves. As enthusiasm for missionary work spread beyond Nonantum and Concord, they accompanied Eliot, Willard and Flint north to the Merrimack country of Passaconaway. A noted sachem and powwow, Passaconaway had already submitted to the Colony government but initially resisted Christianity because he feared his people would no longer follow him or pay tribute. The sachem's dilemma, as recorded by Eliot, must have been widespread. Tribute was important, not as wealth, but to redistribute to the needy, to entertain guests and at ceremonies, and sometimes to pay warriors or higher sachems. 38

The fate of those Indians who did not pray was no better. The Narragansets, Mohegans, Wampanoags and some Nipmucks remained traditional in religion and community patterns and tried to coexist with the English on the basis of equality. Pressure for the Narragansets and allied Niantics to conform to English ways led to mobilization for war in 1654, with Major Simon Willard in command of United Colony forces. Sachem Ninigret was not found and the forces returned. Willard was later called upon to protect Weshakim people who were raided by Mohegan sachem Uncas who claimed them as subjects. 39

The Nashoba people feared raids from Mohegans as well as Narragansets, and they remained terrorized by the possibility of Mohawk attack. Exposed on all sides, the Christian Indians requested guns to defend themselves and raid when necessary. They were finally allowed to have guns and powder and learn the skills of metallurgy needed to prepare shot. Quick to learn and adaptable in nature, they also applied the new skills to making buttons and brooches.

Two button molds (53, 54) which are among the few probable artifacts of the Praying Indians we have today, reveal much about the double world in which they lived. One found in Natick contains a mold for a turtle, traditional symbol of old ways. The other from Concord (now Lincoln) has molds for buttons and a pin, and on the opposite side portrays a person in an English coat with buttons prominently displayed, showing Indians how to wear buttons in their new world.

By 1660 Tahattawan was dead, and his son John Tahattawan had become leader of Nashoba. The father had traded Musketaquid to the Concord people, and now the English had granted the son and his people four miles square with bounds just like the English. Alongside traditional corn, the Nashoba people planted English fruit trees. They still hunted game and used weirs to catch alewife and eels, but now cows and pigs provided meat as well, necessitating fencing to protect their crops. They cut their hair and those who could afford them, wore English-traded coats. However, English clothing wore out quickly so skins were still needed.

John Tahattawan and his people prayed and sang hymns, but the door of Puritanism became increasingly narrow, and few of them were admitted as members. They
read from the Bible and Indian Primer which Eliot translated but old stories like the turtle and creation still had appeal. Nashoba was two worlds - the world of the turtle and the world of the Puritan frock coat.

Epilogue

The story of Concord and Musketaquid peoples does not end in 1660. Mohawk attacks, the King Philip War and other disasters followed for the Musketaquid natives whose muted voices can only be heard by reading between the lines. In spite of all, their culture survived and endures in the modern world. Our appreciation for the vigor and perseverance of Concord's founding generation, and the town's later successes, need not be diminished by a new respect for the experiences of the native population and their continuing contributions.

Barbara Robinson
Concord, MA
1985

Footnotes

9. Wood (1898), 27-8, 94.
13. Willard (1858), Shattuck (1835).
15. Keelher (1883).
17. Walcott (1885), 17.
18. Johnson (1910), 112-5.
20. Middlesex Registry of Deeds (1684), Lib 9, 100-1.
22. Shattuck (1835), Walcott (1885), Wheeler (1967).
33. Willard (1858), 326-7, Shurtleff (1833), Vol III, 430.
34. Middlesex Registry of Deeds, Probate records, (1653), (Flint will, inventory), Concord Public Library, safe, (1659), (Bulkeley will).
36. Shepard (1834), IV, 3rd Ser., 38-41.
Illustrations
Pre-Contact

1/Fluted point
Paleoindian; Dakins Farm, Concord; stone: red rhyolite; L. 4.3 cm.; W. 2.3 cm.
Concord Free Public Library Adams Tolman Collection #2249

All stone points more than approximately 1500 years old are spearpoints. This type of point is the earliest kind, 10,000 to 12,000 years old.

2/Fluted point
Probably Paleoindian; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: black porphyritic; L. 4 cm.; W. 2.6 cm.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

3/Eel -headed pestle
Late Archaic; probably from Concord; stone: grey-green argillitic or metamorphic; L. 22.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

Eel identification by Slow Turtle, Wampanoag Medicine Man.
4A/ Plummet (sinker)
Archaic and Woodland; Plains, Concord; stone: grey-brown porphyritic; L. 4.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

4B/ Plummet (sinker)
Archaic and Woodland; Nashawtuck Hill, Concord; stone: grey porphyritic; L. 10.5 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

4C/ Plummet (sinker)
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey-green porphyritic; L. 7.4 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.100.

4D/ Plummet (sinker)
Archaic and Woodland; Clam Shell Bluff, Concord; stone: grey porphyritic; L. 5.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #18.21.

Plummets weighted fishing lines or nets.

5A/ Net or line weight
Archaic and Woodland; Great Fields, Concord; pebble: buff porphyritic; L. 5.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #16.3.

5B/ Net or line weight
Archaic and Woodland; Great Fields, Concord; pebble: grey-green porphyritic; L. 9.4 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #16.5.
6A/ Celt (axe)
Archaic or Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: brown banded igneous; L. 13.6 cm.; wear polish suggests use as a skin-working tool (scraper). Charles W. Dee Collection.

6B/ Celt (axe)
Late Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey igneous; L. 9.2 cm.; wear polish suggests use as a wood-working tool (adze). Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection.
#M.23.75.97.

Although celts are normally considered to be axes because of their shape, wear patterns can indicate other uses.

7A-C/ Artifacts of Onondaga chert
Archaic and Woodland;
A. Scraper
Baird Farm, Concord; L. 8.5 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum. #A.2048d.

B. Knife
Pail Factory, Concord; L. 6.3 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

C. Drill
Clam Shell Bluff, Concord; L. 4.2 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection.
#19.MD.116

This chert was traded or brought to Concord from New York State in the pre-contact period.
8/Celt (axe)
Late Archaic; Egg Rock, Concord; stone: brown metamorphic;
L. 14.8 cm.; high polish probably from use as a skin-working tool
(scraper).
Concord Antiquarian Museum. #A.2174.

9/Legend of the Crow
Drawing by Little Turtle, Chaubunagungamaug
Nipmuck medicine man.

In the Nipmuck legend, the Crow drops the seeds of corn, beans, and squash into a man’s hand. In a seventeenth century Narragansett version quoted by Roger Williams, “the Crow brought them at first an Indian Graine of Corne in one Eare, and an Indian or French Beane in another, from the Great God Kautantouwits field in the Southwest from whence they hold came all their Corne and Beanes” (Williams 1936; p. 89).
10/ Hoe blade
Late Woodland; Heards Pond, Wayland; stone: grey igneous; L. 18.1 cm., H. 15 cm.; no evidence of wear to indicate use as a hoe. Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.89.30.

11A/ Pestle
Archaic and Woodland; probably from Concord; stone: black igneous; L. 53 cm.; this is the longest pestle in the museum's collections. Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection.

11B/ Pestle
Archaic and Woodland; Hartwell Farm, Concord; stone: brown-grey porphyritic; L. 28 cm. Concord Antiquarian Museum.

Pestles were used for grinding nuts and wild seeds for thousands of years before corn was introduced in 1000 A.D.

12/ Platform pipe
Woodland; Old Manse, Concord; soapstone; L. 3.6 cm.; both ends of the platform and the bowl are broken; polished. Concord Free Public Library, Adams Tolman Collection. #854.
13/The Creation of the World: Turtle Island
Drawing by Little Turtle, Chaubunagungamaug Nipmuck medicine man.

This legend is widespread among North American Indian nations, and occurs in many versions. An Algonquian version from Cape Cod has been published (Reynard 1934; p. 24).

14/Miniature pot
Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; clay; H. 1.6 cm., W. 2.3 cm.; undecorated.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

15/Stone bowl fragment
Late Archaic; probably from Concord; soapstone; H. 14 cm.; a lug projects from the side as a handle.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.
16A/ Ulu fragment (knife)
Late Archaic; Clam Shell Bluff, Concord; black slate; L. 5.7 cm.; comb back, ground surface.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection.
#M.23.18.3.

16B/ Ulu fragment (knife)
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; black slate; L. 4.6 cm.; comb back, ground surface.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

Then name ulu refers to an Inuit (Eskimo) woman's semi-lunar knife. It is assumed these knives had a similar function.

17C/ Knife
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: white quartz; L. 5.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection
#M.23.75.201.

17D/ Knife
Middle Woodland; probably from Concord; stone: black porphyritic; L. 12.5 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

17E/ Knife
Archaic and Woodland; Plains, Concord; stone: black igneous; L. 6.7 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

17F/ Knife
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: light grey igneous; L. 7 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection.
#M.23.75.216.

17G/ Knife
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey quartz; L. 7.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection.
#M.23.75.228.
18/ **Gouge**
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey banded igneous; L. 22.2 cm.; polish on back may indicate use as skin-working tool (flesher or scraper).
Charles W. Dee Collection.

This type of tool normally used for tasks such as hollowing out logs to make canoes, probably did not have a wooden handle. There is no sign of wear from hafting sinews.

19/ **Knobbed adze**
Late Archaic; probably from Concord; stone: grey igneous; L. 35 cm.; this is the largest adze in the museum’s collections; two knobs on the back were to keep hafting fibers from slipping.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

This type of tool was used for tasks such as roughing out the shape of a log canoe. Their frequency is rare in the Concord area compared to gouges.

20A/ **Gouge**
Late Archaic; Coughlin Farm, Concord; stone: grey igneous; L. 8.2 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum. #M.2162.

20B/ **Grooved gouge**
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: black igneous; L. 11.2 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.1.

20C/ **Knobbed gouge**
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: black igneous; L. 11.2 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.1.

20D/ **Ridged gouge**
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey igneous; L. 9.5 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.43.

Small gouges such as these were probably used for making wooden bowls and spoons. They would have had wooden handles.
21/Grooved axe
Late Archaic; Baird Farm, Concord; stone: grey-green porphyritic;
L. 13.5 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

22/Gouge
Middle Woodland; probably from Concord; stone: grey-green porphyritic;
L. 13.2 cm.; three-quarter groove for hafting.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.
23/Mortar with grinding stone
Archaic and Woodland;
Mortar: probably from Concord; stone: black igneous; L. 19 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.
Grinding stone: Great Meadows, Concord; stone: light brown porphyritic;
L. 8.7 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #75.44.

24A–E/ Biface blades
Late Archaic; E. Hayden Farm, Concord; stone: blue-grey porphyritic;
A’s:L. 7.3 cm., B’s:L. 11 cm., C’s:L. 7.7 cm., D’s:L. 10 cm., E’s:L. 10.6 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

Probably found together in a craftsman’s hoard. The skill in making such blades cannot now be matched. Their function is unknown.

25/Large slate blade
Probably Late Archaic; Foss Farm, Concord; stone grey-patinated black slate; L. 22.3 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

Excavated during the digging of a drainage ditch, this is a highly unusual artifact to be found in Massachusetts. Its closest parallels are in Maine, although a similar blade was found in Essex County (B. L. Smith 1948; pp. 2-4).
26A/ Winged spearthrower weight (banner stone)
Middle and Late Archaic; Clam Shell Bluff, Concord; stone: grey-green banded igneous;
L. 9.8 cm.; ground surface with some polish.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

26B/ Ovoid spearthrower weight (banner stone)
Middle and Late Archaic; probably from Hartwell Farm, Concord; stone: grey igneous;
L. 4.9 cm.; ground surface and flattened on one side with vertical incision.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

26C/ Winged spearthrower weight (banner stone)
Middle and Late Archaic; George Keyes Farm, Concord; stone grey igneous; L. 8 cm.; unfinished with a pecked surface and hole partially drilled from each side.
Concord Antiquarian Museum. #A.2176.

A pecked surface was produced by hitting the artifact with another harder stone (hammerstone) to crush the surface until the desired shape was achieved. Wetting the surface assisted the process. The artifact might have been roughly shaped first by the removal of flakes. Grinding and polishing was the last stage for which a stone, sand and water, were required.

27/ Grooved club head
Woodland; Hadleigh Farm, Concord; stone: brown argillitic;
L. 10.4 cm.; ground surface, wear polish in groove.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

28/ Club with grooved-stone head
Modern; Webster, Massachusetts; pine handle;
L. 54 cm.
Made by Arrowmaker, Chaubunagungamaug Band, Nipmuck Indians.
29A/ Pendant
Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey-green slate;
L. 4 cm.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

29B/ Pendant fragment
Woodland; probably from Concord; stone: grey-green slate;
L. 7 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

29C/ Pendant fragment
Woodland; Dakins Farm, Concord; stone: grey-green slate;
L. 5.2 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.1.8.

Irregularity of drill holes suggests a hand drill.

30A/ Ovoid scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Hosmer’s Rocks, Concord; stone: grey igneous;
L. 6.2 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.68.16.

30B/ Ovoid scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Hosmer’s Rocks, Concord; stone: dark grey igneous; L. 8.3 cm.; primary flake surface on obverse.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.68.69.

30C/ Ovoid scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Hosmer’s Rocks, Concord; stone: black porphyritic; L. 4.9 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.68.10.

30D/ Ovoid scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: black porphyritic; L. 2.8 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #75-48.

Hand-held or set into a wooden handle, these tools were used to clean fat and hair from skins.
31A/ Teardrop scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: black porphyritic; L. 4.5 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.176.

31B/ Teardrop scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey quartz; L. 6 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.217.

31C/ Teardrop scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Hosmer's Rocks, Concord; stone: dark-grey igneous; L. 11 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.68.6.

31D/ Teardrop scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Plains, Concord; stone: grey igneous; L. 2.9 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum.

31E/ Teardrop scraper
Archaic and Woodland; Hosmer's Rocks, Concord; stone: pink rhyolite; L. 4.1 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.68.34.

Hand-held or set into a wooden handle, these tools were used to remove fat and hair from skins.

32A/ Drill or awl
Middle Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey metamorphic; L. 6.4 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #75.14.

32B/ Drill or awl
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: grey-green porphyritic; L. 5.9 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.142D.

32C/ Drill or awl
Late Archaic; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: purple-grey porphyritic; L. 7 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum, Benjamin L. Smith Collection. #M.23.75.231.

32D/ Drill or awl
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: black igneous; L. 6.3 cm.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

32E/ Drill or awl
Archaic and Woodland; Clam Shell Bluff, Concord; stone: Onondaga chert; L. 4.2 cm.

32F/Drill or awl
Archaic and Woodland; Great Meadows, Concord; stone: yellow chert; L. 3 cm.
Charles W. Dee Collection.

These tools were used as awls to perforate skins or to drill stone with sand as an abrasive. As drills they may have been attached to wooden shafts for hand-rotation, or rotated by bow in the Woodland period.
Contact

33/Engraving
"Englishmen giving Indians beads and knives"
From T. deBry, America, Part XIII, 1634, 7
Reprinted in The Discovery of America (1971)

34/Trade Beads
Contact Period; Revere, MA; European glass beads
White and blue globular beads, restrung
Diameter. 8 cm.
Peabody Museum of Salem, #E52,851
Collected by N. Vickary, late 19th c.

Before European contact, native peoples were already making ornaments and tools of copper. The copper source was probably the Great Lakes area, but some outcrops were carried by the glacier south and east of that region. Evidence of widespread distribution of native copper suggests an active intertribal trade network. Native copper was worked through a process of hammering and annealing, cutting with a sharp stone like flint, and polishing with an abrader.

Early European explorers and traders noted the native preference for this raw material (Howe, 1943; Brereton, 1966). From 1500-1600 sheet copper and brass, especially in the form of kettles, were brought in by fishermen and traders to exchange for furs. The natives now had an easier way to obtain this resource and could adapt old metallurgical skills to cutting and reshaping copper and brass kettles. Reworked objects included: knives, spoons, tubular beads as belts or breastplates, round beads, bracelets, rings, combs, pendants and bells. From roughly 1600 on there was less modification of kettles and more acceptance of them as utilitarian items until they displaced native ceramic pots for cooking. (Willoughby, 1935; Gibson, ed., 1980).

35/Copper Pendant, Rolled Copper Beads
Contact Period; Ipswich, MA; European sheet copper
Beads rolled over native cord (hemp?)
Pendant L. 2.5 cm.; Beads L. 12 cm & 4 cm.
Peabody Museum of Salem, #E 52,821, E 52,822
Collected by J. S. Woodbury, 1887
36/Wampum Collar

Late 17th c., Algonquian or Iroquoian; Old Town, ME: purple and white shell beads, with cord
L. 55 cm. (wampum section 23 cm.)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University, #96-22-10/48239.
Purchased of Penobscot girl by C.C. Willoughby, 1896.
Photo: Hillel Burger, #N31087.

In prehistoric times small quantities of white tubular and discoidal shell beads were manufactured. Difficult to make and of great value, they were owned by sachems, powwows and other important leaders. In the 1620's as European metal drills were introduced, tubular shell beads were produced in quantity for trade currency. Production of discoidal beads increased but remained associated with ceremonial and sacred purposes.

‘Wampum’, in Algonquian, means white shell, ‘sucahock’, black. The Dutch and English used the term wampum or wampumpeage to cover both black and white tubular beads, usually strung alternately and counted in fathoms. Each bead was approximately ¼” long and 1/8” diameter; the rarer black (purple) was worth two of the white. In Roger Williams’ time, 360 white beads made a fathom which equalled 5 shillings. When the value of beaver dropped in England, the number of required beads changed, and natives thought they were being cheated. Later it was recorded a fathom contained six feet of wampum beads.

The white beads were originally made of conch and whelk, later small periwinkle and quahog were added. The black was made from the quahog for tubular shape and the mussel for discoidal. The shell was ground and smoothed to get the desired outer shape, then the center was drilled. A stone drill or implement dipped in sand was the tool used before a metal awl or bow drill with a nail was introduced. Sometimes a grooved grindstone helped to round and polish the edges.
37/Wampum Belt
Late 17th-mid 18th c., probably Iroquois; purple and white shell beads, with leather (hemp?) cord
L. 75 cm. without fringe
Peabody Museum of Salem, #39,383.

As quantities of shell beads spread throughout native society, intricate patterns of ornamentation began to appear. Roger Williams spoke of the Indians "hanging strings of money about their necks and wrists..." A 5" thick girdle or belt might be worth ten pounds. Williams also noted the princes-wore "rich caps and aprons or collars of these beads curiously strung into many forms and figures, their black and white finely mixt together." The Penobscot, noted for their use of wampum in ceremonies, made some of the finest belts and collars still found today.

Wampum belts had more than ornamental or sacred use. Woven symbols could be used for carrying messages and securing treaties between tribes. The Iroquois were known for intricate workmanship of wampum belts and for communicating among their five nations, other tribes and Europeans. The stories told by the belts were passed on through generations as part of the tribal history, but the story of the wampum belt above is not known today.

Of the thousands and thousands of wampum beads manufactured between 1627-1660, when the fur-wampum trade was at its peak, relatively few are accounted for today. The English collected untold fathoms as tribute following the Pequot War and other agreements with the natives, and Simon Willard was called upon to secure these beads for the Colony treasury. (Willoughby, 1935; Williams 1936; Wilbur 1978; Gibson ed. 1980.)
Details about the author are not known, but it is generally agreed that he first settled in the Saugus (Lynn) area about 1629. His book and map bear out his familiarity with the landscape and natives of that region, and map errors show he was not as clear about the geography to the south and west. The book’s lively account of early settlers’ life was widely read in England and encouraged further settlement of the new Bay Colony. The map, the first originating in the Colony, shows the widespread development of towns along the coast on Indian lands and the few Indian villages remaining there. It was also the first to show inland areas, and is the only known map that names Musketaquid as an Indian village.

The author was not the same William Wood, Thomas Flint’s uncle, who settled in Concord in 1636. Rather, he probably returned to Lynn after the book’s second printing in 1635 and then moved on to settle Sandwich. (Museum of Fine Arts, 1982; Benes, 1981; Wood, 1915.)
40/Iron Hatchet
17th-18th c.; West bank Sudbury River; European iron
Tomahawk variety, with hammer poll, elliptical eye. Probably first
intended as axe, used later as weapon
L. 13.2 cm.
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard
University, #78-11-10/14118.
Gift of Reuben Smith, Sudbury, MA, 1878.
Photo: Hillel Burger, #N31070

41/Wampum Beads
17th-19th c.; Algonquian or Iroquoian; string of purple and white
shell beads (wampumpeague)
String fits description of item in Lewis and Clark collection of wampum
beads from different Indian nations; from Harmon Chambers catalog
dealing with the Peale Museum, Philadelphia, in 1858
L. 137 cm.
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University,
#99-12-10/53013
Gift of heirs of David Kimball, 1899
Photo: Hillel Burger, #31066

42/Hoe
19th c. reproduction of 17th c. form; England; iron with wooden handle
L. 109 cm. with handle
Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth

Native peoples of the present, as keepers of their ancestors' heritage, feel strongly that grave goods should not be used in public displays because they are sacred objects. We have respected and honored their wishes not to use known grave goods in this exhibit.

During a search for examples of Concord deed items given to Musketaquid natives, it became clear that almost all Contact period artifacts came from Indian graves. Contact sites are poorly understood, and it is usually the European objects found in association with other grave goods that help to date the site. Today archaeologists are trying to better understand why so few Contact sites have been identified from a time of documented population density.

Some of the more durable deed items, such as hatchets, hoes and wampum, have been found in non-grave settings, but the only cloth located from graves survived because it adhered to metal objects. The cloth most desired by natives was a coarse wool that was used as a mantle during the day and blanket at night, as skins were used. The fitted clothing that Wibbacowet received was a symbol of status usually given as a reward for service or promise of friendship. Even then they were perishable and had to be replaced frequently. Squaw Sachem was promised coats from Cambridge on an annual basis as part of an agreement for lands relinquished. (Gibson, ed. 1980; Gookin, 1972a; Shurtleff, 1835.)
The first book of sermons written in America was by Concord's first minister. Although no other Bulkeley book was published, his propensity for writing is revealed in reports, petitions and letters. He kept up a long-time correspondence with John Cotton, minister of Boston, who served as sounding board and mentor on theological questions. Extant letters to ministers Thomas Shepard of Cambridge and George Phillips of Watertown show him to be strict and persuasive in religious matters. Teacher as well as minister, he set a precedent for catechizing children in the congregation. The last document he wrote, his will, can be read as biography. It contains his longings, concerns for the congregation and remorse over his dwindling estate caused by sacrifices for the town. Yet his inventory also reveals a large library left to Harvard College and to individuals; a sizeable amount of personal and real estate; and interest in several economic ventures. (Concord Free Public Library-will; Shattuck, 1835; Walcott, 1885; Kochler, 1983; Mass. Archives)
These two maps give a sense of the inexact bounds of the early “frontier” towns and Praying Towns, and why boundary disputes became common. Chelmsford’s map may be the earliest town plan on record. Sherman, Willard and Johnson were appointed in 1653 to lay out Chelmsford and adjacent Pawtucket lands for the Indians (Wamesit). Sherman probably served as mapper. Surveyor Willard and Johnson were already involved in settling Chelmsford with people from Concord and Woburn and in trading with the Indians at Wamesit. Controversies over the Chelmsford bounds with Wamesit on the northeast and with Nashoba on the southwest continued for years.

Jonathan Danforth served as more than mapper and surveyor. He assisted Willard and Johnson in establishing and surveying Billerica in 1656, becoming its leading citizen. Next he surveyed Groton in 1668. His map of Nashoba of 1686 was done for Groton clients Lawrence and Robbins, as well as for Peter Bulkeley esq. and Thomas Henchmen who acquired the “Indian part” in the name of Concord and Chelmsford people. Nashoba plantation, incorporated as a Praying town in 1654, was forcibly abandoned during King Philip’s war. The natives were removed first to Concord, then to Deer Island for “safekeeping”, and were not allowed to return after the war. The divided up land eventually became the separate town of Littleton.
47/ Rapier with an Early form of ‘Basket Hilt’
Basket hilt (damaged) ca. 1595-1640, English or Dutch; Blade ca. 1600-50, German; steel blade; iron hilt, incised and punched, wire-wrapped wooden grip.
L. 112.2 cm.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, #3273
Photo: Donald Eaton

Although fashioned with sharpened edge, the blade of this sword is of stiff, diamond section, and designed primarily for thrusting. Often referred to as ‘tucks,’ rapiers were among the “piercing weapons” called for by Rev. John Cotton, and of the type Simon Willard might have carried as Captain of the Concord militia.

The New Englanders do not appear to have established any sword manufactory of note. The few weapons extant of proven colonial provenance, such as the rapiers preserved at Plymouth, MA. and New London, CT., have German blades mounted into English hilts.

Cheaper forms of ‘tucks’ were issued to pikemen and musketeers in both Europe and New England. Many of these weapons were of such inferior quality that they were virtually useless as weapons.

Information provided by Walter J. Karcheski, Jr., Curator of Arms and Armor, Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, MA.

46/ Map of Eastern Massachusetts, 1660
Reconstruction, 1985, by Jeanne Abboud, Concord.
17th century spellings after Gookin.
48/Bow
20th c. reproduction of "Sudbury Bow" of 1660, Sudbury, MA; hickory, waxed bowstring
L. 165 cm.
Peabody Museum of Salem, #E 31,693
Gift of Rudolph C. Dick, 1954

The Sudbury Bow, the only surviving 17th c. Algonquian bow, belongs to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and is now on display at Plimoth Plantation. The original label reads: "This bow was taken from an Indian in Sudbury, Massachusetts in the year 1660, by William Goodnough, who shot the Indian while ransacking his house for plunder." The reproduction is as exact a duplicate as possible, made by F. A. Swenson of Swampscott. It is a "long bow", faired slightly on either side of the center.

49/Wooden Spoon
20th c. reproduction of 17th c. form, Nipmuck Indians, Webster, MA; wood
L. 19.3 cm.
Made by Arrowmaker
Chaununagungamaug Band, Nipmuck Indians

Wood was the most common raw material for native tools, but few artifacts have survived in the acidic New England soils. Aside from bows, arrows and shafts for stone and bone tools, wood was hollowed out for mortars and canoes and carved into a variety of utensils. Wooden bowls, plates, cups and spoons were made from burls or knots of trees, especially maple. Clubs were carved from roots. A spoon of the type carved by Arrowmaker has a bowl charred before hollowing out, in the same manner as mortars and canoes, and an ornamental carved handle of symbolic significance. This tradition continued in spite of the adoption of European metal spoons. (Wilbur, 1978; Willoughby, 1935).

50/Latten Spoon
Early 17th c.; England; tinned brass
L. 15 cm.
Concord Antiquarian Museum #H 1501
Gift of Russell H. Kettell

Early 17th c. Indian grave sites contain spoons hammered into shape by natives from sheet metal, usually brass. Their elongated bowls and wide, flat handles, sometimes with forked ends, reflect native traditional wooden forms. European spoons of very different style made of thin sheet metal, often tin or brass washed with tin, appear in later graves as adopted tools. A particular style with a bifurcated end was manufactured for native trade, blending European and native styles (Museum of Fine Arts, 1982; Gibson, ed. 1980).
51/Face Effigy Pendant
Late Woodland; Ripley Hill, Concord; soapstone
L. 4.1 cm.
Traces of white pigment on eye sockets
Groove around edge to hold string; polished.
Concord Free Public Library, Adams Tolman Collection, #676

The exact use and meaning of effigies is uncertain, but they appear to have ritual and symbolic value. Stone carved faces as pendants could have been worn by powwows in ceremonies for healing or mourning as symbols of "manitous" or spirits. Powwows were believed to have power to intercede on behalf of others in the spirit world.

Men considered the growing and smoking of tobacco sacred. The tradition of sending smoke upward to the world of the Great Spirit continued even after European acculturation brought major changes to other aspects of society. Christian Indians were prohibited from many of their ceremonies, but Europeans may have considered pipe smoking of social significance only, as it was also offered visitors or strangers as a sign of welcome. European pipes were introduced and their styles of smaller, upright bowls were copied and metal drills were used. Native pipes were preferred for religious purposes and may have played a role in the continuation of native symbolism and cultural resistance. (Russell, 1980; William A. Turnbaugh, Man in the Northeast, #11, 1976; Simmons, 1970)

52/Pipe
Probably Contact Period; Pepperell, MA; soapstone
L. 5.3 cm.; height of bowl 4.7 cm.
Charles W. Dee Collection
53/Button Mold
17th c.; Natick; soapstone
L. 6.3 cm.
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Cambridge,
Received from American Antiquarian Society, 1910
#10-47-10/79953
Photo: Hillel Burger, #N 30176

Obverse

Reverse

54/Button Mold
17th c.; Lincoln, MA; silstone
L. 9 cm.
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard
University #24-7-10/94279
Gift of James D. Baker, 1924
Illustrated by Lisa Anderson
Copyright permission Russell Barber

Button molds are associated with native use and manufacture, but hard data and historical references are lacking. Willoughby claimed they were frequent in local Indian collections. In general button molds are made of local materials, often steatite and slate, and have been found in areas natives inhabited. Some were found in native graves along with buttons. Button molds are not listed in colonists’ inventories, but it cannot be said they did not make them in America.

Native ability to cast European metal began in the first half of the 17th c. when pipe parts were made from sheet metal. The ban on use of European weapons was effective, however, in keeping natives from casting lead bullets in molds. When this technique was finally learned in mid century by Christian Indians, buttons, brooches and buckles began to be made.

The turtle mold from Natick is assumed to have been used by Christian Indians there. For the traditional turtle motif to be carved at a time of missionary indoctrination is a sign of cultural continuity and resistance to Puritan ways.

The button mold with the unique incised figure of a man in colonial clothing on the reverse side came from an area Concord’s Christian Indians could have inhabited. It is a matter of debate as to whether it is an Englishman or native in colonial garb, and who carved it. The prominent display of buttons on an English frock coat is most likely a model for native button wearers. (Willoughby, 1935; Barber, 1985; Ian W. Brown, James E. Bradley, Dena F. Dincauze, personal communication.)
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