

# THE BEGINNING OF WINCHESTER ON MASSACHUSETT LAND

By Ellen Knight<sup>1</sup>

## ENGLISH SETTLEMENT BEGINS

The land on which the town of Winchester was built was once populated by members of the Massachusetts tribe. The first Europeans to interact with the indigenous people in the New England area were some traders, trappers, fishermen, and explorers. But once the English merchant companies decided to establish permanent settlements in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, English Puritans who believed the land belonged to their king and held a charter from that king empowering them to colonize began arriving to establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

For a short time, natives and colonists shared the land. The two peoples were allies, perhaps uneasy and suspicious, but they were people who learned from and helped each other. There were kindnesses on both sides, but there were also animosities and acts of violence. Ultimately, since the English leaders wanted to take over the land, co-existence failed. Many sachems (the native leaders), including the chief of what became Winchester, deeded land to the Europeans and their people were forced to leave. Whether they understood the impact of their deeds or not, it is to the sachems of the Massachusetts Bay that Winchester owes its beginning as a colonized community and subsequent town.

### SECTIONS

*Settlement Begins*  
*Terminology*  
*The Sachem Nanepashemet*  
*Sagamore John -*  
*Wonohaquaham*  
*The Squaw Sachem*  
*Local Tradition*  
*Sagamore George -*  
*Wenepoykin*  
*Visits to Winchester*  
*Memorials & Relics*

### KEY EVENTS IN EARLY ENGLISH COLONIZATION

- 1620 *Pilgrims land at Plymouth*
- 1628 *Massachusetts Bay Colony begins, about 20,000 people migrate in the 1630s*
- 1630 *Gov. John Winthrop arrives with the charter*
- 1633 *Sagamores John and James die from smallpox*
- 1637-1639 *The Squaw Sachem grants lands in present-day Winchester to colonists*
- 1638 *Book of Possession records land grants in Woburn/Winchester area*
- 1650 *Squaw Sachem dies*
- 1675 *King Philip's War*

What follows is a review of written documentation pertinent to the cultural interaction and the land transfers as they pertain to Winchester, with a particular focus on the native leaders, the sachems, and how they have been remembered in local history.

### TERMINOLOGY

**Sachem or sagamore:** The sachems were the leaders or chiefs, termed kings and queens by Colonial writers (as in King Philip's War). According to Captain John Smith, who explored New England in 1614, the Massachusetts tribes called their kings "sachems" while the Penobscots (of Maine) used the term "sagamos."<sup>2</sup> Conversely, Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley of Roxbury wrote in 1631<sup>3</sup> that the kings in the Massachusetts Bay area were called sagamores but were called sachems southward (in Plymouth). Other Colonial writers and historians sometimes wrote of sagamores as subordinates to the sachems.

Modern opinion is that “sachem” and “sagamore” (the anglicized form of “sachimo” or “sagamo”) are dialectical variations of the same word. Both terms are found in connection with Winchester history. The three sons of the sachem Nanepashemet, each of whom had his own territory, have been titled “sagamores.” For example, Edward Johnson, a founder of Woburn, referred to “the three Kingdoms or Sagamore ships of the Mattachusets.”<sup>4</sup> Whatever called, tribal leadership was usually hereditary.

**Squaw Sachem/Saunskwa:** According to William Wood, writing in 1634, “if there be no sachem the queen rules.”<sup>5</sup> The term “squa sachem” was used in Colonial documents and 19<sup>th</sup>-century histories to designate the widow of a sachem. For some, the term “squaw” has a derogatory or demeaning connotation, though others deny any such sense. In the absence of any known given name, references herein to the widow of the sachem Nanepashemet correspond to the documents, the Squaw Sachem, the common English transliteration of Saunskwa.<sup>6</sup>

**Pawtuckett or Massachusetts:** The great sachem Nanepashemet of the Massachusetts Bay area has been identified in different histories as a Massachusetts, a Pawtuckett (Patucket), and a Naumkeag.<sup>7</sup> Some colonial sources, like Edward Winslow (1622), clearly identify his wife and sons as Massachusetts, and 20<sup>th</sup>-century writers leaned toward his identification as a Massachusetts. More recently he has been called a Patucket-Penacook.

Since the seventeenth century, the names and domains of the tribes of New England have been variously described. A frequently cited authority on tribal nations, Daniel Gookin (1792), identifies the major eastern nations in Massachusetts from north to south as the Pawtuckett (today called Pennacook), Massachusetts, Pawkunnawkutts (later called Wampanoag) around Plymouth, and the Nausett of Cape Cod.

While generally agreed that the Pawtuckett inhabited area north of the Massachusetts tribes, some historians have placed the dividing line around Cape Ann,<sup>8</sup> while others have put it at the Charles River, thus extending Pawtuckett territory south into the Woburn-Winchester area.<sup>9</sup>

Gookin wrote that the Massachusetts dwelled “principally about that place in Massachusetts bay, where the body of the English now dwell.” The present history also considers the area north of the Charles River<sup>10</sup> to be Massachusetts territory.

Tribal identities could easily have been misunderstood. They may have changed over time through marriages and re-alliances. Further, some writers may have been influenced by the later seventeenth-century practice of calling indigenous persons after the praying villages in which Christian converts were located. One such village at Lowell was used by both the Pawtuckett and Massachusetts. Though named Wamesit, it was sometimes referred to as Pawtuckett. Thus, a Massachusetts could also be called a Pawtuckett.<sup>11</sup>

**Aberginians:** William Wood identified a tribe called Aberginians,<sup>12</sup> and Capt. Edward Johnson<sup>13</sup> wrote in 1651 that the “Abarginny-men” consisted “of Mattachusets, Wippanaps and Tarratines.”<sup>14</sup> The town records of Charlestown, written by John Greene in 1664, also use the term “Aberginians,” specifically in relation to Nanepashemet’s family. However, Gookin mentions no Aberginians. Whether the term denoted a specific tribe or was a corruption of the word “aborigines”<sup>15</sup> or had any connection with name of the Aberjona River is unknown.<sup>16</sup>

## THE SACHEM NANEPASHEMET

Most of the sachems whose names were recorded are those whom the colonists knew personally. A few others were known only by reputation, including the first sachem of Winchester territory to be identified by name, Nanepashemet. He was sachem of a tribe which might once have been a real threat to the European colonization of Massachusetts, before the devastations which befell his people. After his death, it was with his widow, known to the English as the Squaw Sachem, and their eldest son that the Massachusetts Bay colonists interacted while taking the first steps that led to the settling of what became the town of Winchester.

The Puritan colonists never knew Nanepashemet because he died in 1619, well before the Massachusetts Bay Company began sending colonists to the area. His name, however, survives. It is usually translated as “New Moon.” (The name is memorialized as a crescent moon on the Winchester Country Club’s seal. The teepee placed on the same sign in reference to the land’s history should have been a wigwam.)



According to the traditional story, Nanepashemet was the chief sachem of the Massachusetts federation of tribes, and his domain extended roughly from Weymouth to Portsmouth, N.H., and as far west as Northfield. The northern boundary seems too far north, if Capt. Smith was right when he wrote that the Massachusetts tribes were located below Cape Ann and that the tribes of Cape Ann and Ipswich held the Penobscot leaders in Maine to be “the chiefe and greatest amongst them.” He did add, though, that the Massachusetts hunted as far north as Maine.<sup>17</sup>



Tribal identities and boundaries were somewhat fluid. At the end of Nanepashemet’s life, his family’s territory apparently stretched from the Charles River up to Salem, Lynn, and Marblehead and extended westerly out to Concord.

Before the colonists arrived, traders and explorers visited New England and had contact with the natives. Smith described “the country of the Massachusits” as “the Paradise of all those parts, for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groves, Mulberies, salvage Gardens, and good Harbours.”<sup>18</sup> He did not learn as much as he would have liked, he wrote, because of the presence of the French.

Both Smith and Samuel de Champlain, who explored New England in 1605 and 1606, reported that the natives were quite populous. But that situation changed during the last years of Nanepashemet, the only ones of which we have any knowledge.

Those years were a time of devastation for the natives of Massachusetts and other parts of New England. Within a few years of Smith’s report of seeing “great troupes” of people and a number of villages along the coast, war with the Tarratines of Maine<sup>19</sup> and a great pestilence wiped out masses of the natives in Massachusetts.<sup>20</sup>

On a later visit (1619-20) Smith wrote “where I had seene one hundred or two hundred Salvages, there is scarce ten to be found.”<sup>21</sup> Dudley wrote (in 1631) that Nanepashemet’s two eldest sons could not command above 30 or 40 men apiece. According to Daniel Gookin,<sup>22</sup> writing in 1674

(by which time other epidemics had struck), the Massachusetts tribes, which could formerly number 3,000 men plus women and children, then only numbered about 300 men, plus women and children.<sup>23</sup>



*Sign in Medford marking the site of the great sachem's final abode*

**Death:** According to the traditional story, Nanepashemet was living around Lynn before the Tarratines invaded. Under pressure from his enemies, he retreated to Medford, where he built a stockade on Rock Hill, where he fell to his enemies in 1619. The end of this story and the name of Nanepashemet have been preserved in an account attributed to the Pilgrim Edward Winslow, who along with Myles Standish and eight others of the Plymouth Colony, explored the Massachusetts Bay in September 1621, guided by Squanto and two others.

At the end of the month, they went ashore and met a sachem named Obbatinewat. "Though he lives in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, he is under Massasoit. He used us very kindly; he told us he durst not then remain in any settled place, for fear of the Tarratines.

Also the Squaw Sachem or Massachusetts' queen, was an enemy to him." He agreed to take them to her. Although that search was futile—"it seemed she was far from thence"—they did meet and converse with several natives.

"We went ashore," Winslow recorded, "all but two men, and marched in arms up in the country. Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepashemet their king, in his lifetime, had lived. His house was not like others; but a scaffold was largely built, with poles and planks, some six foot from the ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

"Not far from hence, in a bottom, we came to a fort built by their deceased king, the manner thus: There were poles some thirty or forty feet long stuck in the ground as thick as they could be set, one by another; and with them they enclosed a ring some forty or fifty feet over; a trench, breast-high, was digged on each side; one way there was to go into it with a bridge.

"In the midst of this palisado stood the frame of a house, wherein, being dead, he lay buried. About a mile from hence we came to such another, but seated on the top of a hill. Here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death."<sup>24</sup>

During the 19th century, at least three native burial places were discovered in Medford, two on Brooks family land and one on College Hill. One of these was subsequently dedicated to the memory of Nanepashemet's son, Sagamore John (who was actually buried in Charlestown or Chelsea), and "to the memory of the Indians who lie buried there," but the last resting place of Nanepashemet is uncertain.<sup>25</sup>

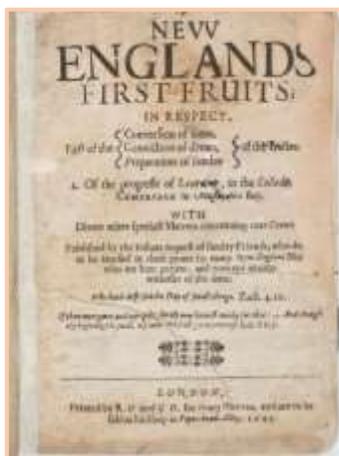


*Obbatinewat, represented in a bronze sculpture by Adelbert Ames Jr and used as a symbol of the Shawmut*



John, gave some good hopes, being always very courteous to them.” Writing in 1631, Thomas Dudley recorded, “Upon the river of Mistick is seated sagamore John and upon the river of Saugus sagamore James his brother, both so named by the English. The elder brother, John, is a handsome young man ... conversant with us, affecting English apparel and houses, and speaking well of our God.”<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, another colonial publication stated, “Sagamore John, prince of Massaquesets, was from our very first landing more courteous, ingenious, and to the English more loving then others of them; he desired to learne and speake our language, and loved to imitate us in our behaviour and apparrell, and began to hearken after our God, and his wayes, and would much commend English men, and their God, saying (Much good men, much good God) and being convinced that our condition and wayes were better farre then theirs, did resolve and promise to leave the Indians, and come live with us; but yet kept down by feare of the scoffes of the Indians, had not power to make good his purpose.”<sup>31</sup>



*Title page of a colonial treatise which mentions Sagamore John*

**Protection:** While the English might have been viewed as an invading threat as their numbers increased, they may also have been viewed as allies, offering protection from enemy tribes. The Massachusetts had not lost their terror of the Tarratine, who killed Wonohaquaham’s father and many of his kinsmen when he was a child and who continued to come down from Maine and attack other tribes.

In August of 1631, the Tarratines attacked natives at Ipswich while Wonohaquaham and Montowampate were on a visit there. Both brothers were wounded, and Montowampate’s wife, Wenuchus, was taken captive. After nearly two months, through the intercession of an English trader, she was restored to her people. (The wedding of Montowampate and Wenuchus is the subject of an 1848 poem, “The Bridal of Pennacook,” by John Greenleaf Whittier, who got the names of both bride and groom wrong.)

Considering that neither sagamore could command more than 30 or 40 men, according to Dudley, and that skirmishes continued between various tribes, the protection of the English was a valuable promise. That Wonohaquaham valued their friendship is evident from a 1630 report that he warned the English against a Narragansett plot.<sup>32</sup>

**Quarrels resolved:** Reportedly, Wonohaquaham lived amicably with the English, although there are indications of occasional friction. In 1631, for example, Wonohaquaham complained that two of his wigwams had been burned. Through the court, he received compensation. According to Winthrop’s journal, in March 1631 Wonohaquaham and Montowampate went to the governor asking assistance in recovering the value of 20 beaver skins taken by an Englishman. “The governour entertained them kindly” and gave them a letter of introduction to a lawyer in London. Alonzo Lewis, in his *History of Lynn*, wrote, “Tradition says, that Montowampate went to England, where he was treated with much respect as an Indian king, but, disliking the English delicacies, he hastened back to Saugus.”<sup>33</sup>

Another court complaint, in 1632, that Wonohaquaham’s corn had been destroyed by an

Englishman's cattle, was not satisfactorily answered. He was told that he himself was responsible for not having fenced in his fields. But he also got a hogshead of corn.

The story of Wonohaquaham ended only a few years after the arrival of the English. On Dec. 5, 1633, Gov. Winthrop's journal records, "John Sagamore died of the small pox, and almost all his people; (above 30 buried by Mr. Maverick of Winesemett in one day). The towns in the bay took away many of the children; but most of them died soon after. "James Sagamore of Saugus died also and most of his folks. John Sagamore desired to be brought among the English (so was) and promised (if he recovered) to live with the English and serve their God. He left one son, which he disposed to Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston, to be brought up by him."<sup>34</sup>

**Memorial:** In 1882, according to Charles Brooks' *History of Medford*, an "Indian burial site" was found on Brooks family land. "Under the direction of Mr. Francis Brooks, these relics of the Mystic Indians were carefully collected and re-buried; and in 1884, with characteristic reverence for the old traditions, he placed a monument of the spot, bearing the date-marks, 1630-1884, and with an inscription dedicating it to Sagamore John and to the memory of the Indians who lie buried there." However well intentioned, the monument probably does not mark the young sagamore's resting places. Since the Mr. Maverick who buried Wonohaquaham lived in Chelsea, it is more likely he was interred in that town.



*The Sagamore John memorial as drawn by William H.W. Bicknell as an illustration for Henry S. Chapman's History of Winchester.*

Winchester, Massachusetts

Wonohaquaham was survived by his mother, his youngest brother Wenepoykin, reportedly still a minor, and his sister Yawata. (His son presumably died.) His brother Montowampate (Sagamore James) died in 1633. Though he had married Wenuchus, daughter of Passaconaway,<sup>35</sup> in 1629,<sup>36</sup> he apparently did not leave any children, and his widow reportedly returned to her father's tribe. Yawata (named Abigail by the English) married Awansamug<sup>37</sup> whose land was in the area of Framingham and Sherburne. The history of the colonial settlement of Winchester thus continues with the Squaw Sachem, widow of Nanepashemet.

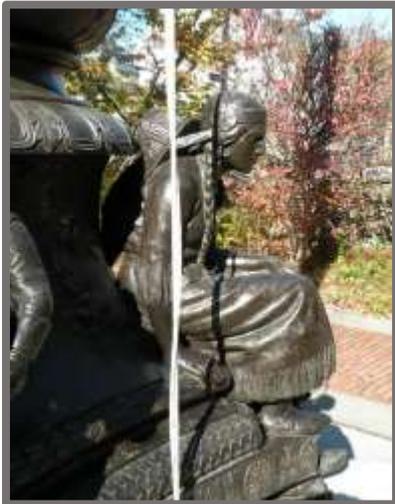
## THE SQUAW SACHEM

The Squaw Sachem or Saunkskwa who deeded the land which includes today's Winchester to the colonists saw enough troubles in her lifetime before the English came. She lived through fierce, repeated, and deadly attacks upon her people by their mortal enemies, the Tarratines of Maine, who, according to the traditional story, drove her and her four surviving children inland and killed her husband Nanepashemet. She survived a devastating plague that killed a horrifying number of her tribespeople. Some of the lesser leaders under Nanepashemet apparently formed new allegiances after his death. She led her people while tribal enmities and skirmishes continued.<sup>38</sup>

Then the English came. Her eldest son and other sachems



accepted the offers of friendship and the protection that alliances brought with them. But again misfortune struck when her two eldest sons and more of her people were struck down by smallpox. By the time the Squaw Sachem of the Massachusetts sold and gave her land to the English, the way had been prepared for the colonists. The more zealous Puritans called it Providence. Others would call it calamity. Either way, her people had been reduced to a fraction of their former numbers, were much weakened, and continued to be threatened by war and pestilence. It is not surprising that this chief would opt to share her land in peace.



*Sculpture by Cyrus E. Dallin representing the Squaw Sachem at the base of the flag pole next to the Town Hall in Arlington, Mass.*

**Queen of Mysticke:** Winchester’s view of the Squaw Sachem has essentially been a late 19<sup>th</sup>-century image, perpetuated in the town’s history by Henry S. Chapman, published in 1936.

In Winchester, this leader has been called “Queen of Mysticke” ever since Luther R. Symmes delivered a paper in 1884 to the Winchester Historical and Genealogical Society using that name, taken from one of her deeds.<sup>39</sup> But she ruled over a wider territory, including Salem, Concord, and other communities from Charlestown to Marblehead. Locally, she is most associated with Myopia Hill, because, while deeding other land now in Winchester to the English, she reserved the land west of the Mystic Lakes for herself and probably died there. There was also a tradition in the Symmes family, whose farm in the 17<sup>th</sup> century bounded the river and lake to the east, that “the land included in the Symmes farm was formerly the abode of a portion of the tribe of Indians called by the euphonious name of Aberginians. It is said that it contained twenty-seven wigwams.”<sup>40</sup>



*Jim Dobbins’ image of the native leader, while pretty, exemplifies 20<sup>th</sup> century misrepresentation and anglicization of native images.*

This leader’s own name has not come down to us, just her title from the written records, the Squaw Sachem. Reportedly, there were other Squaw Sachems known to the colonists: three in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, one other in Massachusetts. Wenuchus, daughter-in-law of the Squaw Sachem of Mysticke also assumed the title when her husband died.

Up to 1619, Nanepashemet had been sachem. At his death, his sons were too young to rule in his stead. His widow, therefore, became leader. After about a decade, however, the two eldest sons were old enough that the English recognized them as chiefs in Charlestown and Saugus. But they both died in 1633, leaving their lands to their younger brother, still a minor. Again there was no sachem. The settlers negotiated their deeds with the Squaw Sachem. In some of those documents, her name is joined with that of her second husband, Webcowit. According to the colonial writer, Thomas Lechford, “commonly when (the king) dies the Powahe (powwow) marries the Squa Sachem, that is, the queene.” Widowed in 1619, the Squaw Sachem married Webcowit sometime before 1635.

**Sale of land:** The Squaw Sachem began selling her lands to the colonists after her two eldest sons and a number of others among the Massachusett succumbed to smallpox. The colonists who had invaded her land were careful to record the land purchases. The deeds specify that the natives accepted the agreements and gave the English legal title to the land.



*“Purchase of Land from the Indians,” mural by Aiden Lasalle Ripley installed in 1934 at the Winchester Public Library, funded under the Arts Projects Division of the Public Works Administration*

Concord was sold in 1637, according to depositions taken in 1684, for “wampumpeage,” hatchets, hoes, knives, cotton cloth, and shirts, plus a new cotton suit, hat, linen band, shoes, stocking, and great coat for Webcowit.



*Copy of the deed to Jotham Gibbons*

Also in 1637, the Squaw Sachem and Webcowit signed a deed, to be effective after her death, giving the land west of the Mystic Ponds “as a small gift” to Jotham Gibbons, son of Edward Gibbons,<sup>41</sup> “to acknowledge their many kindnesses.” That year, they received from Edward Gibbons “36 shillings for land between the Charlestowne and Wenotomies River.” As explained in a later deed (1639), the Squaw Sachem reserved the Winchester land for her use during her lifetime “for the Indians to plant and hunt upon, and the weare<sup>42</sup> above the ponds, they also reserve for the Indians to fish at whiles the Squaw liveth.”

In 1638 Charlestown granted its citizens permission to settle land to the north (including Winchester). In April 1639 the Squaw Sachem and Webcowit sold them the land (except the Gibbons parcel). After her death, the deed said, more land “to neere Salem” was to go to men of Charlestown. For this they received 21 coats, 19 fathoms of wampum, and three bushels of corn.<sup>43</sup>

This same deed records that “wee Web-Cowett and Squa Sachem...acknowledge to have received in full satisfaction” the above-named compensation.<sup>44</sup> The wampum, in addition to being the form of currency used between the colonists and natives, was also a sign or seal, giving proof and solemnity to the agreement.

Today the selling prices may seem cheap. Yet there were other benefits from an alliance with a people who could and did assist the natives and who had established their military strength in

conflicts elsewhere. Additionally, the indigenous people received help and goods from the settlers. In May 1640, Cambridge was ordered to give the Squaw Sachem a coate every winter for life. In 1641, Cambridge was enjoined to give her 35 bushels of corn and four coates (for two years). In 1643, the court granted her gunpowder and shot and ordered “her piece to be mended.”

But, though there were advantages to being friends with the English, there were also disadvantages, for, in exchange for the privileges they offered, the English were gradually taking over the government, not only of their own people but of the natives as well. In 1644, the Squaw Sachem and four other sachems signed a treaty of submission, agreeing to abide by the government and jurisdiction of the English colony and promising willingness to be instructed in their religion.

In addition, as the number of the English colonists continued to grow, so did their desire for land. Where there appeared to be unlimited land, collectively the English began to push the natives aside. The 1639 deed even specified “all Indians to depart” following the death of the Squaw Sachem.



*Squaw Sachem Spring, photographed in 1901. It was possibly near here that the “Queen of Mysticke” died.*

**Death of the Squaw Sachem:** In Winchester territory, for perhaps 10 years, the area was shared by a few settlers, the Squaw Sachem, Webcowit, and perhaps some others. The Squaw Sachem died in 1650. Although stories have been written that, in the end, she was deaf and blind and died by drowning, there is no documentary evidence.<sup>45</sup> Her death date has been set at 1650 since, in that year, lawsuits over the land began. From then on, Winchester was English land. Indigenous groups passed through and camped temporarily, but they were not integrated into the growing community of settlers. After 1650, voluntarily or involuntarily, surviving Massachusetts tribal members relocated to other areas.

## **LOCAL TRADITION ABOUT THE SQUAW SACHEM**

A certain tradition about the Squaw Sachem has been passed on within the town for well over a century. Chief features, discussed below, are that the native leader was friendly with the colonists (and vice versa), the English acquisition of her land was legal and peaceful, the land west of Mystic Lake was the her final home, particularly linking her to Winchester, and her image to subsequent generations has been one of dignity and respect.

Locally, this era of colonial history was first written about by members of the Winchester Historical & Genealogical Society in the 1880s.<sup>46</sup> But the major source for local information about Winchester’s indigenous background has been Henry S. Chapman’s *History of Winchester*, ever since it was published in 1936.<sup>47</sup> Their view of the history, relying as it has on English writings, has been one-sided, a fact which affords a difference of opinion on its fairness and veracity. Provided below are some passages from Winchester histories which record a mix of facts,

opinions, and cultural attitudes. The intent is to show what was perpetuated, not necessarily what was.

**Friendly Sachem:** “It is pleasant to record the cordial relations that always existed between our forefathers and the gentle, friendly Squaw Sachem,” Chapman wrote.

One of the three deeds specific to Winchester land, executed in 1636, in fact specifies that she gave some of her land to Jotham Gibbons, son of Edward Gibbons, after “receiving many kindnesses of them and willing to acknowledge their many kindnesses by this small gift.”<sup>48</sup>

However, the 1639 deed by which she granted most of Winchester to Gov. Winthrop and other colonists, to dispose of as they wished, adds “and all Indians to depart.” The land henceforth was not to be shared by the alleged friends.

**Peaceful Land Transfer:** “If the tender consciences of the present Winchester landholders are troubled with the thought that these lands were stolen from the poor Indian before the town of Charlestown could thus bestow them,” Arthur E. Whitney wrote in 1885, “the history of Squa Sachem and her deeds of conveyance will satisfy them, doubtless, that these lands were duly conveyed, and the chain of title was as good as it could well be.”<sup>49</sup>

The transfer was, in fact, peaceful in that no one went to war over the land to acquire it. The purchases and gifts of land were indeed legal—according to English law. However, the question of whether the native leader understood the documents and the concept of selling land is unanswerable. Was she motivated by friendship, by the need to maintain an alliance to ensure her weakened people’s survival, by a realization that the English law was becoming established as the law of the land, or by some other reason? Her actual motives are unknown.

The land was exchanged for wampum, coats, and corn. Wampum was then the current form of currency. The coats were evidently desirable,<sup>50</sup> and corn was a necessity for survival. In 1890, Samuel S. McCall (later to become governor and to build a magnificent home on what used to be her land) praised her for not trading her land for trinkets and gewgaws but for “coats, corn, cotton and linen fabrics and such other articles as would contribute to the comfort of her people.”<sup>51</sup> In a later era, “tender consciences” acknowledging that the land acquisition was not technically a steal might still consider it a swindle.

**Final And Favorite Home:** “Her [Squaw Sachem’s] memory is especially worthy of perpetuation among Winchester folk, for her favorite place of residence, as we learn from many early sources, was on the western shore of Mystic Lake within the present limits of our town,” Chapman wrote.



*Another view of Squaw Sachem Brook,  
near Mystic Lake*

Since she was a leader over all the Massachusetts territory and camped in many of its areas, other towns can claim to be the home of the Squaw Sachem. But, according to Chapman, “Her own particular lands, which she reserved for herself when she deeded so much territory to the settlers of Charlestown, stretched all the way up and down the lake shore, but her wigwam stood oftenest in the land of the old Swan farm, now the

property of the Winchester Country Club, perhaps near the ever-running spring, which still bears the name of the Squaw Sachem Spring.”<sup>52</sup> According to a 19th-century source, through the early 1800s natives still made yearly visits to Squaw Sachem’s brook, where they would remain a few days.<sup>53</sup> It is also traditionally believed that this was probably the place where she died, creating a sense that her history is tied peculiarly to Winchester’s history.<sup>54</sup>

**An Exceptional Figure:** Early historians viewed the Squaw Sachem as a noble figure, remarkable among her people. Several colonial writings indicate a distaste, even contempt for the native culture. The image of the natives as a heathen, uncivilized people was important for the Massachusetts Bay Colony to pursue its economic, social, and religious goals. Puritans like Edward Johnson saw the plagues and wars which wiped out thousands of natives as acts of Providence preparing for “his people’s arrival.”<sup>55</sup> Not everyone was insensitive and arrogant, but those Puritans afflicted with a sense of entitlement viewed the natives either as savages to be swept aside or as lost souls to be won to the faith. The idea that the native society was of little consequence persisted for centuries.<sup>56</sup>

For example, in the 1880s, George Cooke of the Winchester Historical & Genealogical Society, who probably had no personal knowledge of the culture but trusted in the veracity of his sources without considering the belittling of the indigenous population as part of the colonial agenda to usurp possession of the land, evidenced no good opinion of the natives.<sup>57</sup> “Poor Lo!,”<sup>58</sup> he wrote, “has his poetic aspects and attitudes, and his claims upon those who have appropriated his forests, prairies, lakes, rivers, and hunting-grounds, indefeasible in the atmosphere of Christian charity and civilization. Yet his is no saintly race, and the term ‘savage’ ... came by no unnatural process to represent men, as well as wild beasts, characterized by cruelty, ferocity, brutality.”

Cooke related the only known incident of bloodshed on Winchester soil during the New England Indian Wars,<sup>59</sup> when, on the afternoon of April 10, 1676, while Samuel Richardson was in his field, his wife, young son, and infant child were murdered by warring natives. “The history of King Philip’s War abounds in incidents of equal barbarity,” he commented. “The fighting impulse, love of inflicting torture, and indolent habits of the males, scorning the labor imposed upon the females, are the traits out of which our estimates of the Indian character are chiefly to be formed. The exceptional lights in the dark picture are analogous to such as one sometimes notes in beasts of prey.”<sup>60</sup>

Nevertheless, Cooke granted that the Squaw Sachem had a personal character trait worth nothing, “supplying a hint of the virtue of our American Aborigines which sentimental philosophers have magnified, absurdly enough, still with much poetic effect. The grateful affection of the queen is expressed in that deed in a very impressive manner.”

While the image of the native inhabitant as a warrior, even a savage warrior, pervaded American culture, the image of the friendly queen became an enduring part of the Winchester tradition. A



*The first seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony featured the image of an indigenous man holding an arrow pointed down in a gesture of peace, with the words "Come over and help us," promoting an image of a needy people who would only benefit from the missionary and commercial efforts of European colonization.*

few years after Cooke's article appeared, during Winchester's celebration "250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first white settlement within the territory of Winchester" in 1890, McCall said, "Her deeds are the secure foundation of the title of every man who owns a home in this vicinity. On the whole, I know of no more attractive picture of that early time than of this good and, I dare say, beautiful queen; the last of no one knows how long a line of rulers."<sup>61</sup>

**The *History of Winchester View*:** Cooke's quibble with "sentimental philosophers" (quoted above) was evidently a reference to the Romantic 19th-century notion that, with the removal of the indigenous culture, something valuable had been lost.<sup>62</sup> While not nostalgic, when Chapman came to write his *History of Winchester*, he did so with a much tempered attitude compared to earlier writers, though later writers would certainly object, at the least, to his terminology.



*The faces of the Squaw Sachem and of the Sachem Nanepashemet were carved into opposite ends of a fireplace mantel in an Arlington Street home.*



"The Indians who dwelt hereabouts belonged to a tribe [which] seems to have been the head of a loose confederacy of wandering savages," Chapman wrote. He refrained from the Cooke style of denigrating the native character and culture. His narrative simply relates that the local "redskins" fell upon evil days, were slaughtered by the Tarratine and carried off by a mysterious pestilence, with the great sachem Nanepashemet killed during another Tarratine attack. With this background, Chapman then introduced the Squaw Sachem, who assumed leadership and retained her authority for another thirty years.

Chapman's Squaw Sachem was a noble figure, "a woman of parts and character," an able leader, gentle, and dignified. "The Squaw Sachem and her three sons were from the first friendly and hospitable to the white man; they deeded land generously to them, and often visited their growing villages at Charlestown and Lynn."<sup>63</sup> Commenting on how few of the Massachusett were left after King Philip's War, he wrote, "There is no little pathos in this ending, in obscurity and wretchedness, of the line of that dignified and attractive figure, the Squaw Sachem, who wished to be known as the 'friend of the white man.'"<sup>64</sup>

He did acknowledge that the friendship broke down, a quarter century following her death. Her youngest son "had reason to regret the generosity of his mother and brothers to the palefaces, for we find him again and again petitioning the General Court and bringing suits at law to get possession of certain lands in Saugus which he claimed should have come to him on his brother John's death. He never got any satisfaction, and that so far soured him toward the white men that he went on the warpath at the time of King Philip's War, was taken prisoner and sold into slavery in the West Indies."<sup>65</sup>

Although Chapman, unlike Cooke, did not stress the more arrogant and negative colonial impressions, his account still falls short of being a balanced one. English outrages, such as the cruel internment of peaceable natives on Deer Island during King Philip's War, are not mentioned. Although he noted that Sagamore George was sold into slavery, the extent of native enslavement was not addressed. Perhaps he was unaware, or perhaps it was because these events did not occur on Winchester soil. But they did involve colonists of Charlestown, such as Gov. Winthrop

and Edward Gibbons, two of the men named in Squaw Sachem's deeds, who kept native captives in their households.<sup>66</sup>

## WENEPOYKIN

As Chapman noted, the recorded history of the family of Nanepashemet after the death of the Squaw Sachem points up how cultural relations deteriorated.

Born about 1616, Wenepoykin, called Sagamore George by the English, was heir to his brothers' lands from Charlestown up to Salem, where he had his principal residence. Reverend John Higginson wrote that "to the best of my remembrance, when I came over with my father to this place, being then about 13 years old, there was a widow woman called Squaw Sachem who had three sons. Sagamore John kept at Mystic, Sagamore James at Saugus, and Sagamore George here at Naumkeke. Whether he was actual sachem here I cannot say, for he was about my age, and I think there was an older man, that was at least his guardian. But the Indian town of Wigwams was on the north side of the North River, not farre from Simondes, and the north and south side of that river was together called 'Naumkeke.'"<sup>67</sup>

Wenepoykin married Ahawayet, daughter of Poquanum of Nahant. Their family included a son and three daughters plus grandchildren.<sup>68</sup>

Wenepoykin had reason to dislike the English. His brothers had died from smallpox, which he may have associated with the coming of the English. His father-in-law was lynched by the English for a crime he did not commit. The English were taking all the tribal lands. His mother's lands were all English by 1650. Numerous quarrels arose between the English and the natives, and he himself had land disputes with the English. Some of these were fairly settled in favor of the indigenous people by the courts. Others, including appeals by Wenepoykin for compensation and justice, were not. More indigenous people were becoming disillusioned about the English and the hope that the English and natives could share the land in peace and friendship. Wenepoykin was one of those.

During King Philip's War, which began in 1675, Wenepoykin joined the Wampanoag sachem Metacom (King Philip) in his effort to oust the English. He was captured and sold into slavery but was rescued after eight years in Barbados through the efforts of John Eliot. According to a document in the Essex Registry of Deeds, "Sagamore George, when he come from Barbados, lived some time, and died at the house of James Rumneymarsh."

Rumneymarsh was the son of Yawata, who reportedly had accepted Christianity and moved to the praying village at Natick. After King Philip's War broke out, her family was loyal to the English. Rumneymarsh even helped the English as a spy.<sup>69</sup> Their loyalty, however, did not prevent an order, brought on by war hysteria, that they and other Massachusetts from the praying villages be interred on Deer Island for the duration of the war. Intended as protection and confinement, it was a misery from which more natives died.

Reportedly, Wenepoykin lived with his sister and nephew, who survived Deer Island, in Natick until he died in 1684. Afterwards, his widow and heirs deeded their territory in Marblehead, Lynn, and Salem to the settlers. As far as local historians were concerned, their subsequent history was not part of the history of Winchester.

## NATIVE VISITS TO WINCHESTER

After King Philip's War, the surviving natives apparently retreated though they did not disappear from view entirely. The last known indigenous person to reside in the area was Hannah Shiner who lived alone "in a hut by a spring upon the eastern margin of Turkey Swamp, where she made baskets and 'Indian trinkets' for sale, when not employed among the families in mending chair-bottoms, or other services." She was also remembered to have lived in an old house at the corner of Church and Bacon streets and to have been accompanied in her travels by a little dog. "She, too, had the habit of visiting the Squaw Sachem Brook."<sup>70</sup> According to Charles Brooks, she was "kind-hearted, a faithful friend, a sharp enemy, a judge of herbs, a weaver of baskets, and a lover of rum." In 1820 she fell from the bridge that crossed the Aberjona in the village center and drowned.



*The former  
Swan Farm is now the  
Winchester Country Club*

According to George Cooke (1885), "Traditions represent that the Indians continued to visit this region even after they were driven to distant parts. ... Stephen Swan (deceased in 1871, aged 86) frequently said to his children that his father (John Swan, born 1734) spoke of the yearly visits of the Indians to Squa Sachem's brook, where they would remain a few days. They had planted certain roots and herbs upon the banks of this stream, evidently for medicinal purposes. They often came to his house in a friendly manner. Also he relates that the Indians had the custom of passing up from the tide-water through the Mystic Ponds on to Horn Pond, where they encamped and remained during some part of the warm season. This custom was in fact continued to a comparatively recent date, even after the completion of the Middlesex Canal.

"Mrs. Cyrus Butters remembers, and many others may also remember, the Indians coming up through the Middlesex Canal, remaining at the 'Lock House' over night, moving their canoes, tents, and other baggage around the locks upon their backs."<sup>71</sup> In 1860, a report in the *Middlesex Journal* noted a small party which had encamped briefly upon the open area in front of the church. "They employ their time in the manufacture of baskets and other fancy articles, which they offer for sale to their visitors."<sup>72</sup>

Except for a few brief glimpses of travelers and reports of artifacts found in the area, recording the history of the indigenous people in the formative years of Woburn and Winchester essentially ended in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, sadly without fulfilling the optimism with which the story began.

## MEMORIALS

Formerly, the Squaw Sachem's memory was associated with two water features on Myopia Hill. For centuries, the stream which flows on Myopia Hill across the Country Club property was called the Squaw Sachem Brook, but it was renamed the Herbert Meyer Brook at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Also, it was traditionally thought that her wigwam was at Squaw Sachem Spring. In fact, Samuel Elder, one of the town's most eminent citizens of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and a resident of

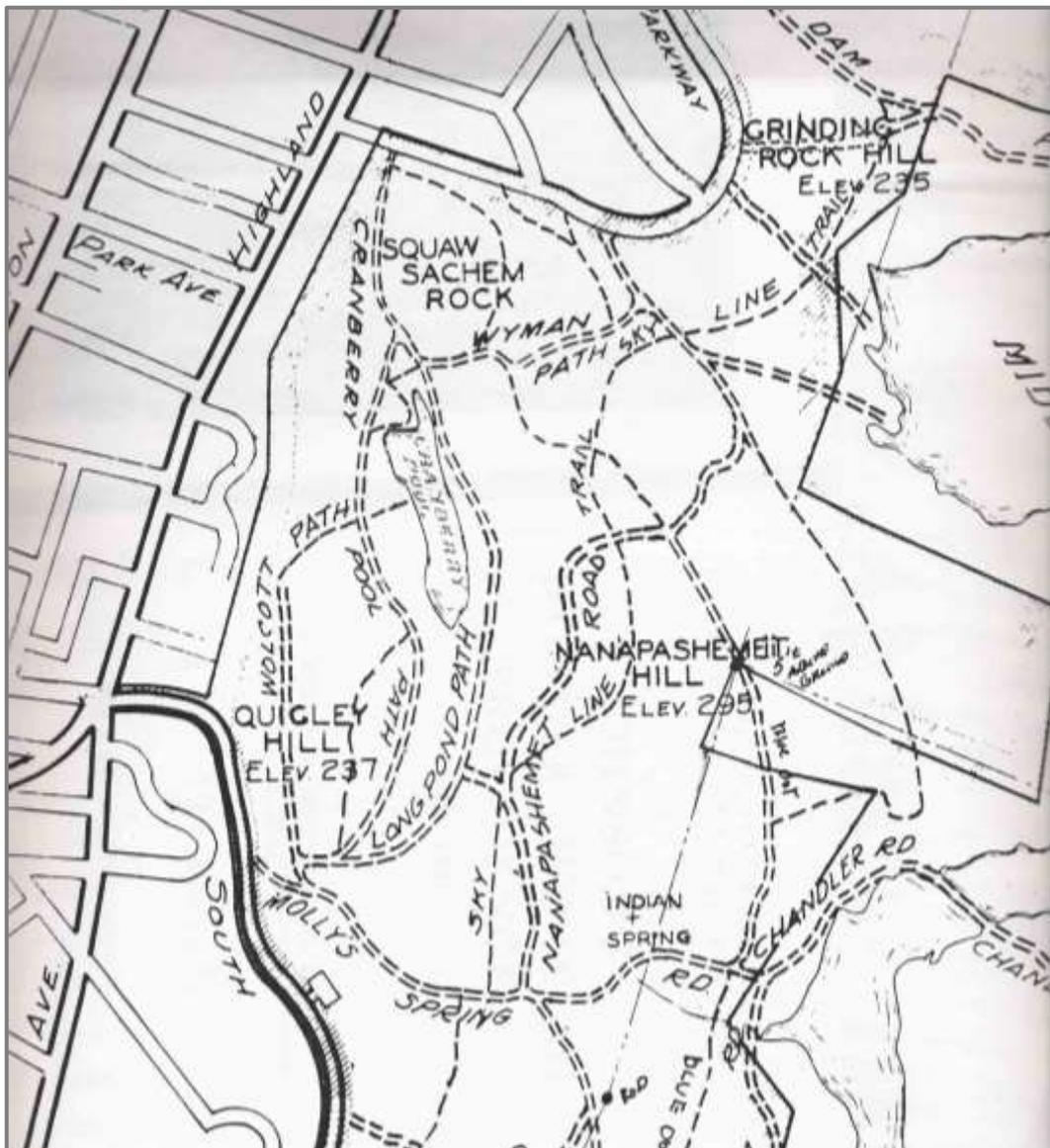
Myopia Hill, could locate the spot at the Country Club, saying it was pointed out to him by a former owner who inherited the information through six or seven generations of ancestors.<sup>73</sup>

In Chapman's time, this spring still flowed naturally on the land of John Abbot, whose home was on Arlington Street next to the club. But later the water was piped over to club land to emerge in a new artificial pool called John Abbott Spring. Thus the old names were not perpetuated but rather erased from the landscape.



*John Abbott Spring*

However, the names are still preserved at the Middlesex Fells, the best preserved part of the local landscape as the indigenous people knew it. Native names given to various features include as Nanepashemet Hill and Squaw Sachem Rock to the west of the Middle Reservoir.



- 
- <sup>1</sup> This article © 2019 is a revision of earlier articles by the author, Ellen Knight, published in the *Daily Times Chronicle* on Dec. 20-23, 1999. This revision supersedes all previous articles.
- <sup>2</sup> Captaine John Smith, *The Generall Histories of Virginia, New England and the Sumer Isles*, Vol. II, 1907 edition.
- <sup>3</sup> Letter from Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley to Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, March 1631, quoted in John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England*, Vol. I, 1850.
- <sup>4</sup> Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence 1628-1651*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, p. 41
- <sup>5</sup> Quoted in Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England*, 1980, p. 20.
- <sup>6</sup> Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: Remapping A New History of King Philip's War* (online). The spelling "squa" is found in the colonial documents and 19<sup>th</sup>-century histories, though "squaw" has become the common form.
- <sup>7</sup> The name Naumkeag is identified with Salem and Marblehead, which were within Nanepashemet's territory. According to Dudley, the Naumkeag were tributary to Chickataubut before 1630 and then to Nanepashemet's sons. Gookin, writing later, saw them mingled with the Pawtucket at Wamesit and considered them allied with tribes to the north.
- <sup>8</sup> Lemuel Shattuck's *A History of the Town of Concord* (1835) views the Charles as a division between the Wampanoag and the Massachusett. John Fogelberg's history of Burlington (1976) and others take that view. Less sure, Samuel Sewall's *History of Woburn* (1868) says the tribes north of the Charles were "perhaps Pawtucket Indians" or more probably Aberginians.
- <sup>9</sup> Alonzo Lewis, in his *History of Lynn* (1829) wrote that the tribes north of the Charles and their sachem Nanepashemet were Pawtucket. Other histories which followed suit include Richard Frothingham's *History of Charlestown* (1845), Mrs. E. Vale Smith's *History of Newburyport* (1854), and Charles Brooks' *History of Medford* (1855). Henry Chapman's *History of Winchester* (1936) did also, originally, but the second edition corrects Pawtucket to Massachusett (in a note).
- <sup>10</sup> After Nanepashemet's death, that river was, indeed, a tribal boundary. The southern tribes acknowledged Chickataubut as sachem. North of the river, Nanepashemet's heirs were sachems. North of them, Passaconaway, living in the Merrimack River valley, was the principal sachem of the Pawtucketts.
- <sup>11</sup> Another praying village inhabited by the Massachusett was at Natick.
- <sup>12</sup> William Wood, *New England Prospect*, 1634.
- <sup>13</sup> Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New England*, England, 1654; reprint edition, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Scriber's Sons, 1910.
- <sup>14</sup> Johnson, p. 41.
- <sup>15</sup> "Winchester historian George Cooke thought the word was simply a corruption of "aborigines." "Our Aborigines," *Winchester Record*, Vol. I #4, p. 265.
- <sup>16</sup> The meaning of "Aberjona" is also unknown.
- <sup>17</sup> Smith, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>18</sup> Smith, p. 25.
- <sup>19</sup> John V. Goff, "Remembering the Tarratines and Nanepashemet: Exploring 1605-1635 Tarratine War Sites in Eastern Massachusetts," *New England Antiquities Research Association*, volume 39 number 2, pp. 3-21.
- <sup>20</sup> The cause of the epidemic, though generally thought to have been introduced through the English presence, has not been absolutely determined. Yellow fever, smallpox, and plague have been suggested. In 2010, John S. Marr and John T. Cathey presented their case for leptospirosis complicated by Weil syndrome in their paper, "New Hypothesis for Cause of Epidemic among Native Americans, New England, 1616-1619."
- <sup>21</sup> Smith, p. 55. "Salvage" was an early spelling for "savage."
- <sup>22</sup> Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, Boston, 1792.
- <sup>23</sup> Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, p. 10.
- <sup>24</sup> Edward Winslow, *Mourt's Relation: A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth*, 1622.
- <sup>25</sup> A suggestion in Chapman's *History of Winchester*, note p. 7, that Nanepashemet's skeleton might be among five skeletons unearthed in 1862 and sent to the Peabody Museum in Cambridge is in contradiction to the museum's assurance it does not own any native remains.
- <sup>26</sup> The land now included in Winchester, which was incorporated in 1850, was formerly part of Charlestown, Woburn, Medford, and (briefly) Arlington. At the time of the deeds with the Squaw Sachem, it was all part of Charlestown.
- <sup>27</sup> Montowampate or Sagamore James was reportedly 20 when he married in 1629. Thomas Morton wrote about this event in his *New English Canaan*.

- 
- <sup>28</sup> Charlestown town records written by John Greene quoted in Frothingham, p. 37.
- <sup>29</sup> Quoted in Samuel Sewall, *History of Woburn*, 1868, p. 9, and Frothingham, p. 13.
- <sup>30</sup> Dudley, op ci
- <sup>31</sup> *New England's First Fruits*, London, 1643, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>32</sup> Charlestown town records written by John Greene quoted in Frothingham, p. 25.
- <sup>33</sup> Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, p. 137.
- <sup>34</sup> Quoted in Lewis, p. 46.
- <sup>35</sup> Lewis, p. 38.
- <sup>36</sup> Some sources say, alternatively, that Wenuchus married his brother Wenepoykin. This was apparently the information John Greenleaf Whittier had when writing his poem, "The Bridal of Pennacook." He named the bride Weetamoo and identified the groom as the "Saugus Sachem" Winnepurkit (an alternate name for Wenepoykin). Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* may have been a source for Whittier; however, Morton did not give a name to the sachem of Saugus or his wife.
- <sup>37</sup> His name is variously written Awaussomoag, Oonsumog, Wessomog, Ossamog, etc. It was been written that he and Yawate had a son Muminquash (James Rumney Marsh or Quonopohit/Quannapowitt) who was born in 1638, married Mary Ponham had two children: (i) Israel and (ii) Joan. Reportedly, Muminquash was assimilated into the Wiser family and known as James Wiser. However, the parentage of Quannapowitt (whose name is memorialized by a lake in Wakefield) has been debated, for example in issues of the "Wiser Newsletter." According to William Barry, *A History of Framingham, Massachusetts*, 1847, p. 19, he was survived by sons Thomas and Amos.
- <sup>38</sup> Leo Bonfanti in his *New England Indians* Vol. I, 1968, asserts (p. 48) that "From Medford, she sent her warriors on raiding parties against some of those tribes who had defected." While enmity with the sachem Obbatinua is documented, it is not clear what primary sources document her planning and executing warfare maneuvers from Medford.
- <sup>39</sup> Luther Richardson Symmes, "Squa Sachem," *The Winchester Record*, I, pp. 19-21
- <sup>40</sup> John Adams Vinton, *The Symmes Memorial*, Boston, 1873, p. 31.
- <sup>41</sup> Bonfanti, p. 49, states that "Squaw-Sachem was one of the women who attended the parties at [Thomas Morton's] Mare Mount [a.k.a. Merrymount], and this exposure to European pleasures so mellowed her disposition, that she stopped her raids against her neighbor tribes." This is not related in Morton's own *New English Canaan*. Bonfanti further states that at this time (the 1620s) she met Edward Gibbons "and the two became fast friends." While Gibbons arrived in the Colony during the 1620s and the two may indeed have been amicable, there are no known records of when or how they met or what the kindnesses he showed her were. Bonfanti cites no sources for their meeting. In fact, Bonfanti cites no sources in his entire book.
- <sup>42</sup> J. A. Vinton in *The Symmes Memorial*, p. 32 supposed that the weir was in the Symmes farm where the river enters the lake.
- <sup>43</sup> Sagamore John, in his will, left his wampum and coats to his mother and his land to his son or (if his son did not survive) his brother George. Coats, like wampum, were evidently an important possession.
- <sup>44</sup> Deed quoted in "Squa Sachem," *The Winchester Record* I, p. 21.
- <sup>45</sup> Frothingham states that she became old and blind and dates her death at 1667 (supposedly). Lewis pushes the date back to 1662. Chapman dates her death at 1650, citing a deposition by Richard Church in the lawsuit of Scarlett and Gleason vs. Gardner (having to do with the disposition of her land).
- <sup>46</sup> Originally presented as papers, these articles were published in the three volumes of *The Winchester Record*. They include "Squa Sachem" by Luther R. Richardson, based primarily on the deeds; "Winchester in 1640" by Abijah Thompson, which relies on Edward Johnson; "Indian Relics" edited into an article by George Cooke from the writings of W. H. Whittemore; and "Our Aborigines" by George Cooke, whose authorities include John Smith, William Wood, Edward Johnson, Daniel Gookin, and the "spiteful" Thomas Morton.
- <sup>47</sup> Chapman also had at his disposal local histories of other towns, such as Woburn, Medford, Lynn, and Charlestown, which were also originally part of the Massachusetts domain, as well as published colonial writings.
- <sup>48</sup> Gibbons, it may be noted, never enjoyed the "small gift" by living on it, nor did his daughter or grandchildren who sold it for cash to colonists actually living in the area.
- <sup>49</sup> "The Old Converse Mill," *The Winchester Record*, Vol. 1 #4, p. 255.
- <sup>50</sup> Sagamore John, in his will, left his wampum and coats to his mother, suggesting a special value to both items. He left his land to his son (if he lived) or his brother.
- <sup>51</sup> "Heroes' Home," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 5, 1890.
- <sup>52</sup> Chapman p. 9. Ironically, however, the names of Squaw Sachem Brook and Spring were both changed after Chapman wrote about them.
- <sup>53</sup> John Swan related having heard this from his father (b. 1734). Cooke, p. 273.

---

<sup>54</sup> Since the Swan farm and country club lands lie in both Winchester and Arlington and the brook travels from Winchester into Arlington, that town also has a similar claim.

<sup>55</sup> Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence 1628-1651*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. 40-41.

<sup>56</sup> For example, one reads in the 1895 *History of the Town of Manchester, Massachusetts*: "The history of America begins with the advent of Europeans in the New World. The Red Men in small and scattered bands roamed the stately forests and interminable prairies, hunted the bison and the deer, fished the lakes and streams, gathered around the council-fire and danced the war-dance; but they planted no states, founded no commerce, cultivated no arts, built up no civilizations. . . . They made no history."

<sup>57</sup> His article, "Our Aborigines," published in *The Winchester Record*, quotes derogatory descriptions of the native inhabitants from Capt. John Smith and Edward Johnson, a founder of Woburn.

<sup>58</sup> The reference is to *Poor Lo!: Early Indian Missions; A Memorial* by Walter N Wyeth, 1896.

<sup>59</sup> Stories of Winchester-area men involved in "Indian wars" fought elsewhere are told in Chapman's *History of Winchester*, Chapter VI.

<sup>60</sup> Cooke, p. 271-272.

<sup>61</sup> As part of this celebration, thirty-one tablets were created to mark historic sites, including "Squa Sachem's Reservation" and "Squa Sachem's Wigwam." Temporary markers, they were taken down that same year.

<sup>62</sup> During that century also, there were American writers, artists, and composers who sought inspiration in the native legends, images, and arts to create a truly American art.

<sup>63</sup> Chapman, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Chapman, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Chapman, p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*, Cornell University Press, 2015, p. 66.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex County*, Vol. II, 1888.

<sup>68</sup> The children have been identified as a son Manatahqua and three daughters, reputedly very beautiful and known as "the feathers," Petagunsk (Cicely) who had a son Tontoquon (John), Wattaquattinusk (Sarah), and Petagoonaquah (Susanna). There were at least three grandchildren: Nonupanohow, Wutanoh, and Tontoquon.

<sup>69</sup> See note 34.

<sup>70</sup> George Cooke, "Our Aborigines," *The Winchester Record*, Vol. I #4, pp. 273-275.

<sup>71</sup> George Cooke, "Our Aborigines," *The Winchester Record*, Vol. I #4, p. 272.

<sup>72</sup> Excelsior, *The Middlesex Journal*, Aug. 18, 1860.

<sup>73</sup> "First Ball Game Played in 1621," *The Boston Daily Globe*, April 5, 1916.