#### The First Peoples of Dudley, Massachusetts—Nipmuc and English

Compiled by George Martin\*

" 'Tis good to muse on nations passed away, For ever, from the land we call our own."<sup>[1]</sup>

The first white people who settled in what became Dudley, Massachusetts, lived around what is today called Dudley Hill and along the Quinabaug River. For the most part, they got along with the natives of the area, though they were settling on Indian land. At one time Dudley Hill was the center of the town.

This article is a compilation of excerpts from a wide collection of sources where information was found in relation to Native Americans who lived on the land that became the towns of Dudley and Webster. Some of the authors, who didn't look kindly on the indigenous peoples, used language considered offensive today.

"The North American Indians were subdivided into a great many tribes of more or less numerical magnitude. These were scattered over the country with no organized association whatever, and took their names from the natural features of the country where they frequented, whether mountain, lake, river, bay or island. But from similarity in language and some other respects it has been possible to group these fragmentary tribes into some show of order in a few great families or nations of aboriginal people. Of these the Algonquin tribes were numerically the most powerful in America, though others may have been superior in warlike vigor and prowess."<sup>[2]</sup>

#### The Algonquins

"Salem, Massachusetts, was first settled [by the English] in 1626, only six years after the arrival of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth. Except for a few costal [*sic*] settlements, the whole of New England was an undisturbed wilderness inhabited by Indians. . . . The Algonquin Indians of New England were less warlike and less nomadic than generally perceived. Primarily an agricultural People, They remained within the general area where they cultivated the soil."<sup>[3]</sup>

"The origin and early history of a savage race is always so shrouded in mystery that any attempt to investigate it must inevitably be attended with ill success and disappointment. . . . The restless and shifting habits of the 'Sons of the forest' as well as their lack of any written language or records, utterly precludes the acquisition of accurate information; and conjecture but adds to the difficulty by lending too ready an ear to tradition. On no subject connected with American history has so much ignorance and credulity been displayed, both by historians, and the public, as in that relating to the Indian race."<sup>[4]</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Editors' note: The sources quoted in this article repeat much of the same information, but it is interesting to see how different authors treated the same subject and to consider what their words reveal about their attitudes. The many different spellings of the native name of Lake Webster are amazing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> James Wallis Eastburn and Robert Charles Sands, *Yamoyden, A Tale of the Wars of King Philip: In Six Cantos* (New York: James Eastburn, 1820), 277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Richard M. Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (New York: W.W. Preston & Co., 1889), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Enders A. Robinson, *Salem Witchcraft and Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1992), 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mrs. Geo. K. Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, Vol. 1, No. 9, paper read before the Quinabaug Historical Society, 26 February 1900, 107.

"The Algonquian are one of the most populous and widespread North American native language groups."<sup>[5]</sup>



Pre-contact distribution of Algonquian languages

"Of these the largest domain was that of the family to which the French gave the name of Algonquin. In the territory roamed over by the Algonquins was included that which extends along the Atlantic Ocean from Pamlico Sound to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and no other race than this occupied any portion of New England."<sup>[6]</sup> "The central region of Massachusetts was inhabited by the Nipmucs or Nipnets, the name signifying 'fresh water,' to distinguish them from the more powerful tribes which lived upon the sea coast."<sup>[7]</sup>

## **The Nipmuck Indians**

"The Nipmuc or Nipmuck people are descendants of the indigenous Algonquian peoples of Nippenet, 'the freshwater pond place,' which corresponds to central Massachusetts and immediately adjacent portions of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The tribe were first encountered by Europeans in 1630, when John Acquittamaug arrived with maize to sell to the starving colonists of Boston, Massachusetts.... The Nipmuck Indians included several tribes. The Naticks, Nashaways, Pegans, Pawtuckets, Quaboags, Wamesits, Hassauamesits and Pennakooks. The Hassauamesits were in Grafton, a part of the territory of Sutton. The Naticks were located at Natick; the Nashaways were on the Nashua river, from its mouth; the Pegans were in Dudley [now Webster] on a reservation of two hundred acres of land; the Pawtuckets were on the Merrimac river where Chelmsford now is; the Quaboags were located in Brookfield; the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Algonquian peoples," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algonquian\_peoples. Map file (23 October 2020) is licensed under the <u>Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic</u> license.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1892), 1:22–23. Pamlico Sound in North Carolina is the largest lagoon along the North American East Coast ("Pamlico Sound," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pamlico\_Sound).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "The Last of the Nipmucks," *Webster Times*, 12 November 1908, 17.

Wamesits were for a time on the Merrimac river, at Lowell; the Pennakooks were on the Merrimac river near Concord."<sup>[8]</sup>

"From wigwam to wigwam, that had hospitable doors always open on the leeward side, the prehistory people drifted on their long-distance paths. A stone mortar for the grinding of parched corn, was a halting place; and if necessary, within their wraps of skins or woven feathers, they slept as contentedly in the great pathless forest as the birds within their nests. Their trails, by constant use, became paths.... Upon the advent of another race, the marks of the Indian's moccasined feet were very soon covered by the heavy steps of the white men. The Path of the Indian became the earliest roadway of the pioneer settlers. There has been transmitted to us from early time, some knowledge, indefinite in parts, of the general course of some of the long-distance paths used by the Indians.... There was another path mentioned in the grant of the old town of Mendon, date 1660. The township was laid out on both sides and bounds made at certain distances north and south each way from the path; which proves that the ways usually traveled by the natives were well defined landmarks. This was called 'The Path to Nipmug Great Pond,' or Chaubunagungamaug. As the Indian village was probably at the outlet of the pond, which was on the side next to Oxford, it practically brought this path to unite with the other coming from Boston."<sup>[9]</sup>

"The Indians had trails connecting the great rivers, inland ponds, salt water harbors and other places where in season they would congregate for fishing, hunting, and sports.... Lake Chargoggagoggmanchauggagoggchaubunagungamaugg<sup>[10]</sup> was the Fishing Place at the Boundary, as its name indicates. It was sometime known as 'The Nipmuck Great Pond.' It is believed to have been the boundary or neutral territory of the Nipmuck, the Mohegans, the Pequots, the Narragansetts, and apparently eastern Massachusetts Indians. Today it lies near the boundary of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, still retaining the sparkling purity of its waters and setting like a string of gems in the midst of wooded hill, island, peninsulas, and bays.... The lake in early days was known as Shawgunagunkawa, Chaubunakonkkomuk, Chabanaguncamogum, Chaubanagogum, Chabanaguncmogue, Chachaubunkkakawok, Chaubongum, etc. and later settled into Chaubunagungamaug, as now incorporated at the end of the long name; naturally writers differed as they tried to write out Indian pronunciations. This ancient name, Chaubunagungamaug, entered into early history extensively."<sup>[11]</sup>

"This was recognized as the dividing line or bound between the Nipmuck and the Narragansett territory. It lies a few rods north of the present northern boundary line of Windham county [Connecticut], and the Nipmucks at one time claimed land some eighteen or twenty miles

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mary de Witt Freeland, *The Records of Oxford, Mass.; Including Chapters on Nipmuck, Huguenot and English History from the Earliest Date* (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1894), 7, from Drake's *Indian History* (see note 47).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Levi B. Chase, "Interpretation of Woodward's and Saffery's Map of 1642, or the Earliest Bay Path," vol. 1, No. 7, reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 55 (1901):155–161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Pronounced: Char-gogg/a-gogg/man-chaugg/a-gogg/chau-bun/a-gun/ga-maugg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Webster Historical Commission, *An Architectural and Historical Survey of Webster, Massachusetts* (1978–1979) where Director Linda L. B. Kleinerman wrote, "A common belief in Webster is that the long name of the lake means, 'You fish on your side, I fish on my side and nobody fish in the middle.' Though appealing, this meaning is completely false and was invented by a clever writer (editor Laurence Daley) of the *Webster Times* in the 1930s."

south of it."<sup>[12]</sup> "There is a legend it was the abode of the Great Spirit, the Happy Hunting Grounds of their dead, their Paradise where fish and game would abound forever. The Enchanted Islands were their Elysian Fields and there their departed souls would have an eternity of ease."<sup>[13]</sup>



This sign used to be seen as you entered Webster from Oxford.<sup>[14]</sup>

[The Nipmucks'] "supplies were of the rudest kind. Undressed skins of the deer or other wild animals furnished the winter attire; moccasins reaching above the ankles, of dressed deerskin or moose's hide, according to the season, afforded some protection to the foot.

"The wigwam or Indian house was of circular form, made of bark or mats over a frame work of branches of trees stuck in the ground in such a manner as to converge at the top, where was a central opening for the smoke to escape from the fire beneath; two openings were left on either side, one or the other of which was closed with bark or mats according to the directions of the wind. For food they had game, nuts, roots and berries, and we always find their villages located near the large ponds or rivers for the convenience of fishing."<sup>[15]</sup>

"The Nipmuck, or fresh water country, was very extensive, covering the entire region between the Merrimac and the Connecticut rivers, consequently embracing all the Worcester County. The Nipmuck nation included several tribes, ... [including] the Pegans at Dudley....

"Nippamaug. That is the Indian word meaning 'fresh-water fishing place,' and that is where the name of the Nipmucs or Nipmucks originated. . . . It is estimated that prior to the invasion of their land by the Puritans, the Nipmucs numbered approximately 15,000 across New England,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Richard M. Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* [note 2] (New York: W.W. Preston & Co., 1889), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Webster Historical Commission, Architectural and Historical Survey, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Photo by Bree from Worcester, Mass., USA – Lake Chargoggagoggmanchauggagoggchaubunagungamaugg, CC BY-SA 2.0, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4744847</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality" [note 4], 2, 109, 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality" [note 4], 2, 110.

mainly in Southern Massachusetts, northern Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Nipmucs had lived in the area that became Dudley for eons. The Nipmucs believed the Great Lake nearby and its islands were the abode of departed souls and the residence of the Great Spirit, who protected the lake. It was the midpoint of the Indians' Great Trail between Hartford and Boston."<sup>[17]</sup>

## **The Dudley Nipmucs**

Frederick Gookin wrote that in 1674, "I began a court among the Indians. And first I approved their teacher Sampson, and their constable Black James; giving each of them a charge to be diligent and faithful in their places. Also I exhorted the people to yield obedience to the gospel of Christ and to those set in order there. Then published a warrant or order that I had prepared, empowering the constable to suppress drunkenness, sabbath breaking, especially powwowing and idolatry. And after warning given, to apprehend all delinquents, and bring them before authority, to answer for their misdoings; the smaller faults to bring before Wattascompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck country; for idolatry and powowing [*sic*] to bring them before me: So we took leave of this people of Wabquissit, and about eleven o'clock returned back to Maanexit and Chabanakongkomun, where we lodged this night."<sup>[18]</sup>

"The site of the town is near the middle of a territory mainly in the southern central part of Massachusetts, known at the time of the settlement of Boston, 1630, as the 'Nipmuck Country.' Much of this tract was then wild hunting ground, but portions were thinly inhabited by the natives whose numbers had been much reduced by wars with western tribes and fatal disease.... Miss Larned, in her *History of Windham County*, aptly describes them: —

A few families occupied favorite localities, while large sections were left vacant and desolate. Their dwellings were poor, their weapons, and utensils rude and scanty. They raised corn and beans, and wove mats and baskets. Their lives were chiefly spent in hunting, Fishing, and idling. Gaming, of which they were excessively fond, might be added.

"... Through the efforts of John Eliot and Daniel Gookin these people had been partially civilized and had to an extent accepted the Christian religion, and were known as 'praying Indians.' The earliest mention we find of the natives of this locality is in 1674, when Eliot and Gookin visited them. The latter thus wrote: —

The first of these [New Praying towns] is Manchaug, which lyeth to the westward of Nipmuck [Blackstone] river about 8 miles and is from Hassanamesit west and by south about 10 miles and it is from Boston about 50 miles. To it belongeth about twelve families and about sixty souls. For this place we appointed Waaberktamin, a hopeful young man for their minister."<sup>[19]</sup>

"The unromantic history these Indians had, marked only by regular routine of seed time and harvest, and the incidents of birth and death. No mighty warriors ever sprung from the forests of Chaubunagungamaug. Even tradition has spared the spot, and there are few stories to reward the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Linda Branniff of Dudley, "The Nipmuc or Pegan Indians," Webster Times, 2 April 2011, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Frederick William Gookin, Daniel Gookin, 1612–1687, Assistant and Major General of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Chicago: privately printed, 1912), 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> George F. Daniels, *History of the Town of Oxford, Massachusetts, with Genealogies and Notes on Persons and Estates* (Oxford, Mass.: the author, with the co-operation of the Town, 1892), 3.

eager searcher into the life of the family that has now almost entirely disappeared, and the only traces left to show where remnants of this branch of the tribe once lived in the little burying ground that is fast disappearing, together with the traditions of those who now sleep there.<sup>"[20]</sup>

"As early as 1643, perhaps earlier, the Reverend John Eliot, the 'Apostle to the Indians,' had begun his study of the Algonquin tongue, in order to preach in that language. To this end he discovered an intelligent Indian in the neighboring town of Dorchester who had learned to speak English with considerable success. 'He was the first,' wrote Mr. Eliot, 'that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my Interpreter.' In September, 1646, he spoke to the natives at Neponset. They listened sympathetically, but showed little interest in what he had to say. However, he kept coming back to them and eventually he won their confidence, first at Dorchester and later at Punkapoag, to which place they soon removed.

"His next attempt was made at Nonantum [in Newton, near the Watertown line]on 28 October 1646. This time he was accompanied by Isaac Heath, an elder of the Roxbury church, the Reverend Thomas Shepard, minister at Cambridge, and Major-General Daniel Gookin, his friend and companion in this work from beginning to end the historian and guardian of the Indians. Here at Nonantum Mr. Eliot founded the first community of Christian Indians within the English colonies. These Indians removed to Natick in 1651 where they were gathered into an Indian church in 1660.

"On alternating weeks he preached to the Natick and Punkapoag Indians for the next forty years. For the furtherance of this work of God, declared Governor Winthrop, several English colonists came to hear Mr. Eliot preach to the natives, and sometimes 'the governor and other of the magistrates and elders' came, while the Indians, of their own accord, 'began to repair thither' from other places. On one occasion the governor, with about two hundred people, Indian and English, were present."<sup>[21]</sup>

Joshua D. D. Bates wrote, "Having now spoken briefly of the seven old towns of praying Indians, I shall endeavor more briefly to give an account of seven towns more of praying Indians, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; which for distinction sake we call the new praying towns in the Nipmuck country. The Indians of some of these towns began to hearken unto the gospel about three since, or thereabouts. In July, 1673, Mr. Eliot and myself made a journey to visit some of them, and to encourage and exhort them to proceed in the way of God.

"This year again, on the 14th of September last, 1674, we both took another journey. Our design was to travel further among them, and to confirm their souls in the Christian religion, and to settle teachers in every town, and to establish civil government among them, as in other praying towns. We took with us five or six godly persons, who we intended to present unto them for ministers. The first of these new praying towns is Manchage [located in Sutton, near Manchaug Pond] which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river, about eight miles; ... 'About five miles distant from this place,' says Gookin, in his account given 1674, 'is Chabanakongkamun;' or, as it has been since differently spelled and pronounced, Shawgunagunkawa."<sup>[22]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Oxford D.A.R. Meeting and Nipmuck Paper," *Webster Times*, 12 November 1908, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Transactions 1947–1951," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 38 (1959):137–138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Joshua D. D. Bates, An Anniversary Discourse, Delivered at Dudley, Massachusetts, March Ao. 1853. With Topographical and Historical Notices of the Town (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1853), 71.

"Daniel Gookin declared in 1674 that a patent from the king was enough for an Englishman to claim property rights in North America, but he recognized that it made no difference, because 'the English had the grant of the land within this jurisdiction, either by purchase or donation from the Indians sachems and sagamores, which were actually in possession, when the English first came over....' In seventeenth-century Massachusetts, many of the Indians were already living in 'Indian villages' or 'praying towns' established specially for Indian habitation...."<sup>[23]</sup>

One praying town had "its denomination from a very great pond, about five or six miles long, that borders on the south end of it.... There are in it about nine families, and about forty five souls. The people are of a sober deportment, and better instructed in the worship of God, than any of the new Praying towns.... It is a new plantation, and is well accommodated with upland and meadows. At this place dwells an Indian called Black James, who about a year since was constituted constable of all these new praying towns. He is a person that hath approved himself diligent and courageous, faithful and zealous to suppress sin; and so he was confirmed in his office another year. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people and they were exhorted by us to stand steadfast in the faith."<sup>[24]</sup>



Location of site of the Dudley Praying Indians. Sign located in Webster at the corner of Thompson Road and Birch Island Road.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap University Press, 2005), 22, 229.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England* (Boston: Apollo Press, 1792; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1972), 79–80, online at books.google.com.

# A Sketch of the Nipmuck Country

"It is stated in the year 1631 'a Sagamore from the river Qonchtacut [Connecticut] which lies west of the Narraganset, had visited Boston and had offered the Governor inducements in a promised tribute of corn and beaver skins to send some Englishmen to settle his country. As the Dutch had already made a settlement on the Quinnehtuck River known as the lands of the 'Dutch House of Good Hope' [this is now Hartford, Connecticut]. It also appears 'there was an Indian trail of the Agawams, Woronoaks, and other small tribes on the Quonehticut (the long tidal river) who were on friendly terms with the powerful Nipmogg or Nipmuck Indians and came into their country either to pay tribute or to pass through their wide domains.' The Neipnet, Neepmug, or Nipmuck Indians, inhabited the country between the sea-coast and the towns about the Massachusetts bay eastward, and the Connecticut river westward. It is said the name Neipnet or Nipmuck in the Indian language signifies 'fresh water,' which caused the Indians of this interior portion of the country to be thus distinguished from those upon the sea-coast. The Nipmuck country extended beyond the limits of Worcester county; as delineated on some ancient maps it was shown as extending westward beyond the Connecticut river, and on the north into New Hampshire. There is no doubt that the territory of this tribe of Indians was originally very extensive, stretching over the entire country between the Merrimac and Connecticut rivers.\* According to Rev. John Eliot 'Nipmuck or Neipnet was a great country lying between the Conactocot [Connecticut] and the Massachusetts.' From Major Gookin's account 'The Neipnet region extended from Marlborough to the south end of Worcester county, and around by the Brookfields through Washakins (Nashua) to the northern boundary of the state.' Col. Church states 'the Nipmuck country was the country about Dudley and Oxford.' These Nipmuck Indians were seated upon less rivers and lakes, or large ponds where Oxford now is and towns near it. -[this last sentence from] Governor Hutchinson."

\*The Nipmuck country included all of what is now Worcester County. In an ancient edition of Hubbard's 'Narrative of the Indian Wars,' published in 1677, is prefixed a map of New England, being as the title expresses "The first map here cut."<sup>[25]</sup>

# A Treaty with the Nipmucks

"In 1643 Governor Winthrop relates that 'At this court Cutshamekin and Squaw Sachem, Mascononoco, Nashacowam and Wassamagon, two Sachems, near the great hill of the west, called (Warehasset, Wachusett,) came into the court and according to their former tender to the governor desired to be received under our protection and government, &c upon the same term that Pumham and Sacononoco were; so we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received, and then presented by the Court with 20 fathoms more of Wampum and the Court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth and their dinner; and to them and their men every one of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took their leave and went away very joyful.' — *Governor Winthrop's Journal*, 2, 156."<sup>[26]</sup>

"Winthrop rested property ownership not on physical presence but on the capacity to improve' land. It was easy for the English to slide between three concepts—the occupation of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 8], 5–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 8], 8.

land, the use of land, and the cultivation of land—that were closer in England than they were for the Indians."<sup>[27]</sup>

## **The Reverend John Eliot**

"In 1646, Reverend John Eliot first preached to Indians at a site he later called Nonantum ('Place of Rejoicing') in present-day Newton, Massachusetts. Making converts to Christianity there, Eliot became encouraged by the possibility of gradual religious, social and political integration of all Indians into colonial society. Eliot continued his efforts to convert Indians, becoming known as the 'Indian Apostle.' Waban (at Natick) was the first Indian chief to embrace Christianity, and entertained John Eliot in his wigwam when Eliot first went among the Nipmuc as a preacher in their own language on October 28, 1648. By 1650, Indian converts to Christianity had begun moving to Natick to organize what would become the first of several villages known as 'Praying Towns,' with the Indians in them known as 'Praying Indians.' Here, as in all of the Praying Towns which followed, Indians would renounce their native language, ceremonies, beliefs, traditional dress, and customs—effectively becoming 'Red' Puritans. Natick was also the place where young educated Indian men would be trained as missionaries and sent out to convert more Indians and to establish additional Praying towns."<sup>[28]</sup>

"It is said Mr. Eliot's first effort to form an Indian town at Nonantum in Newtown proved a failure in his instruction to the natives on account of its being so near Boston and other English settlements. The surroundings of a so-called Christian community were unfavorable to influencing the natives from heathenism to Christianity, and he desired a position more remote, and petitioned for a grant at Natick, and in 1651 the General Court set apart two thousand acres of land for an Indian plantation."<sup>[29]</sup>

"By about 1660, Eliot had seen seven new Praying Towns established in Nipmuc territory, including one in Dudley and three which existed in present-day Windham County, Connecticut. Maanexit, located on the Quinabaug River near the old Connecticut Path to and from Massachusetts, the Praying Town called Maanexit held 100 Nipmuc men, women, and children. The Indian John Moqua was installed as minister at Maanexit in September, 1674. Maanexit is believed to have been located in present-day Fabyan, in the Town of Thompson [Connecticut]."<sup>[30]</sup>

## In Memory of the Nipmuc Ancestors

"Their villages were always near some large pond or by the borders of a stream. Along the valley of the Quinebaug there were many by the ponds whose outlet streams flowed into that river, and there have at different times, sufficient relics been found to identify the location of many of their villages."<sup>[31]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land* [note 23], 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Nipmuc Indian Association of Connecticut, *The "Praying Towns,"* Historical Series, No. 2, 2nd Ed. (1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 8], 5–6, 15–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Branniff, "The Nipmuc or Pegan Indians," [note 1]. The name of the Quinabaug or Quinebaug River has different spellings in older documents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Samuel Morris Conant, "The Settlement of Dudley," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 1, no. 8, paper read before the Quinabaug Historical Society, 29 Oct. 1900, 101.

"The valley of the Quinebaug River furnishes the opening through which passes what is called in the early town records 'the great road.' One who is in Oxford, Dudley or Woodstock, and desires to drive to Springfield by country road the most direct, will go through this valley, -the way along which the road of the white man and the path of the Indian has run, from time immemorial "<sup>[32]</sup>

"Our time is the middle of September, 1674. If we look again and more closely from our eminence [Dudley Hill] upon this primitive picture, we will discover far to the east a thin blue smoke rising. It is from the little Indian village or praying town on Chabanakongkomen.

"It hath its denomination from a very great pond about five or six miles long that borders upon the south end of it. There are in this village about nine families and about forty-five souls. The people are of a sober deportment and better instructed in the worship of God than any of the new Praying towns.'

"Let us look upon the valley and into the interval near to our feet [south]. We discern across the river and at the foot of some high rocky cliffs a collection of arbor shaped wigwams, not the peaked wigwams so commonly portrayed, but more of the omnibus shape, covered with bark or skins and varying from thirty to forty feet in length, with possibly, one long wigwam, capable of being used for Tribal council. This village by the running water is Maanexit.

"Maanexit lieth about seven miles westerly from Chabanakongkomen. It is situated in a fertile country and near unto a fresh river called Mohegan river. The inhabitants are about twenty families and as we compute ["we" being John Eliot and Daniel Gookin] one hundred souls."<sup>[33]</sup>

"Lynch says, 'The history of the Pegan or Dudley Indians is inseparably connected with that of all the Nipmucks dwellings in that large tract of land embracing the present towns of Woodstock, Oxford, Southbridge, Charlton, Webster and Dudley.' As Dudley Indians are the last remnant of the Nipmucks, the history of that tribe is their history."<sup>[34]</sup>

"Though more peaceful than the other tribes of the colony, the Nipmucks were frequently engaged in war, either because of tribal injuries, or in allying themselves with other and stronger neighbors.

"An interesting story concerning their warlike proclivities is told by Miss Larned. The Nipmucks at one time were tributary to the Narragansetts, their neighbors on the south."<sup>[35]</sup>

"The lake [chabunakongkomaug] was a boundary between the Cowesits, who were part of the Narragansetts federation, and the Quinebaugs.... Many winters ago, in the time of the ancient ones, the Narragansetts invited the Wabbaquasetts to a feast of shellfish at the shore. After the feast, which was enjoyed by all, the Wabbaquasetts invited their Neighbors to a feast with them at acquiunk. There, they served many delicious, fat eels to their guests, but the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Levi B. Chase, "Early Indian Trails Through Tantiusque," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 1, no. 6, read before the Worcester Society of Antiquity 2 April 1895, and reprinted from the "Proceedings" of that Society, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Samuel Morris Conant, "The Settlement of Dudley," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 1, no. 8, paper read before the Quinabaug Historical Society, 29 Oct. 1900, 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Mrs. Geo. K. Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 1, no. 9, paper read before the Quinabaug Historical Society, 16 February 1900, 113. <sup>35</sup> Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity (Worcester: Press of Franklin Rice, Pub. by the society,

vol. 9, 1888), 27.

Narragansetts weren't used to eating eels and took offence, thinking that their neighbors were insulting them. They began taunting their hosts and a battle ensued in which most of the unarmed Narragansetts were killed. The Narragansetts sent a large war party to avenge the death of their kinsmen, but the Wabbaquasetts had a stronghold on the other side of the river and from there kept the Narragansetts from crossing. After many days of fighting, the Narragansetts withdrew and the Wabbaquasetts buried their dead in pits near the river. For many years afterwards an uneasy truce existed between the two tribes. Only the area near chabunakongkomaug remained neutral."<sup>[36]</sup>

"The ire of the Nipmucks was roused. Angry words were followed by blows. A general fight ensued which was frightfully disastrous to the unprepared and unarmed Narragansetts, only two of whom escaped to tell the news of the massacre. The Narragansetts, eager to avenge their slaughtered friends, set out for the Nipmucks whom they found intrenched east of the Quinebaug, thus preventing the crossing of the Narragansetts. The latter were forced to retire after a siege of three days. The Nipmucks buried their killed on the battlefield, which was afterward known as the Indian Burying Ground, and is now a part of Danielsonville."<sup>[37]</sup>

The Indian Burial Ground and Indian Battleground are marked on an old 1856 map just below Danielsonville Borough. Two battle sites and an Indian well are marked on this map.<sup>[38]</sup> The lower battle site and burial ground is likely obliterated today by routes 6 and 12.

"Above five miles distant from hence is a second town called Chabanakongkomun... [Dudley]. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people, and we prayde (*sic*) and sung psalms with them, and they were exhorted by us to stand steadfast in the faith. A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them, touching matters of religion and civil order. The teacher Joseph and the constable (Black) James went with us unto the next town which is called Maanexit [the northeast part of Woodstock, Connecticut]....<sup>[39]</sup>

"Included within the limits of this grant for Dudley was a part of the tract of land selected by the descendants of the ancient Nipmuck Indians, which they reserved in their deeds to the agents of the province, dated, 'February 10, 1681,' as given in another part of this work. Having the right of selection from the lands thus deeded, a quantity equal to the contents of 'five miles square,' they located these lands extending west from the borders of Chabanakongkamon pond. These lands were surveyed out to these Indians in October, 1684, and extended from said pond some distance west of what has since been known as Dudley Hill, including all that part, now the center village; and, as stated in the historical sketch of the Congregational church, that church and society received from these Indians 'four acres of this land for the location of their meeting-house, and other public purposes.' This tract of Indian land was known for many years after the grants for Oxford and Woodstock, as the 'Land of Black James and Company.' Black James was a distinguished Indian among the people of this tribe. He is mentioned by General Gookin in his description of the several towns of these natives, called Praying Indians, which he, as the Indian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kelly Savage, *The Pond Dwellers; People of the Freshwaters of Massachusetts 1620–1676* (ebook: Lulu Publishing Services, rev. 30 January, 2018), 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity [note 35], 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The 1856 Woodford Map of Windham County. The Thompson Historical Society has a copy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Frederick William Gookin, *Daniel Gookin* [note 18], 133.

agent of the province, refers to in describing his tour among them in the autumn of 1674, when accompanying the Rev. John Eliot on his missionary visits to them."<sup>[40]</sup>

*Whereas*, There are many inhabitants in a tract of land lying between the towns of Woodstock and Oxford, in the county of Worcester, who, together with others lately settled in the south-west part of Oxford, and very remote from any place of public worship of God, are very conveniently situated for a town, and have petitioned this court to be erected into a separate township, accordingly, ...

*Be it enacted*, By his excellency, the Governor, the Council, and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the lands lying within the bounds following, viz., the colony or Patent Line and the town of Woodstock on the south; the grant lately made to Medfield on the west; the land of Mr. Papillon on the north, unto the farm belonging to Paul Dudley, Esq.; and by the same partly on the east, until it comes to Stony Brook; and by said brook till it comes to the brook coming out of Chabanakonkamon Pond; and by the pond to the said colony or Patent Line, — be and hereby is set off and constituted a distinct and separate township by the name of Dudley. And that the inhabitants of the said township be vested with the powers, privileges, and immunities that the inhabitants of any of the towns of this province by law are or ought to be vested with.<sup>[41]</sup>

"The greater part of these Indian lands were sold, before the town of Dudley was granted, to the Hon. Joseph Dudley, who was also the chief owner, by grants from the province, of most of the other lands included in the said grant; all of which at the time of Mr. Dudley's decease, April 2, 1720, became the property of his sons. These sons, Chief-Justice Paul Dudley and the Hon. William Dudley, soon after the decease of their father, opened these lands for sale. Their location between two thriving towns made them desirable for new settlements. The deeds of these early sales, beginning in 1721, are found recorded upon the records of Suffolk County, at Boston. This tract, also Woodstock, Oxford, and New Medfield, which subsequently became Sturbridge, was a part of Suffolk County, till set off to form a part of the county of Worcester, in 1731. It does not appear that Governor Dudley sold any part of these lands during his life. He and his friend, the Hon. William Stoughton, were the principal owners of all this territory; and, as there has not been seen on record any deeds from Mr. Stoughton of these lands, it is presumed that, like Mr. Dudley, he never made any sales, but left them to his heirs or for educational purposes, as a part of the lands he left by his will for that object."<sup>[42]</sup>

"Dudley, located in the south central section of Worcester County, between the French River upon the east and the Quinebaug [River] upon the west, comprised about thirteen thousand acres, was named in honor of the Dudley family, first proprietor of this territory, descendants of Governor Thomas Dudley, one of the patentees of the Massachusetts Colony. This township is part of the land west of the Kuttatuck (now Blackstone) River, conveyed by deed February 10, 1681, from the Nipmuck Indians to William Stoughton, of Dorchester and Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury, agents of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in consideration of the payment of fifty pounds, current money of New England. This deed contained the following reservation: 'Reserving always unto ourselves, our heirs and assigns, out of the above said grant, a certain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Holmes Ammidown, *Historical Collections*, 2 vols. (New York: the author, 1874), 1:405–406.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ammidown, *Historical Collections*, 1:405. See State Library Acts, 1692 to 1740, December, 1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ammidown, *Historical Collections*, 1:406–407.

tract of land five miles square, at two such places we shall choose, to be wholly at our own use and disposal.<sup>[43]</sup>

"This reservation was selected and surveyed in October, 1684, to 'Black James' and others. One section extended from Lake Chaubunagamang (now in Webster) to the west of Dudley Hill or the Centre Village, and nearly all subsequently became the property of Hon. Joseph Dudley, which together with other grants from the providence, he retained title to until his decrease April 2, 1720, when they became property of his sons, Chief Justice Paul and the Hon. William Dudley and were soon offered for sale by them. These sales, beginning in 1721, are recorded in the records of Suffolk County, in which they were located previous to the erection of Worcester County in 1731. The earliest purchasers and settlers of these lands were John Healy, Jonas Clark, Philip Newel, William Ward, Benjamin Newell, Nathaniel Ramsdell, Samuel Newell, Joseph Putney, Clement Corbin, Benjamin Sabin, Daniel Williams, Joseph and Ebenezer Edmonds."<sup>[44]</sup>

"Rev. John Eliot, a clergyman of Roxbury, N.E., educated at Cambridge, England, became interested in the benevolent project of introducing Christianity into the Nipmuck country and in educating the natives, Mr. Eliot having acquired the rudiments of the Indian dialect, it is said, from native servants in his own family.\* He took the most unwearied pains in his strange lessons from this uncouth teacher, finding progress very slow and baffling, receiving no aid from other tongues which he had learned in England, and which were so differently constituted, inflected, and augmented. Mr. Eliot also secured natives to reside with him in his family and to accompany him on his visits, to interchange with him words and ideas."

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\*Mr. Eliot says that "an Indian taken in the Pequot wars, and who lived in Dorchester, was the first native who taught him words and was his interpreter."<sup>[45]</sup>

"The original name of the town of Dudley, or rather of the tract of country lying between Oxford and Woodstock, and extending from the Quinnebaug River to the great pond now in Webster, and generally called Slater's Pond was, as it is written in some ancient deeds, Shmogunagunkawa, or as in others, Chnhanakongkomun, or as printed in Gookin's *History of the Indians*, Chohonokonomum. This name, with its varied orthography, which was probably pronounced in the broad guttural and flat nasal tones of the Aborigines of the country, seems to have been first given to the pond itself, sometimes even now attempted to be called by the same name, or by the compound and more euphonious name, as printed on Reach's map, Chargoggagogg Manchoggagogg. As Indian names, as well as those of most barbarous and uncivilized nations, generally have a significant meaning, and are originally applied to persons and things for specific purposes, I did hope when I began this note, to be able to discover the meaning and appropriateness of Indian words within my reach; read 'Gookin's account of the Christian Indians,' and looked over Eliot's Grammar of the Indian language, with the learned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 8], 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> 200th Anniversary Celebration; Town of Dudley, Massachusetts, 1732–1932 (Dudley, Mass.: The Town, 27 June 1932), 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 8], 10, citing Justin Windsor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, 4 vols. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881), 1:260–261.

notes and comments of Du Ponceau, Gallatin and Pickering, I am obliged to give up the inquiry without success.

"The present name of the town was probably given to it, in the Act of Incorporation, in memory of Thomas Dudley, one of the earliest Governors and most highly respected magistrates of Massachusetts; or of his son, Joseph Dudley, who was also a Governor and Judge in his time; or rather, perhaps, in honor of two of his sons, Paul Dudley, for a time Chief Justice of the province, and Col. William Dudley, his brother, both of Roxbury, where they, and their father and grandfather lived and died. These two gentlemen, in connection with a Col. Fitch, seem to have held by purchase from the original proprietors and by special grant of the General Court, nearly the whole tract of land embraced in the Act of Incorporation, except the Indian reservation. This reservation, containing about four hundred acres, and sometimes denominated in the town records 'Pegin's Farm,' [probably it should have been written Pegan's, the supposed name of the tribe to which the Dudley Indians belonged, or it may have been the name of the head of a principal family only]embraced a considerable portion of the south part of 'Dudley Hill,' the northern boundary line beginning near Newell's Brook, running to the top of the hill, north of the present common, and extending eastward as far as the ridge of Davis's Hill. There is, however, some uncertainty about the bounds of this reserved tract. But whatever may have been its location and extent; it was subsequently sold or exchanged, under the sanction of the government, for a small tract of land near the great pond, which is still occupied by a few degraded descendants of the original proprietors of these fruitful hills and valleys."<sup>[46]</sup>

"I was never aware that there was an Indian name attached to any part of Dudley, save that of Joshua Pegan's hill, now Dudley. It seems, however, by old records found at Worcester, that the natives had the name of 'Ke-ka-ma-quagh,' which the early settlers used in designating lands which lay to the west of Pegan's hill. If, as seen in the first record quoted, Edmonds sold to Johnthan Newell, we may conclude that this Indian name was applied to the hill west of Pegan's hill owned successively by Edmunds, Edwards, Duncan, Lawton, Leavens, Brown, Eddy and Bisco."<sup>[47]</sup>

"John Eliot's missionary labors among the Indians of New England began at Nonantum, and were continued at various places for more than thirty years. He acquired the Indian language and with infinite labor translated into it the Bible, the catechism, and other devotional works, distributing them among them. The natives were taught to read and write, and soon there were fourteen places of Praying Indians, as they were called. In 1673 six Indian churches had been gathered. A death-blow was given to these pious labors by Philip's war. Some of these Indians joined in it with their countrymen and this so exasperated the English that the remainder of those who were faithful to them were with difficulty rescued from destruction. The treatment they then received created a breach between them and the English that was never healed. Their number rapidly diminished, and they finally disappeared.

"Eliot introduced among his converts industry, cleanliness, and good order. He drew up for them a simple code, punishing idleness, filthiness, licentiousness, and cruelty to women. A court was established at Nonantum, over which presided Waban, an Indian justice of the peace. There

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bates, *An Anniversary Discourse, Delivered at Dudley* [note 22], 43–44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> William Penn Eddy, "Rattlesnake Hill Trail in Dudley and How It became a White Man's Highway," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 1, no. 20 (no date. No. 17 was printed in October 1899 and No. 21 printed in February 1905), 253.

was no circumlocution in his office. Justice was speedily and impartially administered. Here is a specimen warrant: 'You, you big constable, quick you catch um Jeremiah Offscow, strong you hold um, safe you bring um afore me, Waban, Justice Peace.' His sagacious and sententious judgment in a case between some drunken Indians would do no discredit to a much higher civilization than that at Nonantum: 'Tie um all up,' said he, 'and whip um plaintiff, and whip um 'fendant, and whip um witness.' "<sup>[48]</sup>

(To be continued in the next issue)

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# Correction

"Ezra Williams of Ashfield, Franklin County, Massachusetts"

In the last issue of *MASSOG*, Vol. 44, No. 3, page 88, **Rebecca Hunt** was incorrectly identified as the *daughter* of Capt. Ephraim Hunt. She was in fact his *granddaughter*. This relationship is mentioned on the website of the Town of Ashfield, along with other interesting information about the town's history: <u>https://ashfield.org/2202/History</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Francis S. Drake, *Indian History for Young Folks* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850), 122–125.

## The First Peoples of Dudley, Massachusetts—Nipmuc and English

Compiled by George Martin (Continued from Vol. 45, No. 1, page 35)

### King Philip's War

"The start of King Philip's War on June 20, 1675—initiated by Metacomet [King Philip], Great Sachem of the Wampanoag Federation—marked the demise of the Praying Towns in northeastern Connecticut."<sup>[49]</sup>

"Before Metacomet's Rebellion, John Eliot's missionary efforts 'radiating like light through the dark shadows of the unenlightened land' brought 'peace to the people' and 'a loving, neighbor-like spirit' pervading 'the life of both the Indian and his white benefactors.' After 1676, however, Natives in the area became 'a weak and broken band.' It is 'true the Indian is still in the land, but how neglected and lone,' since 'this race is passing.' "<sup>[50]</sup>

"Massassoit, a Wampanoag, had been friendly towards the newcomers at first. There were stories of Indians and colonists cooperating and coexisting peacefully. Massasoit's second son, Metacomet, saw it differently. Having felt humiliated repeatedly by the white men, he decided to push the Puritans off Indian land for good and declared war in June 1675. Many Nipmucs (or Pegan Indians) in the area that would become Dudley, had been converted to Christianity and were called 'praying Indians' by the English. The majority were loyal to the English or tried to stay neutral in the war."<sup>[51]</sup>

"There is no evidence, however, that any of the Dudley Indians apostatized and joined Philip, as several of their Nipmet or Nipmuck neighbors did, either through fear or affection...."<sup>[52]</sup>

*"The Narrative of Indian Wars,* states that the 'Places of the Indian Residences are, Natick, Punquapaog, Nashobah, Wamesit and Hassanemesit: And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to Repair to some one of these." "<sup>[53]</sup>

"During King Philip's War the Indians of Grafton, Hopkinton (Ashland), Oxford (Sutton) and Dudley (Webster) abandoned those towns and settled in Marlborough, but not for long. For they were removed to Deer Island, Boston Harbor, until after the war when most of the survivors eventually settled at Natick or in other Indian plantations."<sup>[54]</sup>

"Webster, 'Chaubunagungamaug' Praying Town. This village contained nine families or 45 souls in 1674 and was called after the lake of the same name, being situated at the south end of it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Nipmuc Indian Association of Connecticut, *The "Praying Towns,"* Historical Series, No. 2, 2nd ed. (1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Thomas L. Doughton, Unseen Neighbors: Native Americans of Central Massachusetts, A People Who Had "Vanished" (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), 4, online at https://nativenewengland.word press.com/2016/04/04/unseen-neighbors-native-americans-of-central-massachusetts-a-people-who-had-vanished/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Linda Branniff of Dudley, "The Nipmuc or Pegan Indians," Webster Times, 2 April 2011, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Joshua D. D. Bates, An Anniversary Discourse, Delivered at Dudley, Massachusetts, March Ao. 1853. With Topographical and Historical Notices of the Town (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1853), 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Betsy Levinson, "We are still here' say Nipmucks of Southeastern Massachusetts" (*Taunton Daily Gazette*, 9 September 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> "Transactions 1947–1951," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 38:172.

The people were better instructed in the gospel than in any of the other new praying towns at that time. Their minister was Joseph who had been here for two years working among them though he lived at Grafton. He spoke English well and had a thorough knowledge of the scriptures. Mr. Eliot preached here in 1674, urging the people to stand fast in their faith. Joseph, son of Petavit, alias Robin, was a valuable scout for the English during King Philip's War, but was, nevertheless, sold as a slave by the English. There was stated preaching here in 1684. Charles Gleason of Dudley was missionary here 1770–1775 and doubtless followed Perley Howe in this work, the latter being a well-known Indian missionary."<sup>[55]</sup>

"'None of the natives were to be relied upon and many of the most ferocious were those who had professed Christianity. ...' Despite this wholesale treachery, the Dudley Indians remained neutral and we find no account of depredations by any of them. After King Philip's war, Eliot could count only four praying towns, not half the number previous, and out of 1150 praying or coverted Indians there remained less than half. However, of these steadfast towns Chaubunagungamug was one, it being the *only* one of the new towns which did not fall from faith. Natick, Stoughton and Tewsksbury were the other three, but they belonged to the old number. Gradually the fugitives returned to their homes and rebuilt their wigwams."<sup>[56]</sup>

"Despite the end of the war and the valuable military service performed by many native men, colonists continued to distrust and fear all Indians and to lust after their land. The Indians at Okommakamesit soon felt the desire of their English neighbors in Marlborough to gain 'a fair tract of land.' When the threat of Wampanoag or Nipmuc attacks declined, a number of white settlers stole fencing and fruit trees from the temporarily deserted plantation. When the praying Indians tried to return and plant crops, 'some persons of that place expressly forbid them, and threatened them if they came there to oppose them, so that the poor Indians being put in fears returned, and dared not proceed.' "<sup>[57]</sup>

As clarified by historian Stuart Banner, "At most times, and in most places, the Indians were not exactly conquered, but they did not exactly choose to sell their land either. The truth was somewhere in the middle. . . . every land transfer of any form included elements of law and elements of power."<sup>[58]</sup>

"Grant. The first movement toward a settlement in the region was the petition of Mr. Hugh Campbell, a Scotch merchant of Boston, February, 1680, for land for a colony, to which the Court replied: — 'This Court judgeth it meete to allow to the petitioner, on behalfe of such as may on that account transport themselues hither, such accomodation to their number in the Nepmug country as it will affoord, prouided they come w'thin two yeares next after this grant.'

"Indian Titles. At about the same time two prominent men in Boston, William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, were also contemplating a settlement, and in proceeding with their plan, the first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> "Transactions 1947–1951," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 38:90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Mrs. Geo. K. Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, Vol. 1, No. 9, paper read before the Quinabaug Historical Society, 26 February 1900, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap University Press, 2005), 4.

point was to inquire into the matter of the ownership of the lands and the rights of the Indians. On this subject they petitioned the General Court, which replied, May 11, 1681, as follows: —

The Court judgeth it meete to grant this motion, and doe further desire & impower the wor'pffl Wm. Stoughton & Joseph Dudley, Esqs, to take particcular care & inspection into the matter of the land in the Nipnug Country, what titles are pretended to by Indeans or others, and the validity of them, and make returne of what they find therein to this Court as soone as may be.

"This commission reported October 16, 1681, that in June they had a general meeting of all the claimants at Cambridge, but finding them at variance as to their several claims, they dismissed them until they could agree among themselves. They further reported: —

Since which time, in September last, perceiving a better vnderstanding amongst them, wee warned seuerall of the principall claymers to attend vs into the country, & travajle the same in company with us as farr & as much as one weeke would allow us, & find that the southerne part, claimed by Black James and company is capable of good setlement, if not too scant of meadow, though vncerteine what will fall w'thin bounds if our lyne be to be quaestioned."<sup>[59]</sup>

"The 'Litigious' conflict over the Nipmuc lands shows Natick River by at least three factions that reflected prewar divisions between villages. During the summer, the factions resolved their disagreements. So Stoughton and Dudley asked 'several of the principall Claymers' to join the party surveying Nipmuc territory. A group of Indians 'Belonging to Natick and other towns Punkapoag & Wamesitt' and 'ye Hassanamisset Men now resident at Natick' (including Waban, Piambow, John Awassamog, and the Trays) claimed the land between Natick and Hassanamisett. Another faction, including Peter Ephraim, Nehemiah, Elizar Pegan, Joseph Anins, and 'several of their Kindred,' claimed the section between Mancharg (modern Oxford) and Pakachoog (Worcester), apparently including Hassanamisset. Black James, who had ruled Chabanakogkomun before the war, claimed the southern third on Nipmuc lands, including the former site of his village. ... By the following March, Black James and a number of other men had signed the deed that gave most of the Nipmuc territory to Stoughton and Dudley, acting on behalf of Massachusetts; in return, James and his 'company' obtained twenty-five square miles in two tracts in the south, where they settled alongside Lake Chabanakongkomun.... The colony gained about one thousand square miles, and for their troubles Dudley and Stoughton kept two thousand acres."<sup>[60]</sup>

"In May, 1681, the court empowered William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley to investigate all matters relating to the Indians and make a report. In pursuance of this order they held a meeting and John Eliot acted as interpreter. Black James and his people claimed the southern portion of the Nipmuck country. Stoughton and Dudley recommended the court to purchase all the land of the Nipmucks; they were empowered to do so and from the Natick and Hassanamessit tribes they purchased a tract four miles square northwest of the 'Springfield road' [pathway along the Quinebaug river] for thirty pounds and a coat. . . . The southern half of the Nipmuck land was bought from Black James and company for  $\pounds 20$  on condition that they might 'reserve to themselves a certain tract of land five miles square or contents in two parcels to be at their disposal, to them and their heirs forever.' The Indians did not long hold this reservation intact, for we read in 1707 they deeded to Hon. Joseph Dudley, in consideration of their love and esteem for him and his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> George F. Daniels, *History of the Town of Oxford, Massachusetts, with Genealogies and Notes on Persons and Estates* (Oxford, Mass.: the author, with the co-operation of the Town, 1892), 4–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Mandell, *Behind the Frontier* [note 57], 44.

family, and ten pounds currency, the remaining full moiety of the five miles square consisting of 8000 acres, reserved to themselves and their heirs the right of hunting and fishing on great ponds or rivers necessary for their support. In 1724 William Dudley conveyed to the Indians a tract of land about one mile square for themselves and their descendants to plant and improve and this was their reservation. Thus in less than fifty years all that was left to them of the fifty mile tract, for which they received in all much less than a hundred pounds, was one square mile of territory. In 1731 the general court constituted a township called Dudley, which included a portion of the original reservation and what is now a part of the centre (*sic*) village. In 1763, four hundred and forty acres of this square mile plot were sold; they received fifty pounds at the time of the sale and nine pounds a year afterward. Shortly after this, the same land was sold for 650 pounds. Thus they were left with only 200 acres of their original 1000 square miles, which they (had) owned by aboriginal title. It seems as if the commonwealth made poor bargains for [the Indians]. In 1797, the general court permitted the sale of that remaining 200 acres for the payment of Indian debts and guardians to care for them. . . . The terms of the sale were \$300 and a tract of 26 acres and 58 rods."<sup>[61]</sup>

"English guardians also refused to recognize the evolving patterns of Indian inheritance. The Chabanakongkomuns told the General Court that in 1756 their guardians had taken 'the grass and fruit of our land'-probably not fraud but the sale and leasing of 'surplus' to other whites-'particularly of Jonathan Pagan's plantation.' Pegan had given use of his land and control of his affairs to a relative, Joseph Pegan, while Jonathan left to join the colonial militia, but the guardians refused to recognize Joseph's claim and leased the land to whites. ... The General Court's representatives believed that 'Better Regulating' the Indians included guiding native landholding into line with the provincial legal system, presenting the Indians with a choice: either to divide their commons in severalty, with deeds that could be defended in court (and easily sold to whites), or to see its pieces leased and produce sold to whites. Of course, the official reason to lease Indian land was to create a community fund, like those owned by Punkapoag and Hassanamisco, that could be applied by guardians for the 'betterment' of the enclave and sick or elderly individuals. But this system created new problems for the Indians. The Indian funds also offered unique opportunities for fraudulent profit, ... and the guardians' independence from their charges. . . . A few years later the Chabanakongkomuns, now usually called Dudley Indians, for the English town that surrounded their 640-acre reserve, reported a more elaborate fraud. Their guardians had asked the legislature to approve some debts 'said to be owed by us.' And had submitted a petition supporting the request that 'is said be signed by at least some of us, but both were done without our knowledge of permission."<sup>[62]</sup>

"On Joshua Pegan's old field, the first church in the town of Dudley was erected on the summit of a hill. The Pegan tribe of Indians gave four acres of land for its site in 1734, 'on condition that all of their tribe, who should ever inhabit the town, should have the right to convenient seats in the meetinghouse on days of public worship.' As late as 1790, there were about a dozen of this tribe left who owned some two hundred acres of good land near the center of the town. They were cared for by a committee by the order of the General Court.\*"<sup>[63]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality" [note 56], 116–119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Mandell, *Behind the Frontier* [note 57], 147–148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Mary de Witt Freeland, *The Records of Oxford, Mass.; Including Chapters on Nipmuck, Huguenot and English History from the Earliest Date* (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1894), 33. "\*The Indian seats in the church were



A sketch of the first Meeting House on Dudley Hill<sup>[64]</sup>

"We notice it was built of enormous square hewn whiteoak timbers which make up a building as voted by the town 'fifty feet by forty feet wide with 22 foot stud.' "<sup>[65]</sup>

#### Webster

"This town was formed from parts of Dudley and Oxford, and incorporated March 6, 1832; being named in honor of Daniel Webster."<sup>[66]</sup>

"Quite a large portion of this territory was a tract of land known for many years as 'Oxford South Gore; and another tract belonging to the Pegan Indians (a remnant of the ancient Nipmucks), which was a concession made to these Indians by the town of Dudley for their relinquishment of certain rights to land located on Dudley hill, which was part of the land known formerly as 'Black James & Co.'s Grant,' surveyed to them in 1684, as referred to in another part of this work, it being a reservation equal to about five miles square, made by the ancestors of these Indians in their deed procured by Hon. William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, agents of the colony, by the order of the General Court in 1681. In parting with the larger portion of their lands, which fell into the hands of Chief-Justice Paul Dudley and his brother, the Hon. William Dudley, they reserved 400 acres on Dudley hill, bounded north by Newell's brook, which is north of the present center village of Dudley, and extending south, including part of Davis hill, which tract they exchanged with the town of Dudley for the one that bordered on Chabanakongkomun pond, which became a part of this town, with other lands of Dudley east of the French river."<sup>[67]</sup>

two large corner pews in the gallery, over the door of the church, the places which in other churches were devoted to slaves or the poor."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> A copy of this sketch hangs in the Black Tavern, the building now owned by the Black Tavern Historical Society of Dudley.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> William Penn Eddy, "Rattlesnake Hill Trail in Dudley and How It became a White Man's Highway," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 1, no. 20 (no date. No. 17 was printed in October 1899 and No. 21 printed in February 1905), 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Rev. Elias Nason, M.A., *Gazetteer of the State of Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1890), 2:669.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Holmes Ammidown, *Historical Collections*, 2 vols. (New York: the author, 1874), 1:461–462.



This map shows "Black James and Camp and their assignee to Dudley." It is south of Dudley at the edge of Lake Chabunakongkomaug.

"These natives for many years had been known and recognized by the Colonial Legislature, and more recently by the State Legislature of Massachusetts, as the Dudley Indians, and were under the care and protection of both the Colonial and State governments, which annually appointed agents, whose duty it was to exercise a guardianship over them, taking care that their rights were respected. Colonel Moses Marcy, of Sturbridge, filled this office many years.

"But, like the native race generally, when subjected to or surrounded by the white—degenerate by the loss of their native freedom, and habits of dissipation—they have, it is believed, nearly or entirely disappeared, having long since parted with these lands."<sup>[68]</sup>

#### **The Indians Survived**

"The Hassauamesits were in Grafton, a part of the territory of Sutton. The Naticks were located at Natick; the Nashaways were on the Nashua river, from its mouth; the Pegans were in Dudley (now Webster), on a reservation of two hundred acres of land; the Pawtuckets were on the Merrimac river where Chelmsford now is; the Quaboags were located in Brookfield; the Wamesits were for a time on the Merrimac river, at Lowell; the Pennakooks were on the Merrimac river near Concord.—Drake's *Indian History*."<sup>[69]</sup>

"The Indians apparently resurrected their aboriginal migratory economy, for in 1684 John Eliot noted that, in addition to worship services at the four 'stated' reserves—Natick, Punkapoag, Wamesit, and Chabanakongkomun—they held 'occasional' pray[ing] meetings 'at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chestnuts, in their seasons.' In part this was necessity: replacing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ammidown, *Historical Collections* [note 67], 1:461–462.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 63], 7.

confiscated farm tools and animals was prohibitively expensive, so many were compelled to hunt, fish, or gather food and plants."<sup>[70]</sup>

"By the year 1849, in Massachusetts, there were at Chappaquiddick, Christiantown, Gay Head, Fall River, Mashpee (309 in 1840), Herring Pond, Grafton, Webster,\* Punkapoag, Natick and Yarmouth a total of 847 Indians. By this time they were generally of mixed blood. In 1945 the Indian population of Massachusetts consisted of 114 at Gay Head and 343 at Mashpee, a total of 457 souls."<sup>[71]</sup>

"Before or at the time of the setting off of Webster from Dudley, the Nipmucs were gathered together by the authorities and were placed on a reservation near the southern boundary of the town. At that time the place was remote from the center of the town, but as the population increased, and the town grew southward, the forests were gradually felled, until not a vestige of it remains. Houses were built on the reservation and cellars of these dwellings remained until a few years ago when they were filled up or destroyed. One day workmen appeared at the reservation and tore down the houses from the very heads of the Indians. Women and the remaining families of the tribe were taken to houses built for them nearer the town proper. But the end of the settlement marked the most rapid decline of the Nipmucs in Webster, the survivors of who are now widely scattered."<sup>[72]</sup>

"It is in the observation days that one meets the most picturesque and notorious characters among the Webster Indians. There was Nildeo Hull, a quiet peaceful body, whose tears fell like rain when her home was taken away from her. There was old Vickers, the club footed wood sawyer, of whom Dr. C. L. Gooddell speaks in '*The Old Darnman*.' "<sup>[73]</sup>

"There was John Nichols, who after being banished from some other tribe came to Webster, and who delighted in donning his blankets and war paint and startling the villagers with his blood-curdling war whoop."<sup>[74]</sup>

"There is blind Paris Jaha, wandering in darkness for many years, and his sister, Mary Jaha, devoted Methodist, regular at church as the minister. . . . "<sup>[75]</sup>

"Julia Jaha. Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind Sees God in clouds or hears Him in the wind.

Alexander Pope"<sup>[76]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Mandell, *Behind the Frontier* [note 57], 36–37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> "Transactions 1947–1951," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 38:196. "\*Webster came out of Dudley, on the eastern side of the French River, and was incorporated in 1832."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "Oxford D.A.R. Meeting and Nipmuck Paper," Webster Times, 12 November 1908, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Charles L. Goodell, *The Old Darnman* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1906), 16. Dr. C. L. Gooddell was the last member of the family that lived in the Black Tavern.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> "Oxford D.A.R. Meeting and Nipmuck Paper" [note 72].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Bureau of Indian Affairs, Interior, *Proposed Finding Against Federal Acknowledgment of the Webster/Dudley Band of Chaubunagungamaug Nipmuck Indians*, 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> "Essay on Man" by Alexander Pope (1688–1744).

"Julia Jaha was the last of the Nipmuck Indians in Oxford, her mother was of the Pegan tribe of Nipmuck Indians living on a reservation in Webster, Massachusetts, and the father of Julia was a Mohegan. The parents of Julia, with their children, lived in a sorry little cottage. When Julia was a child, one lovely sunny morning in the spring of the year, she being seated on a mossy little bank, as she gazed upon the river and sky, admiring their beauty, and the woods just appearing in their foliage, with the gay songs of the birds which arrested her attention, she exclaimed to herself, 'God must have made all so beautiful,' and hastening to her mother with questions about God, inquiring if all good people would at death live with Him, and to confirm her belief she inquired of her mother, 'Will priest Williams be there too.' Julia had seen Rev. Mr. Williams, the clergyman of Dudley,\* at the Indian funerals, and maybe she had attended church service and sat in one of the high corner pews. Julia was taught to read while young. From her childhood she thought much of God, and was instructed in her catechism and received many good counsels from her mother, nor were these lessons without good effect.<sup>†</sup> When Julia was some twelve years of age her mother died. She was surprised to witness with what willingness her mother left her family, without distrust or anxiety, in God's care. She was persuaded the Christian faith of her mother gave her this happiness in the hour of death. Julia was then removed from her home and placed at service in the family of the late Major John Brown of Dudley, where she was taught all the nice arts of housekeeping. She ever recalled the family with great respect. The young ladies were so elegant and the sons were all her young masters never to grow old, and Julia, after living a long and Christian life, in her departure from earth was heard by the clergyman who attended her to whisper in broken accents, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.' "‡ Julia ever testified that her tribe were conscious of great injustice done to them in all their transactions with the English, and then added with much feeling of grief, 'They would destroy the graves of our dead as of no account and make a field of grain of our Indian sepulcher.' "[77]

"When Rhoda, the old Indian woman, went through the village, I distinctly recollect that some remarks were passed by the youngsters which caused the old woman's face to assume a [dark look], and, shaking her fist and looking around as if ready to pick up anything that was not fastened down, she would say, 'Don't you sass me!' and some barefooted boy would chuck a stone near enough to her to raise the dust in the road, and then valorously disappear behind the barn."<sup>[78]</sup>

"Where are all of our Native Americans neighbors today? There was a saying by some of our white ancestors, 'The only good Indian is a dead Indian.' We treated the Native Peoples worse than we treat today's emigrants. Our native peoples, our neighbors, for their own protection found ways to survive while quietly living with their white neighbors. They live in plain sight, but only recently have some come forward to announce their pride of being the first Americans. They lost the qualities that distinguished other members of their race, absorbing more and more of the habits

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Freeland, *The Records of Oxford* [note 63], 31–33.

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. Abiel Williams was the clergymen in Dudley from June 12, 1799, to March 16, 1831.

<sup>†</sup>Julia Jaha, known by marriage (as) Julia Daille.

<sup>‡&</sup>quot;On a Memorial Day in memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, June 29, 1881, Julia was invited to be present, as the sole remnant of the Nipmuck Indians of Oxford. On receiving a gift of money from Hon. Zachariah Allen of Providence, R.I., and other gentlemen present, she was much gratified with their attentions and the kindness extended to her. She exclaimed to a friend, 'They have to-day made me a queen and crowned me with silver.'"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Goodell, *The Old Darnman* [note 73], 16–17.

and customs, good and bad of their white brothers, until there is scarcely a member of the old tribe left, and their last resting places are being trodden and crumbled under the feet of an alien race."<sup>[79]</sup>

"Failure to 'see' Indians refers only to the 'vision' of a Eurocentric observer. Not only do Native people 'disappear' in nineteenth-century New England, according McMullen, but their 'disappearance,' through an imagined 'silence,' was a self-selected strategy for survival. Native 'invisibility,' here, is embraced as if historical fact; it becomes a regulative concept at the core of a 'new' interpretation' implying Natives cannot be 'found' on a historical landscape because they, themselves, were hiding. This variant of the discourse of disappearance would accept an Indian 'absence,' but claims this was because Indians were 'hiding.'

"Other variations of the discourse of disappearance include an overarching assumption that Native people cannot be 'found' or identified within the conventional source materials: vital records, census returns, military documents, probate files, real estate transactions, and, secondary sources, like town histories. One after another, texts represent an 'absence' of documentation required to 'prove' Native survival and persistence, a position clearly unsupported by closer study of specific Native individuals and Indian communities in this region. Nineteenth-century Natives in central Massachusetts persistently affirmed their identity and lived the actuality of their extended kinship-based community. They are 'absent'—only in a discourse laboring to erase them as part of a dynamic and engaged continued presence of aboriginal people within their traditional homelands. Regional Indians remain a 'vanished' people, who are not 'seen' because they are assumed already 'gone,' only within contemporary prolongation of this discourse."<sup>[80]</sup>

## The First White People of Dudley, Massachusetts

"There were originally at the time of Dudley's settlement three Indian villages—one at the lake, one on the site of the Bates Farm at Stapleton Hill, and the third at the south foot of Leven's Hill, with Newell's brook or [Keekamoochang] Keekamoochuck brook\* running thro' its valley, which was divided and sold by the Dudleys; John Healy probably receiving the first deed; Isaac Newton the second in 1723. Then in 1724 the Indians were moved east a square mile and more land was sold to John Corbin, Jr., who moved in from Woodstock in 1727—the Indians now occupying the high ground at the Bates Farm. This move would account for two villages west of the lake. This would also account for the Indians being in possession of Dudley Hill at the time of the town's incorporation of the purchase of four acres from the top of Joshua Pegin's Hill, for the burial ground and training field. The burial ground on Dudley Hill was abandoned, one grave was dug, but the land found unsuitable. James Corbin gave the town its cemetery lot. It is stated that the earliest burials were near the Quinebaug."<sup>[81]</sup>

"The valley of the Quinabaug River seems to have had a peculiar charm for many of those who, passing from the shores of Massachusetts Bay, following the Old Bay paths west, and passing the plains of Oxford and down through the hills that lead to the valleys of Woodstock, and turning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Oxford D.A.R. Meeting and Nipmuck Paper" [note 72].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Doughton, Unseen Neighbors [note 50], 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> 200th Anniversary Celebration; Town of Dudley, Massachusetts, 1732–1932 (Dudley, Mass.: The Town, 27 June 1932), 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Today the Keekamoochang or Keekamoochuck brook is named Tufts Branch Brook.

back, finally found a resting place in the valley of the Quinabaug river. It may have been the beauty of this valley, set here among the eternal hills, the abundance of fish in the river, and game wandering through these forests; it may have been due to the peaceful disposition of the praying bands of Indians who built their village at the foot of the Dudley hills, that attracted these early settlers, but whatever the cause of influence, many passing by at first, afterwards returned and chose the intervals of this beautiful river as their abiding place, and here built the homes in which they and their descendants have since resided."<sup>[82]</sup>

"It is quite safe to say that two [three] centuries ago there was not a white person living along any part of the Quinebaug River territory, now known as Dudley. Twelve years later a few hardy pioneers ventured into the region and pitched their rude habitations fairly near or on the meadows bordering the limpid, free flowing waters of the Quinebaug. Of course we know that Samuel Morris was the first settler on the Quinebaug, but not in Dudley. Who were they? Apparently Esquire Joseph Vinton was the first settler, for he secured five hundred acres of land in 1721, the same year of John Healy's purchase of Colonel William Dudley, lying along the river and extending westward as far as the western limit of the latter township line. His settlement was eleven years before the incorporation of Dudley, and one hundred years after the first successful English settlement in New England."<sup>[83]</sup>

"For many years there is little doubt that the settlers and the Indians lived on terms of friendship, and were much dependent on each other. The English were for the most part, honest in their dealings with the natives in the early years, but later I think we find many cases where they took much land and in return gave little money, the savages naturally having no knowledge of its value."<sup>[84]</sup>

"The earliest conveyance of land in this grant that has been noticed (which is found recorded in the county of Suffolk records), is a deed from William Dudley, of Roxbury, to John Healy, of the same town, described as lying south of Oxford, date 1721, book 38, page 96; and a deed from same party to Jonas Clark the same year. Also, among the names of purchasers about this time are Philip Newell, William Ward, Benjamin Newell, Nathaniel Ramsdell, Samuel Newell, Joseph Putney, Clement Corbin, Benjamin Sabin, Joseph Sabin, Daniel Williams, Joseph and Ebenezer Edmonds, and some others, during the period from 1721 to 1729. After this period the settlers came in more numerously, when, in 1731, a petition was presented to the General Court for a grant for a township."<sup>[85]</sup>

"In 1721 the large land holdings of Joseph and William Dudley, 50 miles west of Roxbury and just north of the Connecticut State Line, was brought into the market. John Healy received the first deed issued in the town called Dudley, for a parcel of land. However, he resided all his life upon the old homestead in Newton where his father had lived and where he and his children were born. Joshua Healy, younger brother of John, settled there and became interested in the educational,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> John M. Cochran, "Sandersdale," *Quinabaug Historical Society Leaflets*, vol. 2, No. 21, read at the Meeting of the Quinabaug Historical Society, 28 January 1910, 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> William Penn Eddy, "Old times along the Banks of the Quinebaug River. Who were the early settlers along the banks of the Quinebaug River. Who are sleeping in the Cemetery on the west bank of the Quinebaug," *Webster Times*, 21 January 1909, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Dresser, "The Indians of this Locality" [note 56], 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ammidown, *Historical Collections* [note 67], 1:407.

religious, and political problems of the new town of Dudley. There he raised a large family. He and his wife Sarah were buried in the old Quinebaug Cemetery in Dudley, which was abandoned and grew up to brush; the location unknown to their descendants until 1900 when the headstones, in good condition, were discovered by grandsons Lemuel Healy and Samuel Conant. In 1913 these headstones were moved to Northeastern Cemetery, Dudley, on plots beside their son Joseph. Capt. Joshua Healy served in French and Indian War."<sup>[86]</sup>



From FindaGrave.com, Quinebaug Cemetery, located in Dudley, east of the river.

"What reasons John Vinton, Esq., had for selling his large property in Stoneham,—it was large for those days,—and encountering the fatigues and inconveniences of a new settlement in Dudley, at the advanced age of sixty, does not fully appear. The proceeding, however, seems to accord well with the active tenor of his life; and he might be influenced by a desire to make more ample provision for his younger children. Of his children, Joseph, Rebecca, Thomas, Benoni, and Joshua, and perhaps Melatiah and Phebe, accompanied or followed him to Dudley, though the probability is that the last two died previous to the removal.

"At his new residence in Dudley, John Vinton, Esq., soon became honored with marks of the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens, and was frequently employed in public affairs. . . . Joseph, Rebecca, and Joshua continued in Dudley, and have been succeeded by a numerous progeny. . . . The Vinton purchase was in the extreme west of the original grant, lying on both sides of the Quinebaug River. It is now mostly included within the present town of Southbridge, which was incorporated in 1816, being formed from portions of Dudley, Charlton and Sturbridge."<sup>[87]</sup> The old Dudley town line, extending about another mile and half into the new town of Southbridge, included the area called Sanderdale.

"Joseph Vinton was chosen fence-viewer in Stoneham, March 1, 1735–6. Not long after this he removed to Dudley, (perhaps 1738) where he spent the remainder of his long life. In 1752, he sold land in Stoneham."<sup>[88]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Descendants of William Healy, Healy Family website; Healy- https://sites.rootsweb.com.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> John Adams Vinton, *The Vinton Memorial, Comprising a Genealogy of the Descendants of John Vinton of Lynn, 1648* (Boston: S. K. Whipple and Company, 1857), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Middlesex County Deeds, 50:635.

"In 1763, April 15, Joseph Vinton of Dudley and Hannah his wife sell to Oliver Richardson, Jr., land in Stoneham, ... He died in 1795. In December of that year, the Worcester Probate Records speak of him as 'late of Dudley, deceased.' His son Joseph was appointed administrator."<sup>[89]</sup>

"The first known settler at what is now the village of Sanderdale, is said to have been Thomas Cheney, who built a house, some say *the* house. . . . He bought this place in 1730. The land purchased as above, was within the limits of what was afterward set off as Dudley, and within that part of Dudley set off to form the Town of Southbridge. Thomas Cheney served in the French and Indian wars and went to the siege of Louisburg with the Mass[achusetts] troops. . . . "<sup>[90]</sup>



Map of the western end of Dudley, showing the town lines before and after Southbridge was incorporated in 1816. Vinton land was on the west side of the Quinebaug River. Thomas Cheney lived in Sanderdale, in that part of Dudley and Charlton that became Southbridge.<sup>[91]</sup> At the time, Rattlesnake Road was the main stagecoach road into Sturbridge [now Southbridge]; it is now almost impassable.

(To be continued in the next issue)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Vinton, Vinton Memorial [note 87], 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Cochran, "Sandersdale" [note 82], 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Map prepared by W. P. Eddy covering approximately the region discussed in Quinabaug Leaflets 13 [1905] and 19 [1909].

#### The First Peoples of Dudley, Massachusetts—Nipmuc and English

#### Compiled by George Martin

#### (Continued from Vol. 45, No. 2, page 74)

"January 2, 1775, Col. Thomas Cheney was again chosen Representative to the Provincial Congress, this time to be holden at Cambridge. Col. Thomas Cheney was then in his sixty-eighth year; he died two years later, April 30, 1777, and lies buried in Sturbridge."<sup>[92]</sup> Sanderdale was in the part of Southbridge that had been in the furthest part of West Dudley on the Quinebaug River, beyond the Vinton lands. Thomas Cheney's grave would now be in Southbridge.

"... Samuel Morris, in 1714 settled by the Quinebaug River, building its first bridge and getting into much trouble over church affairs; Isaac Newell settled in 1723; Joshua Healey on his brother John's grant in 1726; and James Corbin came in from Woodstock in 1727, later giving the town the land for a cemetery. These last three moving into Keekanoochuck territory and the Indians moving east a mile in 1724, Benjamin Conant moving into the north part from Beverly in 1727, and [in] 1731 George Robinson living upon 500 acres in the vicinity of the Great Pond.... There is the possibility of an earlier settlement than this. There are a number of old cellar holes in a southeasterly direction from Dudley Hill. Capt. Davis says that these cellar holes have never been accounted for. The Indians made no cellars. It is possible that some early Huguenots attempted to settle upon the trail between Oxford and Woodstock, which would probably have run through this neighborhood."<sup>[93]</sup>

In 1745 "Woodstock was agitating the question of a transfer of civil allegiance. Her subjection to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was in many respects inconvenient and burdensome. . . . That the grant of the King gave Woodstock territory to Connecticut was admitted by all parties, although an agreement between the colonies had yielded it to Massachusetts. The Woodstock people maintained that this agreement, which had never been confirmed by the King, was invalid; that a title of land could be annulled or transferred only by the power which had granted it, and that they were thus within Connecticut limits, and entitled to the privileges of its Government."<sup>[94]</sup>

In 1749 "the inhabitants of Woodstock were greatly elated at the success of their efforts, and hastened to organize as a Connecticut township. . . . After sixty-three years' subjection to the Government of Massachusetts, Woodstock had thus triumphantly effected her own secession. . . . She was now organized under Connecticut laws and formally enrolled among Windham County townships."<sup>[95]</sup>

It was at this time in 1749 that the people of Quinebaug village, a part of Dudley, Massachusetts, became citizens of Connecticut. Quinebaug village was no longer a part of Dudley, though many of its people would have continued to be members of the Dudley Meeting House.

Samuel Morris had purchased 1,500 acres of the Dudley land on the Quinebaug River in 1714. His land became part of the northwest section of Thompson, Connecticut.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> 200th Anniversary Celebration: Town of Dudley, Massachusetts, 1732–1932 (Dudley, Mass.: The Town, 27 June 1932), 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> 200th Anniversary Celebration, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass.: the author, 1874), 1:487.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut*, 1:489–490.

"James Corbin was one of the first settlers of 'New Roxbury,' now Woodstock, Conn. . . . James Corbin removed to Dudley, Mass., the town just north of Woodstock, and about seven miles distant from his former home, about the year 1724. Dudley (first called Kekamoochaug) was incorporated Jan. 1, 1732. James Corbin was one of the first selectmen that year."<sup>[96]</sup>

"In 1731 a petition was presented to the General Court for a grant for a township, the motive being apparently a religious one; for in the act of incorporation we find the following: 'Whereas there are many inhabitants of Worcester, who, together with others, lately settled in the southwest part of a tract of land laying between the towns of Woodstock and Oxford, in the county of Oxford and very remote from any place of public worship of God. . . . Be it enacted, etc. . . . That these early settlers were exceedingly fervent in religious sentiment may be inferred from the fact that upon the records of the town may be found a vote unanimously passed, 'to hold a day of fasting and prayer to God for direction in the great and mighty affair of calling and settling a minister.' . . . By authority of the General Court, Joseph Edmonds issued a warrant calling the inhabitants qualified to vote to meet at the house of William Carter, June 20, 1932, to vote for all the necessary officers for organizing the town as by law is required. . . . The officers elected were as follows: Moderator, Joseph Edmonds; Selectmen, Joseph Edmonds, Ebenezer Edmonds, James Corbin, George Robinson, John Lilly; Town Clerk, John Lilly; Constable, Joseph Putney; Fence-Viewers, John Healy, Clement Corbin; Tythingmen, Jonathan Newell, Benjamin Conant; Hog-Reeves, David Southwick, Joseph Wakefield; Treasurer, Jonathan Newell."<sup>[97]</sup>

"This town was incorporated February 2, 1731, and named in honor of Paul and William Dudley, who were early proprietors. The first church was established in 1732; and the first minister, the Rev. Perley Howe, was settled in 1735."<sup>[98]</sup>



Leven's Hill in Dudley. The road shown on this map to the right and left of Leven's Hill was part of the old Rattlesnake Hill Trail, which was the Stagecoach road from Dudley center then to Sturbridge. This road led to the bridge that crossed the Quinebaug River.<sup>[99]</sup> There was no Southbridge at that time.

<sup>96</sup> Rev. Harvey M. Lawson, Ph.B., B.D., *History and Genealogy of the Descendants of Clement Corbin of Muddy River (Brookline), Mass, and Woodstock, Conn.* (Hartford, Conn.: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1905), 23–24.

<sup>98</sup> Rev. Elias Nason, *Gazetteer of the State of Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1890), 1:278–279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1889), 1360. All of this is mentioned in the 200th Anniversary Celebration: Town of Dudley, *Massachusetts* [note 92], without any mention of how the property was secured.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> William Penn Eddy, *Quinebaug Historical Society Leaflets*, Vol. 1. No. 20, "Rattlesnake Hill Trail in Dudley and How it became a White Man's Highway," no date. No. 17 was printed in Oct. 1899 and No. 21 in Feb. 1905.



Map of Dudley, 1870s. The two hills of the Nipmuc Reservation can be found above the two *N*s in "Connecticut."

"Dudley was incorporated in 1731. In 1734 the town fathers secured from the Nipmucs 4 acres on Dudley Hill as a place for their meeting house, training ground and burying place. The first need of a grave occurred thereafter when James Scott was killed by a falling tree. The grave was dug in the new burying place atop Dudley Hill, next to the meeting house plot, only to have it fill with water before the deceased could be interred. A new spot was obviously needed."<sup>[100]</sup>

## **Burial Grounds of the Dudley Indians**

There are a number of known burial grounds and some lost, scattered about in the land of the Dudley Nipmucs. When route U.S. 52 was built, from Auburn to the Connecticut state line, an Indian burial ground was brought to the attention of the state, and a slight curve was added to this highway to avoid this burial site. When U.S. 290 was connected to U.S. 52, this highway was connected to and renamed U.S. 395.

Before Dudley was incorporated in 1732, George Robinson had built the first dam and grist mill at the outlet of today's Webster Lake, this being the north end. He acquired 500 acres and within his property lies the Robinson graveyard. This is not far from and may have included the praying site of John Eliot and his Dudley praying Indians. If the memory of one of Webster's older citizens is correct, this burial ground is just south of Birch Island Road and is near U.S. 395.

"The crossroad near the head of Webster Lake known as 'The East Village' is an area of historical and possibly prehistoric significance. . . . Prior to being built up as two country roads, the crossroads may have been an intersection of old Indian trails. The Bay Path, Great Trail, and Mohegan paths converged nearby. These trails were probably among the routes used by the colonists as they gradually spread west. . . . Some of the earliest industrial efforts in Webster originated at the head of the lake near the intersection which grew into 'The East Village.' Prior

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Linda Branniff of Dudley, "Dudley's Cemeteries," *Webster Times*, 2 June 2011, 3.

to 1728, a sawmill and gristmill were in operation in the area, run by Asa Robinson (grandson of George Robinson, the first settler of the land)."<sup>[101]</sup>

"In the early 1800s and before, this area was part of Dudley and was comprised of woodlots and rolling farmlands. It was intersected by two roads: the Central Turnpike (East Main) and a country road, which connected Thompson Road, leading to Thompson, Connecticut, with a grist mill on the Stoney River (now the French River). The farmers who owned this land were the Robinsons, settlers who had purchased 500 acres of land in 1719. The George Robinson farm extended from the Stoney River across the Dudley Turnpike and over to what is now Thompson Road. The two country roads intersected right in the middle of the Robinson woodlot."<sup>[102]</sup>

When Robinson's dam was built, the old pathway through Killdeer Island was covered in water and was lost to any following this part of the old path. On his land was the Robinson graveyard, where he and his family were buried. Although we know that George Robinson was from Needham, Massachusetts, son of George, and would have died in what was then Dudley, he doesn't appear in the vital records of either Dudley or Webster. His death was about 1752, age 66. A George Robinson, son of George and Sarah, was born in Watertown 1 July 1685.<sup>[103]</sup>

In an area of Webster between George Street and Klebart Avenue is land that was once the last remnant of the Nipmuc Reservation and burial ground, known as the "Indian Woods."

"In ancient times an Indian trail passed the Narrows at Killdeer Island on Webster Lake and worked its way westward across a vast woodlands across [to] what came to be called School Street, down the present Hill Street and across a small rapids, or falls, on the Stoney River [the French River]. This may have been the Bay Path to Agawam (Springfield). The 1795 survey map appears to indicate a bridge on the river at the foot of Hill Street."<sup>[104]</sup>

"Near the southern boundary of Webster, where Connecticut barely escapes Massachusetts, lies a rude and neglected burying ground. The rough gray stones are unmarked and a series of graves are huddled together scarce a foot apart. Here and there a series of graves is broken, where a headstone and a footstone arm the resting place of a little child. Overgrown with briers and brambles, partly hidden by underbrush, rapidly being obliterated by encroaching settlement and the vandalisms of foreigners, for whom the place has no sentiment, the old Nipmuck cemetery of Webster is fast falling into desolation."<sup>[105]</sup>

"Evidence of the Indian Reservation lay in a cemetery and huts, which were bought in 1887 by Honorable Charles Haggerty and deeded to the town to be preserved. Something went awry with these plans. No one seems to know. A few remaining Indian families were moved to houses on [61–63] Lake Street. For years children played in the 'Indian Woods' on George Street and on several occasions, discovered Indian artifacts. When ten years ago, town officials sought to make

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Webster Historical Commission, "East Village," An Architectural and Historical Survey of Webster, Massachusetts (Webster, Mass.: The Town, 1978–1979), 7–8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Henry Bond, *Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. in 1, 2nd ed. (Boston: NEHGS, 1860), 412; *Watertown Records*, 8 vols. (Watertown, Mass.: Fred G. Barker, 1894–1939), 1:57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Webster Historical Commission, "East Village," 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> "The Last of the Nipmucks," Webster Times, 12 November 1908, 17.

a playground there, it was found that the land had been, in error of ignorance, deeded to a private family. Only two years ago, part of this land was recovered by the town and will become a playground."<sup>[106]</sup> Today this is the new Webster soccer field.

"I wish to call your particular attention to an historic Indian of Dudley—John Quittemug, who lived upon the side of a bare round hill about a mile and a half southeast of Dudley Hill, known as Quittemug or Nipmuck Hill."<sup>[107]</sup>

"Quitemaug Hill, Worcester County, Mass. Nipmuck, 'the great fishing place.' Named for John Quittemug, a Nipmuck counselor in 1630."<sup>[108]</sup>

"Indian Road in Dudley once went from today's West Main Street through the town landfill to the New Boston Road. On Indian Road lies an unmarked patch of wooded land that was an Indian burial ground. Early on, both Indian and English were buried here, but when the town started its own burial ground, the graves of whites were removed to that ground. John Quittemug, who lived about a mile and a half southeast of Dudley Hill, may have lived in this area off the old Indian road, probably at the two ponds. . . . Another place of burial used in early Dudley was the Quinebaug Burying Ground, located on the east side of the Quinebaug River. There were said to have been 90–100 stones here, some of them slate, some of them marble, most of them field stones."<sup>[109]</sup>

"Recently someone who had visited the old burying ground lying on the eastern bank of the Quinebaug River in Dudley [the Quinebaug Cemetery or 'the Indian burying ground'] gave the *Webster Times* a brief sketch of the present condition of that neglected cemetery, with the inscription on the gravestones, which are still preserved. Who is there still living who can tell us who these persons were? One of the names—[Lucretia] Hascall<sup>[110]</sup>—indicates that she was a daughter of one of the most prosperous farmers of Dudley, while another—[Lieut.] Ezekiel Brown<sup>[111]</sup>—was an officer in the Revolution—a man of prominence in the affairs of the town, as a free Mason a man active in all the walks of life. His family was exceedingly prominent in Dudley society, where they were leaders in social affairs. Where are their descendants? There were four sons. Two were in business in New York."<sup>[112]</sup> Ezekiel Brown, son of Chad Brown, was born in Glocester, Rhode Island, 11 October 1749, died in Dudley 15 February 1801, and was probably buried in the Quinebaug Cemetery.<sup>[113]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Thomas M. Donlin, Valley of the Nipmucks, Tales Retold Regarding the Webster-Dudley-Oxford Area of Worcester County, Massachusetts, Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Webster Five Cents Savings Bank, 1868–1968 (Webster, Mass.: Donlin-Gallagher, Inc., Times Publishing Co. Inc., 1968), 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> 200th Anniversary Celebration [note 92], 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> John C. Huden, *Indian Place Names of New England* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1962), 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Branniff, "Dudley's Cemeteries."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Vital Records of Dudley, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849 (Worcester, Mass.: Franklin P. Rice, 1908), 265: "Lucretia [Haskell], d. James and Elizabeth, [died] April 21, 1804 [a. 5, G.S.8]." *G.S.8* refers to Quinebaug Cemetery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Vital Records of Dudley includes the birth of three children to Ezekiel and Ruth Brown in Rhode Island: son Zepheniah (28 April 1775), daughter Zilpha (25 February 1778), and son Ezekiel (30 January 1783).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> William Penn Eddy, "Old times along the Banks of the Quinebaug River. Who were the early settlers along the banks of the Quinebaug River. Who are sleeping in the Cemetery on the west bank of the Quinebaug," *Webster Times*, 21 January 1909, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Unsourced annotation online at FindaGrave.com, memorial #95545307.

"Five-year-old Lucretia Brown (died 1804) whose marble stone had Masonic emblems on it. Captain Joshua Healy (died 1772) and his wife Sara (died 1770) were buried here. Unfortunately, by 1907 only 15 of the Quinebaug stones were still readable. Many more were deteriorated or just gone. A great grandson of Joshua Healy, historian Samuel Conant, re-interred the Healys' remains in 1909 at the Corbin Cemetery. Currently, there are no stones standing at the site."<sup>[114]</sup> It is fairly probable some of the Vintons were buried in the "Indian burying ground," for it was on their land.<sup>[115]</sup> It is possible that most of the graves of the white people have been removed and placed in town cemeteries.

"There was also a cemetery on the west side of the Quinebaug River on the farm of Captain John Eddy, the exact location now lost to memory [somewhere over the Quinebaug bridge, on the right side of Route 131 heading to Southbridge]. It was originally an old Indian burial ground, later used by white settlers of West Dudley for their burials as well. All the graves were unmarked."<sup>[116]</sup>

Keep in mind that the following was written well over a hundred years ago: "In 1777 John and Ralph Vinton sold a portion of their estate to Captain John Eddy of Rhode Island, who located at the farm that has been known as 'Willow tree place,' so called because of a large willow tree standing a little west of the house. . . . Here at the Willow tree house Captain John Eddy, and his wife, Deborah Winsor lived and raised a brood of twelve children, not one of whom died in infancy. . . . One of the younger sons died in 1805 and may have been the first one buried in the cemetery west of the river. Another son died in 1806, one hundred and two years ago, and was surely buried in the Capt. John Eddy lot."<sup>[117]</sup>

"We can repeat the name of one of the many who are awaiting the resurrection moon on the western bank of the Quinabaug [River]. All lying in unmarked nameless graves. Later on I will attempt to show who I know were buried, and suggest names of possibly others. I am sure of only five names. ... I must confess to much surprise when told that the cemetery on the Willow tree farm was an 'Indian burying ground.' The fact that the place is isolated-that all the graves are unmarked—coupled with the other fact that there are none of the descendants of those there buried now living in town, also that there has been no burials for nearly a century; renders that cemetery a Terra Incognita. Now forest trees are their only monuments. When my father sold the farm in 1843 to Samuel Webster he closed it so there was no ingress. Consequently the graves are protected from the farmer's plowshares, and browsing of cattle upon them. . . . we know that the Reverend John Winsor when superannuated and homeless in Rhode Island came to Dudley to live with his daughter, Deborah, and when he died was buried a century ago the 2nd of April, 1908 [sic; 1808]: near the river in the John Eddy lot where later Deborah and her husband, Capt. John Eddy, were laid away, in now unknown graves."<sup>[118]</sup> It is possible that the land where this burying ground was will never be found and could be under private land or the main highway, Southbridge Road, built in the 1930s.

"Of possibly fifty of one hundred white persons in the supposed 'Indian burying ground,' two at least were known to have been persons of prominence in their sphere of activity, only five names

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Branniff, "Dudley's Cemeteries."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Author's note: Though the Dudley Historic Commission knows the locations of these burial grounds, their locations are not advertised to protect them from those whose only interest is in vandalizing the burial grounds of our Native ancestors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Branniff, "Dudley's Cemeteries."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Eddy, "Old times along the Banks of the Quinebaug River," 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Eddy, "Old times along the Banks of the Quinebaug River," 1.

can be recalled out of the whole number, by the only person living who has any possible knowledge of them, who is now eighty-seven years old: and there is but one hand that can write them with reasonable knowledge and accuracy. . . . The names of the five are the Reverend John Winsor, who died one hundred years ago 30th of last March: Captain John Eddy,\* who died January 21st, 1821, Deborah Winsor, wife of Capt John Eddy, who died April 3d, 1815, and their sons, Erasmus, who died in 1806, age 11 years; Pascal Pavil, who died in 1805, age 7 years. These five names are known to only two people as once borne by those under the mounds in the cemetery on the west bank of the Quinebaug. Who knows the names of the other ninety five, who are lying with them, possibly as well known in their day? . . . If this record does not go in print, and so become actual history now, and be preserved as such, there will be hereafter, no evidence that the nameless graves on the willow tree farm are not filled by the aboriginal possessors of the hills and valleys of Dudley."<sup>[119]</sup>

"Corbin Cemetery: In 1727, the 60-year-old well-known trader and land speculator from Woodstock, Conn., James Corbin, bought land in the wilderness of Keekamoochaug (later Dudley). He was one of the first selectmen when the town was incorporated in 1731.... When the intended burial ground next to the meeting house plot proved to be unsuitable (see above), James Corbin gifted land to the town in 1735 for a burying ground. Located off Ramshorn Road, it still bears his name. The Old Settlers section is on the left as you enter. In 1741, 'It is stated that the earliest burials were near the Quinebaug."<sup>[120]</sup>

## The Dudley Nipmuc or Pegan Indians

"The Nipmuc presence was seen as troublesome by the English. In an attempt to make their problem disappear, great efforts were made to make the Pegans look, dress, and act like the English. The Puritans wanted the Indians to renounce their native language, ceremonies, beliefs, traditional dress, and customs. Thus the Indians would become essentially 'Red' Puritans and through assimilation, they would 'vanish.' For a people who had left their own homeland because of persecution and discrimination, the Puritans were extremely intolerant of other cultures.

"After the war, the thing of greatest value left to the Nipmucs was their land. The Indians saw selling this to whites as a way to improve the Pegans' existence. It did not work.... In 1707, 8,000 square acres of Pegan land were 'sold' for ten pounds to William Dudley, who then sold the land to early settlers of what would become Dudley. In 1724, Mr. Dudley 'generously' deeded a 1-square-mile tract in Dudley back to the Indians, to be theirs forever, providing they 'improve and plant' the land in [the] English style.

"Forever' came in 1763 when the Dudley family heirs declared (with the help of the stateappointed guardian for the Indians) that the Indians had not planted and developed their one square mile of land—in the area of the present day golf course—and the one square mile was taken back and sold to non-Indians (among them, Edward Davis).

"In 1733, the Dudley town fathers had decided that Joshua Pegan's field at the top of what is now Dudley Hill was the perfect place for a meeting house, 'if the land were available for that purpose.' Old Joshua Pegan and his relatives then 'gifted' 4 acres of their land to the Town of Dudley for a meeting house, burial ground, and training field.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Eddy, "Old times along the Banks of the Quinebaug River," 5.

<sup>\*</sup>Capt. John Eddy is buried in the town Corbin Cemetery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Branniff, "Dudley's Cemeteries."

"Over the next century, the Pegans' land in Dudley slowly disappeared. John Eliot and Daniel Gookin, two early missionaries working together to convert the Dudley Indians to Christianity, could have given the Pegans sound advice regarding finances and land, but they did not. The Pegans' culture was linked to their land, and without it they became impoverished and dependent and easy converts for the missionaries. The state-appointed guardians of the Indians were no better and were also part of the land grab by the whites. By 1857, the Pegans had been reduced to a reservation that consisted of a tenement building and one-acre lot at 61-63 Lake Street in Webster (formerly Dudley) and a 26+ acres near Webster Lake. In 1870, the tenement was sold to Thomas McQuaid and the Indians displaced. The remaining 26+ acres were sold to non-Indians in 1886.

"Despite their less than honorable treatment in the past, many area Nipmucs fought, and some died in the white men's wars. Hezekiah Dorus and William H. N. Cady were captured, imprisoned, and died at Andersonville during the Civil War. James Nedson signed up for two tours of duty [in] the same war, survived Anderson, but died shortly after returning home. Israel Henries (nephew of Payne Henries) perished in WWI. And there were many more.

"Payne Henries was a well-known Nipmuc living in Webster in the early 1900s. He kept to his native dress and native lifestyle. Some still remember him walking up Lake Street with his load of furs from trapping, to sell them to a furrier. He was taken ill on Main Street in Webster in 1937, moved to his brother's home in Quinebaug, and died in [the Day Kimball] hospital in Putnam, Connecticut. He was not the last of the Nipmucs.

"The lifetime chief of the Charbunagungamaugg Nipmuc Indian Council, Chief Wise Owl (Edwin Morse), recently celebrated his 80th birthday [in 2011]. David 'Tall Pine' White of the Tribal Council of the Charbunagungamaugg Band of Nipmucs acted as Nipmuc language consultant for the PBS special 'We Shall Remain,' a documentary on the Indians of America.... Nipmucs, their culture and language are still with us."<sup>[121]</sup>

#### **Dudley Native Americans in the Civil War**

In the Civil War, Hezekiah Dorous (of Webster) and William H. N. Cady (of Dudley) were captured, imprisoned, and died at Andersonville. James Nedson signed up for two tours of duty during the same war, survived Andersonville, but died shortly after returning home.

DOROUS, Hezekiah W. — Res. Dudley; laborer; 19; enl[isted]. Aug. 20, 1862; must[ered]. Sept. 25, 1862; must. Out July 27, 1863. See Co. "G" 2d Mass. Hy. Arty.<sup>[122]</sup>

DOROUS, Hezekiah W. — Priv. — Res. Webster; 20; laborer enl. Nov. 30, 1863; must. Dec. 7, 1863; died of disease, Nov. 1, 1864, Andersonville, Ga., a Prisoner of War.<sup>[123]</sup>

CADY, William H. N. — Priv. — Res. Oxford; 21; shoemaker; enl. and must. Dec. 7, 1863; prisoner April 20, 1864, Plymouth, N.C.; died of disease, Nov. 1, 1864, Andersonville, Ga., a Prisoner of War.<sup>[124]</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Linda Branniff, "The Nipmuc or Pegan Indians," Webster Times, April 2, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Massachusetts Adjutant General, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors and Marines in the Civil War*, 8 vols. (Norwood, Mass.: Norwood Press, 1931–1935), 4:574.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Ibid., 4:715.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Ibid., 4:713.

NEDSON, James — Priv. — Res. Dudley; laborer; 18; enl. Aug. 20, 1862; must. Dec. 7, 1863; must. Out July 27, 1863.<sup>[125]</sup>

NEDSON, James — Priv. — Res. Dudley; laborer; 20; farmer; enl. Dec. 7, 1863; must. Jany. 1864; must. Out Sept. 3, 1865.<sup>[126]</sup>

#### "Real American"

"Israel Henries of Quinebaug is killed in Action June 5th Fighting in France. Israel Henries of Dudley has made the supreme sacrifice for his country, and word was received Wednesday night by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Henries of Quinebaug, that the young man has been killed in action June 5th. Young Henries, the second Dudley boy to give up his life for his country, is a real American, as he is a descendant of the Nipmuck Indians. He enlisted at the outbreak of the war, and has been in France for several months. His parents formerly lived in Woodstock, Conn. The young man was with Co. D, 23d US Infantry, and address is given as P.O. 710, France. He had worked at the Intervale mills at Quinebaug for three years previous to his enlistment. Henries was 26 years of age, and enlisted in Worcester, July 8, 1917, in the 23d Infantry, and was assigned to Co. D. and trained at Fort Slocum, leaving with his regiment for France in September. He was born in Woodstock, Conn. but lived in Dudley for the past few years."<sup>[127]</sup>

"Israel P. Henries Killed in France – Father an Indian; Brother Goes with Draft (special to the Courant.) Putnam, July 25. . . . News reached here today of the death in France of Israel P. Henries of North Woodstock, near this village. A telegram to his parents from the office of Adjutant General McCain at Washington announced that he had been killed in action, June 5. He was born in Woodstock April 5, 1892, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Henries. His father is an American Indian. His mother a white woman. The family now lives in Quinibaug. He leaves three brothers and two sisters. One brother, Joseph Henries, left Putnam today in the draft contingent for Camp Devens. Henries enlisted July 8, 1917 and was assigned to Company D, Second Battalion, Twenty-third Regiment."<sup>[128]</sup> His grave stone is located in the Corbin Cemetery, Corbin Road, Dudley.

"In 1996, the Hassanamisco and Chaubunagungamaug clans filed separate petitions for recognition. Both were denied in June 2004 for failure to meet all seven criteria for federal recognition. Both the Chaubunagungamaug and Hassanamisco learned in February 2008 that all administrative avenues for federal recognition had been exhausted when the bureau declined to reconsider an appeal of the denied petition."<sup>[129]</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Ibid., 4:575.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Ibid., 5:665.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> "Real American," Webster Times, 25 July 1918, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> The Hartford Courant, 26 July 1918 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Hartford Courant 1887–1922), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Bradford L. Miner, *Worcester Telegram*, Worcester, Mass., 9 February 2010.