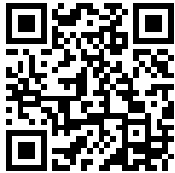
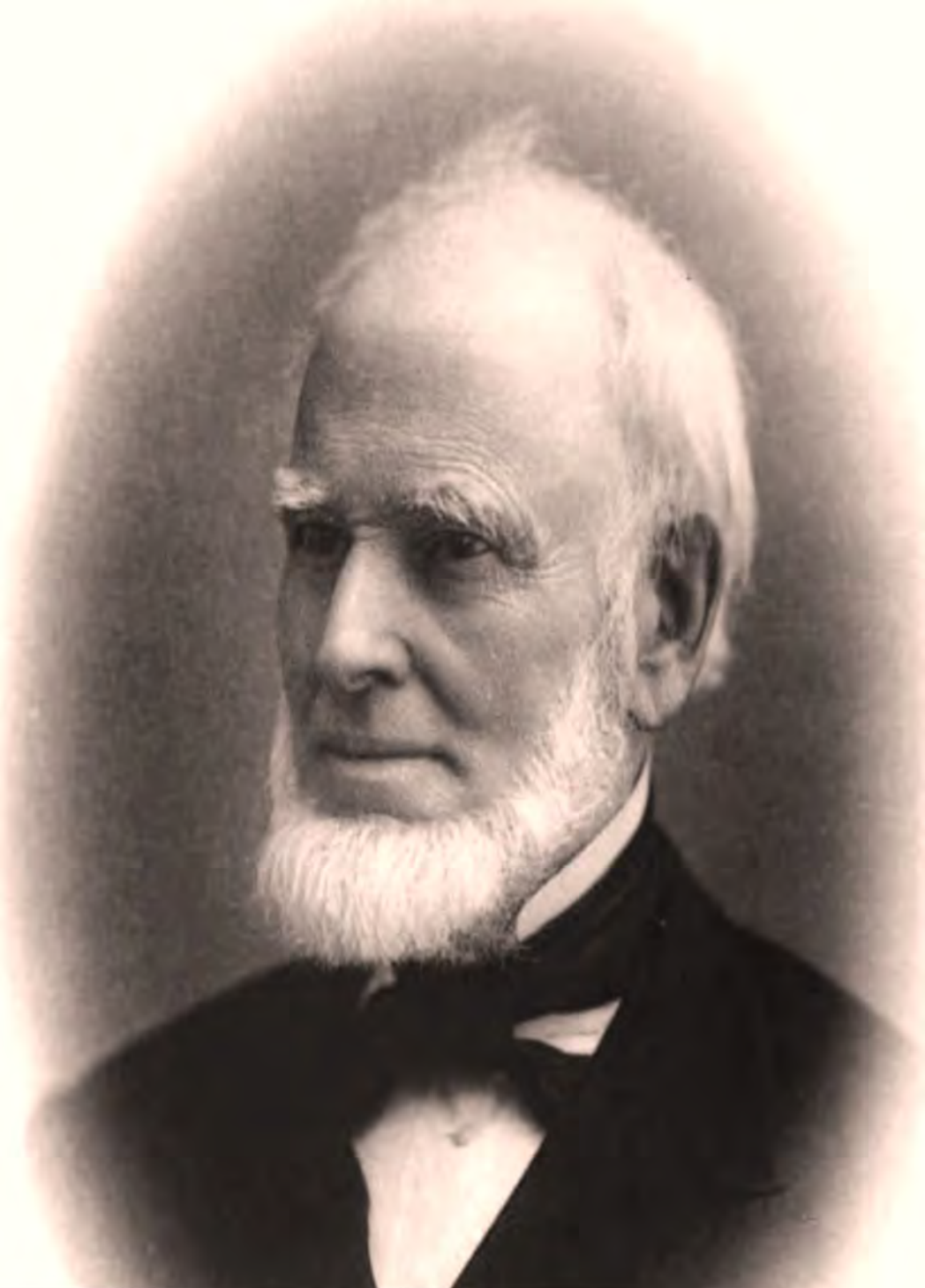

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*Proceedings of the Worcester
Society of Antiquity*

Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Mass

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Worcester Society of Antiquity,

VOLUME IX.



WORCESTER, MASS.:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

1891.

U. S. A. CXV.



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No. XXVII.

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FOR THE YEAR

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1889.

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brief descriptive remarks were made by Mr. Paine, which added greatly to their interest, and held the close attention of the audience.

Among other interesting illustrations shown by Mr. Paine, was a fac-simile of a page of the Town Records, on which was recorded the Protest of 1774, prepared by the loyalists. This was entered on the records by Clark Chandler, the tory Town Clerk, who was obliged by the indignant protests of the town, to so erase and disfigure the pages that the record could not be deciphered. The illustration showed how effectually this was carried out.

The talk lasted about an hour and at its close a vote of thanks to Mr. Paine was passed by the Society.

215th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, May 6th.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, Crane, Davidson, Dickinson, Estey, Gould, Hosmer, Hubbard, Lynch, G. Maynard, M. A. Maynard, Meriam, Otis, F. P. Rice, Rockwood, J. A. Smith, Staples, Stedman, members; D. N. Porter, Thomas Harrington and others, visitors.—22.

George Lawrence Estey was admitted an active member of the Society.

The Librarian reported 83 additions since the last regular meeting.

The following paper was read:

THE DUDLEY, OR PEGAN INDIANS.

BY JOHN E. LYNCH.

The earlier settlers of New England found five principal nations inhabiting it, namely: the Pequots, Narragansetts, Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, Massachusetts and Pawtuckets. It is quite probable that the authority of each tribe, at one time or another, extended within the district now called Worcester County.

The region extending from Natick to the Connecticut River, and southerly from Mt. Wachusett down the Quinnebaug valley to Woodstock, Conn., then in Massachusetts, was occupied by a partially independent tribe called the Nipmucks. The name Nipmuck, Nipmug, or Nipnet, which means "fresh water," originally had a special application to the savages of central Massachusetts. Each branch of the tribe was distinguished by the name of the locality it inhabited. The earliest mention of this tribe is the story in a Boston News-letter of the carrying of sacks of corn to the famishing English of Boston in 1630, by Acquittimaug and his father. Acquittimaug lived to see his beloved Nipmuck in the possession of those whom he had succored. Many years after his kindly act, on visiting Boston, he was shown distinguished attention.

Gov. Winthrop, on Jan. 27, 1632, standing on a high rock eight miles above Watertown, remarked that he could see all over Nipmuck, and the blue tops of Mt. Wachusett were then for the first time seen by him.

In 1635 "a brave piece of meadow" at Weathersfield, was settled by a party of whites from Watertown. These were probably the first white men to tread upon the hunting grounds of the Nipmucks.

The principal divisions of the Nipmucks were the Nashuays, Naticks, Hassanamesits, Pennacooks, Pawtuckets, Quaboags, Wamesits, and Pegan or Dudley Indians.

The history of the Dudley Indians is inseparably connected with that of all the Nipmucks dwelling in that large tract of land embracing the present towns of Woodstock, Oxford, Southbridge, Sturbridge, Charlton, Webster, and Dudley.

As the Dudley Indians are a remnant of the Nipmuck tribe, the history of that tribe is their history. The branches of the Nipmucks were not a unit as regards allegiance. There is no record of them as ever having been an independent nation. At different periods the Narragansetts, Pokanokets or Wampanoags, Mohicans, and Massachusetts claimed the whole or a part of the tribe. In 1647 they were uncertain about their sachem, and as circumstances impelled, acknowledged either Massasoit of Pokanoket or the chief of Narragansett as their sachem. Drake mentions a squaw-sachem as Nipmuck ruler in 1621, dwelling near Wachusett.

In 1667 the Nipmucks of Quantisset who lived in the south eastern part of Woodstock complained to the Massachusetts Court of great wrong done by the Narragansetts robbing and spoiling them of property to the value of 100 pounds. The Narragansetts acknowledged taking the goods but justified themselves in so doing "because the Nipmucks neglected and refused to pay tribute due unto them, and had named their deceased sachem, which is a great crime with them, and had sent scurrilous messages to their squaw-sachem, and robbed some of their people."

The Nipmucks denied that any just tribute was due from them, affirming that they were a free people, and had "from time to time chosen their sachems by the suffrage of twelve principal men deputed thereunto." Moreover, whatever they had heretofore given to the Narragansetts was "as a loan or as a present unto them and not by way of right or due."

The Narragansetts appearing before the Governor to substantiate their assertions, tendered many things "by

way of proofs that the Nipmuck Indians (especially those of Quantisset) were subject to them, yet withal offering and declaring that if the Nipmucks were real in their profession to serve God and to live under the gov't of the English they were willing it should be so."

They also agreed to return guns and other articles taken, provided they were placed under the charge of Capt. William Hudson for such period of time as would suffice to test their allegiance to England, and their sincerity in praying to God. This apparently generous offer was accepted by the Governor.

The condition of the Indians within the territory of Massachusetts was early investigated by the authorities of the colony, who were zealous in their attempts to improve their condition and eager to spread the light of Christianity amongst them. The Nipmucks, though less industrious and energetic than their more warlike neighbors, early showed a desire to establish friendship with the settlers. In 1643 the squaw-sachem, together with Massasoit, Nashoon and other chiefs made an agreement with the Massachusetts Colony, for mutual advantage. The chiefs acknowledged the government of the white people, and agreed to obey their laws if in return they were protected and treated by the English as were their own subjects. Massasoit was living at this time with Nashoon, a Nipmuck chief having his residence near Magus Hill in this county. This is probably the same Nashoon who with eight other chiefs acknowledged themselves to be the loyal subjects of James, King of Great Britain, September 13, 1621.

We are told that the language of the Nipmucks differed materially from that of the sea-coast Indians. Their manners and customs were brutal and barbarous. They took many wives, one of whom was the principal or chief in esteem or affection. Divorces resulted frequently and for very slight reasons. All were revengeful, a truly human characteristic, and united in avenging both tribal and indi-

vidual injuries, fancied or real. Love for offspring and hospitality to guests were other noticeable traits. The men were especially given to idleness. Tilling and planting, carrying burdens and preparing food were the privileges of the women.

Before the advent of the pale face water was their principal drink. As they mingled with the whites it was inevitable that they should adopt some of the vices as well as virtues of their civilized and Christianized brothers. They soon acquired a love for alcoholic drinks. Even before the Rev. John Eliot's pilgrimage among them, orchards had been planted and from their fruit cider was obtained and much used to excess. Although the sale to the Indians of strong drink was emphatically forbidden by the Massachusetts authorities, and a penalty of 40 shillings per pint for such sale was exacted, one third part of the penalty to go to the informer, yet means were found by which the fatal "fire water" was sold to them. The Indians would suffer whipping and fine rather than betray the mercenary wretches who sold them liquor.

"This beastly sin of drunkenness," says Gookin, "could not be charged upon the Indians before the English, Dutch, French and Spaniards come to dwell in America, which nations, especially the English, in New England have cause to be greatly humbled before God, that they have been, and are instrumental in causing these Indians to commit the great and beastly sin of drunkenness." Seventeen years later, Mr. Daniel Bondet, minister of the French colony which settled at Oxford, complained to the authorities of Massachusetts, of the sale of rum to the Indians and its results, and prays that the business may be restrained. He says: "The rum is always sold to the Indians without order and measure," and he relates the following: "On the 27th of last month there were about 20 Indians so furious by drunkenness that they fought like beasts and fell upon one called Remes, who is appointed for preaching the gos-

pel amongst them. He had been so much injured by his wounds that there is no hope for his recovery. Hear us we pray, and so God be with you and prosper all your undertakings and applications, is the sincere wish of your most respectful servant."

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. Wishing to show their friendly spirit, the Narragansetts invited the Nipmucks to a feast of shell fish, probably a "Rhode Island" clam bake. The visitors were so much pleased with their feast that they returned the civility by inviting their hosts to visit them. The invitation was accepted and all sat down to a banquet of lamprey eels, which though enjoyable to the Nipmucks, was not at all relished by the Narragansetts, whose disappointed palates and unsatisfied appetites were manifest in untouched food and sour faces. 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.

Until 1675 there is little doubt that the whites and the Nipmucks lived on terms of friendship, and were much dependent on one another. The Nipmucks are credited

with more than once saving the whites from slaughter. The English for the most part were honest in their dealings with the Indians. The General Court passed an order November 19, 1644, inaugurating measures for civilizing and Christianizing them; thus, as Palfrey says, becoming "the first missionary society in the history of Protestant Christendom."

In 1646, John Eliot, having learned the Indian language, varied his pastoral work by undertaking the instruction of the Indians in the colony. For a quarter of a century his missionary labors continued and they were not lacking in success. The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," whose head-quarters were in London, was much interested in this work. Eliot received from the Society sums of money varying from fifteen to fifty pounds. The agents of the Society were authorized to build a house in Cambridge for the native young men whom they had selected to be educated in that town. When these young men had acquired sufficient education they were appointed teachers over different tribes or "praying towns." This Indian College in Cambridge was unsuccessful, as the change from out-of-door activity to which the Indians were accustomed, to a life of study, aggravated their tendency to pulmonary trouble. The only Indian graduate died at the age of twenty, and for lack of students the college was closed, or rather opened as a printing office.

Eliot's unselfishness and his patient devotion to the welfare of the Indian were never more manifest than in his translation of the Bible into the Nipmuck tongue. His most valuable assistant in this great work was James the Printer, who taught the Dudley Indians, and who, after Philip's War, became apprenticed to Mr. Green, with whom he printed the Indian Psalter.

In reference to the revision of his Bible, John Eliot wrote to a friend in 1683, "I desire to see it done before I die, but am so deep in years that I cannot expect to live long ;



besides we have but one man, viz: the Indian printer, that is able to compose the sheets and correct the press with understanding."

"Printer" became the surname of James the Printer's family, and we are told that some of his descendants lived in Grafton.

Palfrey states that in 1658 Eliot's native teachers were paid ten pounds each, besides receiving Bibles, spectacles, and primers for their pupils. Eliot did not confine himself to religious work alone, for he realized that in order to make his missionary labors fruitful their worldly comfort should not be overlooked. He therefore encouraged building of houses, living by families, planting of gardens, raising of fruit, flax and hemp, and erection of bridges. Thus industry became the handmaiden of religion. The seven "old praying towns" were Natick, Stoughton, Marlborough, Lowell, Grafton, Littleton and Hopkinton. Seven "new praying towns" were established in the Nipmuck country. In July 1672, these were visited by Eliot, together with Hon. Daniel Gookin, one of the magistrates of the Colony, who writes "that the seven new praying towns, began to hearken unto the gospel about three years since or thereabouts."

In September 1674, the Nipmucks were again visited by the "Apostle to the Indians" and his friend Gookin. The latter stated their purpose as being "to travel further amongst them and to confirm their souls in the Christian religion, and to settle teachers amongst them in every town, and to establish civil government among them as in other praying towns, and for this purpose took with them five or six godly persons." At this time a Court was held and their teacher, Sampson, and their constable, Black James, were approved. An order was made empowering the constable "to suppress drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, powwowing and idolatry." The towns embraced in this visit were Manchage, now Oxford; Chaubunakongkomau, or

Dudley ; Manexit, Quantisset, and Wabquisset, lying in Woodstock, Pakachoag, being a part of Ward, and Warunlug or Uxbridge. The total population of the Nipmucks at this time was about 1150,—605 of whom were inhabitants of the above praying towns. The smallest of these praying towns was that of the Chaubunakongkomaug or Dudley Indians, who numbered 45. It is a remarkable and interesting fact that the smallest of the communities was destined to be the subject of the last chapters on tribal proprietorship among the Nipmucks.

The following respecting the Indians who lived in this town is from Gookin's writings : "About five miles hence (from Oxford) is a second town called Chaubunakongkomaug. It hath its denomination from a very great pond about five or six miles long, that borders upon the southward of it. This village is about fifty-five miles southwest from Boston. There are about nine families and forty-five souls. The people are of sober deportment and better instructed in the worship of God than any of the new praying towns. Their teacher's name is Joseph, who is one of the church of Hasanamesit, a sober, pious and ingenious person, and speaks English well, and is well read in the Scriptures. He was the first that settled in this town and got the people to him about two years since. It is a new plantation and is well accommodated with uplands and meadows. At the place dwells an Indian called Black James, who about a year since was constituted constable of all the '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. M^r. Eliot preached unto this people and we prayed and sang psalms with him, and we exhorted them to stand fast in the faith. A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them and resolving a variety of questions propounded by them touching matters of religious and civil order."

Chaubunakongkomaug, meaning the "boundary fishing

place," was the popular resort of the Nipmucks, and was a boundary mark between their territory and that of the Mohicans, although the Nipmucks claimed twenty miles farther south. Tradition affirms that this lake and vicinity were regarded by the Nipmucks as the abode of the Great Spirit. Here was to be their paradise, their happy hunting grounds, where after death they would be forever employed in the delightful sports of hunting and fishing.

Eliot's chief Indian assistant among the praying Indians was Wattascompanum, chief sachem of the Nipmucks, whose influence was great in preserving friendly relations between his people and the whites. He lived at Hassanametit. His power oftentimes proved ineffectual in preventing other more warlike Indians from inciting his tribe to commit hostile acts.

After leaving the Christian Indians at Chaubunakonkomaug, Eliot proceeded to Pakachoag where he held Court, September 28, 1674, Wattascompanum assisting. Sagamore John, alias Horowanninet, entertained them. Both of these Indians took leading parts in fighting the English after hostilities of Philip's War commenced. Under Eliot's wise care and direction the Indians made much progress. Quarrelling and drinking were not so common. His efforts were encouraging, and his unselfish devotion apparently was destined to bear the much sought for results of order, regard for law, and conversion to Christianity of the barbarous nations. Suddenly the harmony was rudely destroyed, the work of years well nigh annihilated, and the fondest anticipations shattered.

Philip of Pokanoket suddenly interrupted the progress of Christianity and education. He urged the Nipmucks to join him in the war against the whites whom he was not alone in regarding as enemies, rapidly possessing themselves of the lands of their fathers, spreading ideas and customs fatal to their spirit of liberty. Could the Nipmucks withstand Philip's blood-stirring taunts or answer

his crafty arguments? The Massachusetts authorities had but slight hope that they would remain neutral. An early test was made of the true feeling of the Nipmucks to the colonists on July 28, 1675.

A meeting of the English with the sachems of the Nipmucks was agreed upon to take place on a plain about three miles from Brookfield. Accordingly, Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler commanding a score of mounted men and three Christian Indians as guides and interpreters, (Menecho, Joseph and Sampson,) went to the meeting place, but found none with whom to treat. However they pushed on in single file, confident that the Indians would be found not far off, waiting for them. In this they were not mistaken, but alas, for their confidence in the Indians' fidelity. When between an abrupt hill and a swamp near Mikabaug Pond, 200 or 300 Indians suddenly attacked them, killing eight men and mortally wounding three. Their die was cast; their Rubicon crossed. Not one of the English could have escaped were it not for the faithfulness, skill and bravery of their Indian guides. Menecho fell into the hands of the hostile Indians, but the other two led the English by an unknown route to Brookfield. Notwithstanding their faithful service these two Indians were afterwards compelled to fly to Philip for protection. Sampson was killed while fighting against the English; Joseph was sold as a slave and sent to Jamaica. Mr. Eliot interceded for Joseph, who was afterwards allowed to return. Menecho escaped from the Indians and rendered much service to the English during the war.

The conflict was carried on with all the brutality and horror characteristic of Indian warfare. The quiet, inoffensive Nipmuck was changed to the savage and ferocious demon. In all parts of New England was heard the war-whoop of the Indian and was seen the glow of their fearful torch.

In Worcester County but four townships had been grant-

ed up to this time. They were Lancaster or "Nashaway," Mendon, Brookfield, known as the Indian town of the Qua-boags, and Quinsigamond, the latter granted at the request of Daniel Gookin. Since the Pequot War there had been a general peace, and these settlements were regarded as permanent ones. At Quinsigamond, when hostilities commenced, were about six English dwellings all of which were burned early in December, 1675; Mendon and Brookfield previously having suffered a similar fate.

Many of the Nipmucks who were the most ferocious, blood-thirsty and cruel were easily recognized as former professors of Christianity, "nor in that region," says Palfrey, "was it found that any considerable number of natives could be relied on as allies."

A short while before the fall and death of Philip, the Nipmucks fully realizing their humiliating and wretched condition, sent a messenger, (bearing a white flag) to the English. "He came from Sagamore Sam of Nassoway." He bore letters asking for peace and a renewal of friendship. They asked it "in the name of Jesus Christ and for his sake whose name they had so much blasphemed." Among the signers of this letter was one of the Indians who deeded Worcester to the whites.

The sins of the Nipmucks during this war were many and fearful, but they never were punished as they deserved. Wattascompanum, chief sachem of the Nipmucks, though a professed and accepted Christian, was the prime agent in the treachery of the Praying Indians. He was captured, tried, convicted and hung at Boston.

Sagamore John of Pakachoag, a Nipmuck sachem, on July 27, 1676, disheartened, went to Boston, where he begged the mercy of the English. A pardon was granted him as he had persuaded nearly 200 more to sue for peace. At this same time he betrayed Matoonas and his son against whom the English were much incensed. Death being the penalty of Matoonas' guilt, Sagamore John, in order to more

firmly gain the friendship of the English, asked that he be allowed to execute him. This base and horrible request was not denied. Accordingly he bound Matoonas to a tree and then shot him to death. Commenting on this execution, Dr. Mather adds: "Thus did God retaliate upon him the innocent blood which he had shed; as he had done, so God requited him." Matoonas, while a member of the Christian Indians, resided on Pakachoag Hill. During the progress of the war, the Nipmucks were not free from punishment. Their corn fields and wigwams were destroyed by Capt. Gorham with 100 men from Plymouth, October 1675. Maj. Talcott in June 1676, marched from Norwich to join the Massachusetts at Brookfield, and on the way destroyed a deserted fort at Wabquasset, (Woodstock,) and at Chaubunagungamaug, now Dudley, killed and captured 52 Indians. At this time the Nipmucks had five sachems, Monoco, Mantauk, Shoshamin, Matoonas and Sagamore John.

Despite the wholesale treachery of their Nipmuck brethren, the Dudley Indians remained neutral during the war. Though surrounded on all sides by savages hostile to the English, no records are found of their engagement in any of those depredations which marked the work of their more warlike relatives. More than once were they enabled to prevent their white friends from massacre. The Indians of Chaubunagungamaug were not the only Nipmucks who did not unite their fortunes with Philip, for the Wabquasset "fled southward and placed themselves under the protection of Uncas at Mohegan."

Philip's War was too great a test for half converted Nipmucks. Six years after the war Eliot could count but four "praying towns," namely, Natick, Punkapoag or Stoughton, Wamesit or Tewksbury, and Chaubunagungamaug or Dudley. The latter was the only one of the new praying towns that did not fall away from "the faith."

After the close of the war, the authorities ordered the

Nipmucks to assemble at five stated places where wigwams were to be built, and from which they were forbidden to go more than a mile away, unless in an Englishman's company, under penalty of imprisonment or death. But the tribe was scattered and not easily reunited. In fact had the war been much prolonged, it would have made this tribe one numbered among the extinct. Many who survived its severity took refuge among the neighboring tribes. Their friends among the whites were very few and their enemies numerous and bitter. This was only to have been expected. Daniel Gookin was the only magistrate who opposed the colonists in their demands for quick and severe punishment of the wretched Indians.

Gradually the fugitives returned to their old homes, rebuilt their wigwams and renewed the practice of the peaceful arts. Disputes arose over the ownership of different parcels of land, and the General Court attempted to settle the difficulties. Accordingly, in May 1681, the Court empowered the "worshipful William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, Esquires, to investigate the matter, to ascertain the titles of the Indians to their claims, to inquire into their validity and to make an early report to the Court." In pursuance of this order Stoughton and Dudley held a meeting at Cambridge of all the Indians interested. John Eliot acted as interpreter. Their report reads as follows: "We then found them willing enough to make claim to the whole country, but litigious and doubtful among themselves; we therefore for that time dismissed them to agree about their several claims amongst themselves, and told them we would further treat with them to compromise the whole matter in the country's behalf." The Indians having come to a better understanding among themselves were visited by the Commissioners in the following September, who sojourned with them for a week.

Black James and Company claimed the southern part of Nipmuck. The middle part near Sherburne and Marlbo-

rough was laid claim to by the Hassanamesits then living at Natick. Stoughton and Dudley recommended that the Colony purchase the entire Nipmuck territory. This the Court empowered them to do. In reporting their transactions with the Indians the Commissioners conclude that "the Hassanamesit and Natick Indians shall have added to their plantations all the waste lands lying between the two plantations and adjoining to Meadfield, Sherborn, Mendon, Marlborough, and Sudbury. The remainder of their claim lying four miles northward of the present Springfield road and southward to that, they purchased for thirty pounds money and a coat."

The southern half of this land they bought of Black James and Company for twenty pounds on condition that by the grant and allowance of the Court they might "reserve to themselves a certain tract five miles square, or contents in two parcels to be at their own disposal, to them, their heirs and assigns forever, as expressed in the deed." This tract conveyed by both deeds was triangular in form and was equivalent to a rectangular area 50 miles long and 20 miles wide. Besides the fifty pounds and the coat, for this immense extent of land, about five pounds in money was distributed among the Indians, and ten pounds of the fifty was paid them at the time of sale.

The Commissioners at this time promised the Indians that their complaints against certain farmers and towns for illegal holding of Indian lands would be heard and justice meted out.

Thus by February 10, 1681, the country of the Nipmucks from the northern part of Massachusetts to the junction of Quinebaug and French Rivers was secured to the Province of Massachusetts. The Commissioners, William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, being agents of the government in the purchase, conveyed this land to Gov. Bradstreet and Company of Massachusetts.

In recognition of their valuable services the government



presented Dudley and Stoughton each with 1000 acres of the land thus purchased. Their selection of this land was submitted in 1685 and ratified by the following :

“This Court doth allow of, ratify and confirm the plat offered to this Court by Mr. John Gore, sworn surveyor, containing 1800 acres with allowance of addition of 200 more next adjoining, to complete the same to 2000 acres, which was granted unto William Stoughton, Esq., and Joseph Dudley, Esq., at the General Court, on adjournment held at Boston, February 15, 1681, to be to themselves, their heirs and assigns forever, the plat whereof is on file, the land lying in the Nipmuck Country at a place called Manchage, the line being marked with ranging marks on the corners with S. D.” The same Court confirmed unto Black James and Company, the two plats of land being five miles square, as agreed upon in the sale of the Nipmuck land by the Commissioners. One of these sections was at Manexet, east of the Quinebaug, now included in the towns of Dudley, Webster, and Thompson; the other at Quantisset, now the southwestern part of Thompson, and southeastern part of Woodstock.

Joseph Dudley who is so closely connected with the disposition of the Nipmuck land was the son of Thomas Dudley who was one of the five undertakers of Massachusetts Colony. Joseph was born in 1647, his father at the time being 70 years of age. He was appointed to the Presidency in 1686, when the government of Massachusetts was changed to a President and Council. His full title was, President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Rhode Island. The new government lasted but about five months, when Andros appeared as Governor of New York and New England. Dudley being in sympathy with him was retained in his Council and became its President. Because of such unpopular actions as his intimacy with Andros and with the latter's infamous lieutenant and unscrupulous adviser, Randolph, Joseph Dudley became thoroughly disliked

by the people, who suspected him of conspiring against their liberties. The government being overthrown in 1689 the people had an opportunity of partially requiting Dudley and others. He was imprisoned for twenty weeks and then sent to England. He returned the following year to this country, having made his peace with the King. Though as before mentioned very unpopular with the people, after the King's death, Queen Anne appointed him Governor in 1702.

The Indians did not long hold their reservation intact, for as early as April 28, 1682, Stoughton and Dudley received a deed of one half the entire reservation. In 1707, Black James, James the Printer and others, "for and in consideration of the great love and good will, esteem and affection" which they bore "unto the Honorable Joseph Dudley, Esqr, and his family, as also for and in consideration of ten pounds current money of New England, paid by William Dudley of Boston, son of the said Joseph Dudley, sold to William Dudley 'the remaining full moiety or half part of the five miles square,' consisting of 8000 acres, reserving to themselves and heirs, 'a right and liberty of planting and hunting upon said ground in such places as may be necessary' for their support."

In 1724, William Dudley conveyed to the Indians a tract of land containing about one square mile with the understanding that this plat should remain to the Indians, their children and descendants, "to plant and improve" and be accounted the only reserve and exception in the deed of 1707. Thus William Dudley became possessed of about 7000 acres of Nipmuck land at a cost to himself of £10.

The square mile which now remained to the Indians of their 25 square miles of reservation extended from a brook at the northeast corner of Isaac Newell's farm, south to the north line of Paul Dudley's Manexet farm.

The General Court in December, 1731, constituted a "distinct and separate township," to be called Dudley. This

township included a part of the original reservation, and what is now the centre of the village, was a portion of it.

January 30, 1734, it was voted by the Congregational Society of Dudley, to build a Meeting house on "Joshua Pegan's old field," provided land for that purpose could be obtained. On the 27th of March, in the same year, the Indians of Dudley Hill offered four acres of this "farm" to the Society for their Church, provided convenient seats in it were allowed to Indians. This proposition was agreed to and gift accepted. 440 acres of the square mile plat were sold in 1763 by the General Court, at the urgent solicitation of the Dudley heirs, and the then guardians of the Indians. The conditions of sale were £50 at the time of sale, and £9 a year for Indians' benefit. This land was very soon sold by the heirs of Dudley for £650 to Edward Davis. Mr. Charles E. Stevens in his argument before the Judiciary Committee of the Legislature in May, 1889, says, in regard to this sale: "The Dudley heirs were required to pay £9 a year, and they acquired a fund of £650 whereby they obtained £39 a year. That was the bad bargain which the Commonwealth made for its dusky wards. The Indians now had left only 200 acres of the 1000 square miles they once possessed by aboriginal title; only 200 of the 16000 acres secured to them by the absolute title conferred by the sovereign Commonwealth."

Edward Davis, the purchaser, gave a bond for the annual payment of the £9.

On June 7, 1797, the General Court granted the petition of the committee of the town of Dudley, of the guardians of the Dudley Indians and of Levi Davis of Charlton to sell the remaining 200 acres and to appropriate the money thereby received for payment of Indians' debts to guardians and for support of same Indians. The terms of sale were to be \$300 from Levi Davis the purchaser, for payment of guardians Samuel Corbin, Mark Dodge and John Healy; and also, that said Levi deed to the Commonwealth "a certain

tract of land lying in Dudley containing 26 acres and 58 rods," and pay or secure the payment of \$1667 and interest, all for the benefit of the Indians. The sale was accordingly made.

In 1832 the town of Webster was formed by taking part of the territory of each of the towns of Dudley and Oxford, the latter being the first town to receive a grant of land in Worcester County after King Philip's War. As the 26 acres 58 rods was a part of the new town, the Indians became identified with Webster.

We are told that in April, 1857, about twenty members of the tribe were living on the reservation, and they claimed support from the guardian, while many others in neighboring towns received assistance from time to time, although these latter were not entitled to such help. Though a resolve approved by the Legislature on May 29th, 1857, made it the duty of the guardian to "require all of said Indians claiming support of the Commonwealth to reside upon the land set apart for their use, and under his immediate supervision," yet many of the guardians, moved by a wise policy of encouraging industry and independence, violated this rule when a little temporary assistance might prevent a return to entire dependence on the charity of the State.

In 1857 one acre of land was purchased for the better accommodation of the State's wards. The purchase of this may seem unnecessary since the tract of more than 26 acres was still held for them. But the buildings on this lot were in a dilapidated condition, and new ones were necessary. The State decided not to rebuild on the old lot for many reasons. The land was far removed from the public highway, and the buildings surrounded by woods which made the place retired, and free from public observation. Consequently it became a popular resort for many dissolute and lawless persons whose proceedings disturbed the good towns-people. The reservation and its associations were

much detested by those who saw in it a serious barrier to order and decency.

A substantial five-tenement house was built upon the new purchase, which was near the public highway, and the Indians removed thereto, thus bringing them directly under the observation of the public, where a good moral tone, together with the influence of official authority, might improve the condition of the tribe.

John Milton Earle in his report on these Indians, states that the change was "measurably successful. The irregularities and disorder which formerly prevailed among them have to a considerable extent been suppressed." Mr. Earle found that 94 persons belonged to the tribe at this time, (1859) including those who gave up their legal condition as Indians by assuming the rights of citizenship. This number was made up of 19 families, 41 being males, 51 females, and 2 unknown. One was 75 years of age, and another 80 and a third 85. Only five of these families resided on the tract reserved for them. Many whose places of residence were unknown had probably acquired a local settlement and had become full-fledged citizens.

The members of this tribe intermarried with negroes to such an extent that a pure-blooded Indian amongst them is probably not to be found, though in 1859 two claimed to be such. Some have the Indian physical characteristics so distinct as to indicate but little admixture of foreign blood, while others have the negro blood to such a degree as to an ordinary observer pass as good representatives of the dark-skinned race.

Mr. Earle notes the prevalence of the roving trait in many of the tribe. This Indian characteristic was particularly noticeable in some of the families living in Webster thirty years ago. Five of a certain family, all of whom had children, could not be found, and no information of their whereabouts could be ascertained, though they had been traced to several places.

As a tribe they held no common religious, educational or political views. Scattered as they were throughout the country they naturally were influenced by their condition, and received privileges in common with the white people with whom they dwelt. Those who continued on the reservation enjoyed the benefits of public instruction in common with the other inhabitants of the town.

The report of the Commissioners of 1849 on this tribe, paints their character in such black colors as to make one feel that they were unworthy of even that liberty which they did possess; however there is some reason for believing that the report did injustice to the moral character of the State's wards. This report says: "This tribe has reached a lower deep than any other in the State. A few get an honest living by cultivating their land and by going out to work. The rest subsist on the bounty of the State, and by prostitution. They have no schools and no preaching, are ignorant, improvident and degraded to the lowest degree."

The whole number belonging to the tribe as reported by commissioners in 1849 was 48. Mr. Earle 10 years later, reported 94, though he included even those remotely connected with the tribe. Only 13 of this number resided on the land set apart for them; a decrease in 11 years of fifty per cent. The occupations of the tribe so far as could be ascertained, were porter, plumber, miner, mariner, Indian doctor, barber, farmer, at service, one each; two shoemakers and ten laborers. In 1869 but sixty persons were reckoned as belonging to the tribe. The guardian of the Indians, Asher Joslin, reported that for the year ending September 30, 1859, the number of persons belonging to the tribe was eighty, of which but thirteen resided on the land in Webster. The expenses for the year including salary of guardian were \$740.40. "Some of the Indians," the report states, "are sober, moral and industrious, using their small incomes to good advantage; others although industrious,

their earnings are not always used to minister to their needs, but on the contrary, to their injury and demoralization." But for their "easily besetting sin," intoxication, they would be as quiet and well disposed as any other class of citizens.

Among those of this tribe who were in the service of their country may be mentioned, Hezekiah Doras, William H. N. Cady, Theophilus D. Freeman, Joseph E. Beaumont James N. Pegan, and Joseph H. P. White, of whom the first two were victims to the inhuman treatment at Andersonville prison.

In the Indian burying ground, on the 26 acre tract are two graves,* each marked by a substantial stone. One stone bears the inscription, W. H. N. Cady, Co. G, 2d Mass. H. Art. ; the other, James Nedson, Co. A. 2d Mass. H. Art. G. A. R. Post 61 have further marked the graves with flags.

From 1864 to 1869 the Dudley Indians received from the state over \$6000, which was more than one-third the entire amount given to the eleven tribes in the State. The Indians who received the least from the State in proportion to their number were the most industrious and prosperous. The tendency to indiscriminate generosity towards some of the tribes, notably that of Dudley, was to increase rather than abolish the evil which charity was intended to overcome.

In 1860 the Dudley Indians received from the State \$656.43; for year ending Sept. 30, 1861, \$671.17; 1862, \$756.79; 1863, \$750.81; 1864, \$783.10; 1865, \$1236.49; 1866, \$833.38; 1867, \$1151.89; 1868, \$1488.79; and from October 1, 1868, to November 4, 1869, \$1412.50. In 1808 only \$89.84 was paid them. The account of Erastus Alton, guardian of Dudley Indians was closed November 4, 1869, no balance being due to or from him.

An act of the Legislature approved June 23, 1869, made

*These graves have very recently been opened, the remains transferred, and the headstones removed.

and declared all Indians and people of color heretofore known as and called Indians, to be citizens of the Commonwealth "with all the rights, privileges and immunities, and subject to all the duties and liabilities to which citizens of this Commonwealth are entitled or subject."

Section 5 of the Act directs that the house in Webster may be leased to the Indians or be sold at auction, the proceeds to be paid into the treasury of the Commonwealth. The house was sold in August 1870, to Thomas McQuaid, for \$1790. The Indians occupying the premises were removed to the town of Dudley, and there furnished with proper accommodations at State's expense till January 1, 1871.

In accordance with a decree granted by the Probate Court, December 22, 1886, on the petition of the Indians and their attorney, F. M. Morrison, Esq., of Worcester, the lot containing 26 acres and 58 rods before referred to, was sold November 22, 1887. The petition was drawn under Section 3 of the Act in 1869 enfranchising the Indians. The commissioners appointed by the Court were Charles E. Stevens and Thomas Harrington of Worcester. The lot was sold in five parts of five or six acres each. A right of way 18 feet wide was reserved. The purchasers were F. M. Morrison of Worcester, Rev. Fr. Quan of Webster, Dr. Fred. Brown, Ladislau Jonakonski, and H. J. Potter of Webster. The land was sold for nearly \$700, averaging about \$25 per acre.

On this land may still be seen the ruins of several Indian cellars. About 25 rods northwest of the largest cellar may be seen nine or ten graves marked by head and foot stones projecting a few inches above the ground. Southeast of this and east of the smallest cellar, is a cemetery containing about forty graves, two of which have been referred to as those of the soldiers Nedson and Cady.

The proceeds of the sale were distributed by order of Judge Forbes of the Probate Court. The commissioners,



Messrs. Stevens and Harrington, were directed to distribute the money to the following :

T. D. Freeman,	Caroline M. Treadwell,	Fred Henries,
Marcy H. Oliver,	Charles Belden,	Winnifred Henries,
T. J. Freeman,	Louisa Belden,	Lester Henries,
Angenette B. Hazard,	James H. Belden,	Perry Henries,
Mary Jaha,	Zilla A. Belden,	Walter Henries,
James M. Pegan,	Ella R. Belden,	Fanny Gould,
Martha A. Fiske,	Carrie E. Belden,	Matilda Nichols,
Joseph Beaumont,	Florence A. Belden,	William Shelley,
Mary E. Humphrey,	Charlotte G. Belden,	Sarah Pelican,
Barzilla Willard,	Warren A. Belden,	Alonzo Esau,
Hannah T. Williams,	Frederick E. Belden,	Rufus Esau,
Angela M. Sprague,	Emma Shelley,	Nancy Esau,
Mary E. Mason,	Ida Shelley,	Elizabeth Esau,
Christianna Esau,	A total of forty persons.	

The Commonwealth still held the funds derived from the sale of the Indian lands in 1763 and 1767. The commissioners of the Indians, Thomas Harrington and Charles E. Stevens, proceeded to obtain this money, and a special Act of the Legislature was passed allowing them to bring suit against the Commonwealth for this purpose.

A hearing of the commissioners vs. the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was held in the Superior Court at Boston. The suit was for \$2,199.84, which the commissioners claimed the Commonwealth held in trust for the Dudley Indians for many years, and the annual interest on which was to be paid to the Indians. This amount was in possession of the State when the Indians were enfranchised.

The defense of the Commonwealth was that the State had paid in full the original sum of accumulation of interest, and, second, that the Dudley tribe of Indians has become extinct, and that there were no surviving members of the tribe who would be entitled to any part of said fund, even if it should be found that the Commonwealth had not paid the same according to the terms and conditions upon which it was received and held.

The Court decided that there were surviving members

of the tribe. The Associate Justices of the Superior Court at that time were P. Emory Aldrich, Caleb Blodgett and Robert R. Bishop. The opinion was given that the petitioners were entitled to recover of the State the original sum of \$2199.84, with interest from January 1, 1870, to March, 1890, amounting to \$4851.63. This sum the Commonwealth has paid to the commissioners, and with interest, it now amounts to over \$4900. To whom this money is to be distributed is to be determined by Judge Forbes of the Probate Court. The matter was submitted to him November 18th, 1890. F. P. Goulding and Charles E. Stevens appearing for the commissioners, and F. M. Morrison of Worcester and E. M. Warner of Putnam, Conn., for the descendants of the Indians.

In a written report presented to the Court by the commissioners, they said they had performed the duty of ascertaining the persons entitled to the fund held by them for distribution, and reported that according to the evidence, the number of persons of all ages and both sexes, claiming to belong by blood to the said Dudley Indians, and who were living on the 23d day of June, 1869, when the Act of enfranchisement was passed, is 72. Of this number the names and residences of those still living are as follows :

Betsey Arkless, Webster.	Perry E. Henries, Webster.
Frederic E. Belden, Lynn.	Walter S. Henries, Webster.
James H. Belden, Worcester.	Frances A. Hoyle, So. Abington.
Lilla A. Belden, Boston.	Fannie Nichols, Webster.
C. E. Louisa Belden, Boston.	Mercy H. Oliver, Worcester.
Lydia Blackstone, Woonsocket, R.I.	George M. Pegan, Webster.
Joseph E. Bowman, East Thompson, Conn.	James E. Pegan, Thompson, Ct.
Esther M. Brown, Worcester.	James M. Pegan, Thompson, Ct.
Elizabeth V. Cooper, Worcester.	Jerry B. Pegan, Providence, R. I.
Ella R. Costello, Worcester.	Middleton H. Pegan, Riverton Ct.
Alonzo Esau, Gardner.	Sarah S. Pelican, Dudley.
Rufus Esau, Worcester.	Charlotte G. E. Revalion, Boston.
Georgie N. Freeman, Cambridgeport.	Harriet A. Rich, Boston.
	Emma I. Shelley, Webster.
	Ida A. Shelley, Webster.

T. D. Freeman, Worcester.	William E. Shelley, Webster.
T. J. Freeman, Gardner.	Angela M. Sprague, Sturbridge.
Thomas F. Freeman, Cambridge- port.	Melaney Tanner, Providence, R.I.
Warren A. Freeman, Cambridge- port.	Caroline M. Treadwell, Boston.
William S. Freeman, Worcester.	James A. Willard, Uxbridge.
Angenette B. Hazard, So. Wood- stock, Conn.	Hannah I. Williams, Boston.
Lester L. Henries, Webster.	Mary E. White, North Spencer.
Winifred Henries, Webster.	Henry L. Dorus, So. Woodstock, Conn.
Matilda A. Henries, Webster.	Christina Gordon, Albany, N. Y.
	Amanda Dorus, Marlborough.
	Oscar W. White, North Spencer.

And the names, last residences and dates of decease of those living June 23d, 1869, are as follows :

Henry E. Bakeman, d. 1888, Northampton.
 Charles L. Belden, d. 1887, Worcester.
 James E. Belden, d. 1887, Boston.
 Francis A. Belden, d. 1890, Boston.
 Julia Daley, d. 1883, North Oxford.
 Dorcas D. Esau, d. 1873 or 4, Barre.
 Eleanor E. Esau, d. 1878, Barre.
 Josephine Esau, d. 1878, Barre.
 Phebe A. Esau, d. 1873 or 4, Barre.
 Robert Esau, d. 1878, Boston.
 Martha A. Fiske, d. 1890, Oxford.
 Israel Henries, d. 1885, Webster.
 Matilda Hull, d. post 1872, Webster.
 Cyrus Humphrey, d. 1888, Spencer.
 Rhoda Jaha, d. 1870 or 71, Dudley.
 Mary E. Mason, d. 1889, North Brookfield.
 Edgar Pegan, d. 1880, Thompson, Conn.
 Mary Jaha, d. 1890, Webster.
 Paris Willard, d. Aug. 15, 1869, Uxbridge.
 Lydia A. Henries, d. 1880, Webster.
 Mathilda Jackson, d. 1882, Webster.
 Esbon Dorus, d. 1882 or 3, Webster.

After a hearing lasting three days and concluded December 5, 1890, Judge Forbes decreed that all the funds in the hands of the commissioners be distributed and paid over equally to and among those members of the Dudley or

Pegan tribe of Indians, who had reached the age of twenty-one years, and were living July 23, 1869, when the act enfranchising the Indians became operative.

The Court found that eighty persons were entitled to share in said funds. The following named persons, in addition to the seventy above mentioned and reported by the commissioners, were declared by the Court entitled to share in the distribution : James H. Cooper, Geo. H. Cooper, Donahue D. Freeman, Lydia Dixon, Harry Dixon, John A. Hazard, Joseph T. Hazard, Polly Dorus, Lorenzo Esau, and Albert Edward Esau.

The Court having ascertained the amount of said funds, an order of distribution was issued, \$61.62 being adjudged to each of the eighty designated. F. M. Morrison had power of attorney in sixty cases and E. W. Warner of Putnam, Conn., in fourteen others. The money was paid to those named or their legal representatives, in the office of Charles E. Stevens, on January 13, 1891.

The subject of the paper was discussed by the President ; Thomas Harrington, Esq., one of the commissioners to settle the claims of the Dudley Indians ; and Messrs. Lynch, Meriam and Hosmer.

The meeting was then adjourned for two weeks.



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