

Until very recent times, in almost every human society, economic production has been gendered. Certain tasks have been regarded as the domain of women, while other work has been seen as appropriately performed by men. Human beings have no universal agreement concerning what work is properly male and what work is properly female, as the long, squalid history of the “squaw drudge/lazy male” stereotype of Native North American peoples makes sadly clear. But the fact that some work is viewed as male and some as female has shaped human perceptions of themselves (and allowed them to vilify Others) for centuries. The multiple theories suggesting why economic work is gendered, whether they are based on biological explanations or religious authorization, are beside the point in this discussion. What is significant here is that, because economic work is gendered, it is a particularly fruitful avenue for the historian to explore. The economic activities of men and women in a given society, the actual labor they perform, and the social recognition accorded them on the basis of that labor nearly always reveal important but differing components of their lives.

Investigations of the intersections of gender and economic production in Native societies have revealed important information about Native women, often when other sources have been absent or unavailing. As the two articles in this section show, gender relations and economics were structured and transformed in very different ways in eighteenth-century southern New England, as studied by Jean O’Brien, and in the nineteenth-century Wisconsin-Illinois region, as studied by Lucy Eldersveld Murphy. The two authors also creatively utilized what might be called unintentional historical sources—wills and other legal documents, census returns and business records—that were created to serve immediate social needs and unintentionally provide later historians with information.

O’Brien’s reconstruction of Native life in eighteenth-century New England focuses on Native women’s economic strategies during the century that saw Native peoples quietly and inexorably dispossessed of their land base. O’Brien’s research reminds us that Native peoples’ attachment to their land was not just sentimental; land was also a source of sustenance and economic security. Its loss was devastating and plunged Native peoples, especially women, into poverty. O’Brien also finds that Native women’s experiences of economic dispossession and marginalization were different from men’s in large part because of the patriarchal assumptions about women brought by the colonizing English.

The second study reveals a very different reality. Murphy examines the fairly peaceful relations among Sauks, Meskwakis, and Ho-chunks (or Winnebagos) and the small towns of southern Wisconsin that had their origin in and owed their continued existence to the fur trade. Women, both of Native and mixed Native and European descent, were central to maintaining these peaceful and reciprocal relations, Murphy argues, and had worked out ways of incorporating outsiders into their communities over the course of centuries. She also describes how Native peoples attempted to incorporate Anglo-American lead miners into their societies using these same tried-and-true strategies, and considers why these efforts failed.

13. “Divorced” from the Land

*Resistance and Survival of Indian Women
in Eighteenth-Century New England*

JEAN M. O’BRIEN

New Introduction by Jean M. O’Brien

Locating sources that capture pre-twentieth-century American Indian history is difficult enough, but finding documents that illuminate Indian women’s lives during this time is an even more formidable challenge. In the case of New England, several accounts offer commentary on Indian women and gender roles in the seventeenth century, filtered through cultural lenses that require careful consideration in order to account for biases. (See excerpt from William Wood, *New England’s Prospect*, originally published in 1634.) These ethnographic observations provide snapshots of Indian women’s lives at the time of sustained and intensive interaction with the English. As such, they also purportedly capture Indian social and cultural worlds prior to a time when European invasion introduced fundamental transformations in Indian America.

These documents thus provide the means for capturing bygone worlds that shaped Indian women’s experiences in New England. Yet too often scholarship focuses exclusively on recapturing the “pre-contact” history of Indian peoples. When I conceived “Divorced’ from the Land” (in response to an invitation to present a paper on matrilineality and patrilineality in comparative perspective), I decided to shift instead to the eighteenth century for two basic reasons. First, I could find very little historical or ethnographic literature that did so. And second, I wanted to foreground the historical literature that did so. Although In-Indian women (and men) dramatically transformed their ways of being in

the world in dialogue with English colonialism, such changes represented creative adaptations that have ensured New England Indian survival into the present. A tendency for observers to assume that Indian culture change constituted a diminishment of Indianness has, in my view, contributed to the notion that Indian peoples—and especially New England Indians—had disappeared, or somehow became less Indian. Such assumptions rob Indian people of the capacity for change and create artificial criteria for Indian people as they continually remake themselves for the future.

After I decided to focus on the eighteenth century, the next challenging step was to locate the sources for illuminating that historical moment. As the English extended their reach over Indian New England, their attention to recording Indian lives diminished, thus considerably thinning the documentary record. Indian women (and men) did continue to appear (albeit less frequently) in county and commonwealth documents in Massachusetts, where my previous work had focused. I had already collected many of these documents, and when I decided to write the article I went back and collected more. (Several of these documents are reproduced or excerpted here.)

In framing my article, I juxtaposed material from the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries to illuminate some of the major changes one might consider when comparing portrayals of Indian women. This comparison provides a way to pose questions about what distinguished their experiences, and sets a context for then focusing on their eighteenth-century experiences. Most of the eighteenth-century documents I used for this article are petitions by or on behalf of Indian women and families to the Massachusetts General Court and probate documents generated when Indians died with estates that were then subsumed within the English legal system. Both sets of documents contain valuable information about social and cultural changes of Indian women and families. They illuminate how gender roles had been transformed, how Indian peoples made a living in the wake of their dispossession, and how they retained aspects of earlier material culture in combination with the adoption of new ways of being in the world that ensured their survival. Yet these documents also require care: virtually all of them were produced because the petitioner or petitioners faced substantial problems that required alleviation, and thus might suggest that all Indians faced dire circumstances at the time. The fact that Indians struggled as the English surrounded and dispossessed them cannot override the equally important fact that Indian people in New England survived.

One final note: this article originally appeared in the volume that followed the conference for which I wrote it.¹ When Colin Calloway asked to reprint it for a volume on Indian survival in New England, I asked him if I could rewrite it. Several things about the first version bothered me, and the rewrite allowed me to address those nagging concerns. Today it could use yet another rewrite to reflect the continued development of literature in the field. Such is history.

"Divorced" from the Land
Resistance and Survival of Indian Women
in Eighteenth-Century New England (1997)

In 1624, Edward Winslow, Governor of Plymouth colony, observed about Native Americans that "[t]he women live a most slavish life; they carry all their burdens, set and dress their corn, gather it in, and seek out for much of their food, beat and make ready the corn to eat and have all household care lying upon them."² Winslow's use of the term "slavish" in this passage is instructive. The portrayal of the Native American woman as "squaw drudge" who toiled endlessly for her "lazier husband" was both a common English analysis of Native American division of labor in the northeastern woodlands and a commentary upon English expectations about gender roles.³ Observers viewed Indian women as "slaves" because, unlike English women, they performed virtually all of the agricultural labor in their societies.⁴ In fact, most labor the English would have regarded as male work was performed by Indian women.

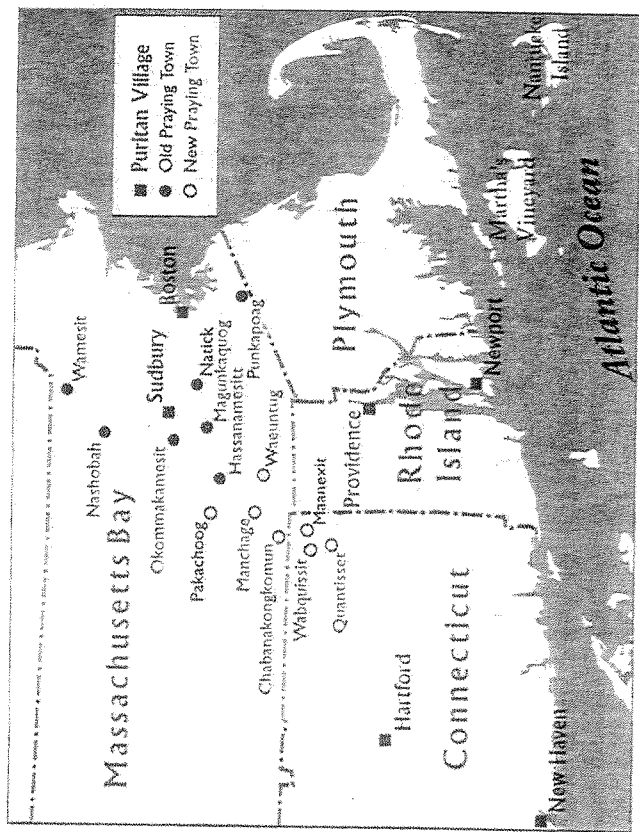
The "squaw drudge" permeated early observations of Native Americans in the Northeast. Two centuries later, different kinds of images of Indian women could be found in local accounts. Consider the following: "The last Indian here was 'Hannah Shiner,' a full-blood who lived with 'Old Toney,' a noble-souled mulatto man . . . Hannah was kind-hearted, a faithful friend, a sharp enemy, a judge of herbs, a weaver of baskets, and a lover of rum."⁵ This description, taken from a nineteenth-century history of Medford, Massachusetts, reflects not just the passage of time but also the extent to which relations, roles, and expectations had changed on both sides of a sustained cultural encounter.

The juxtaposition of these two fundamentally different portrayals reveals crucial changes in the circumstances of Indian women in New England. Four key structural changes differentiate the historical eras from which the

the English demographic regime, which was coupled with Indian struggles caused by imported diseases and military encounters. These structural changes compelled Indians to see the landscape in a different way, requiring them to make massive adjustments, and eliciting myriad and contradictory responses.⁶

As they successfully dispossessed and displaced Indians, the heirs of English colonialism seized the power to define the rules governing the social order, and they constructed surviving New England Indians as peculiar and marginal. Local historians underscored the "disappearance" of the Indian population by singling out individuals such as Hannah Shiner as representing the "last survivor" of their "tribe." Even so, historians used their representations of Indians as peculiar and marginal, as hopelessly "other," to continue to constitute and affirm an English identity. They presented Indians such as Hannah Shiner as the complement to "Englishness," thereby reminding themselves of the persistent difference between Indian survivors and themselves. But more than just reinforcing the difference between Indians and themselves, the ways in which they used this binary operated to emphasize English dominance.⁷

The English colonial regime imposed a different landscape, one requiring Indians to transform their relationship to the land. Gender figured prominently in this transformation. The English aimed to "divorce" Indians from their possession of the land in order to establish themselves and English culture in their place. New England Indians' agricultural, hunting, fishing, and gathering economy was interpreted as wasteful, and the sedentary agriculture pursued by English men was seen as the only proper pursuit for Native men. Yet even as they pursued the larger project of English colonialism (replacing Indians and Indian ways of using the land with English people using the land in English ways), colonists also aimed to convert surviving Indians to English culture. As they separated Indians from possession of virtually all their land, colonists also sought to "divorce" Indian women from their role as agriculturalists, replacing them with male Indians working drastically reduced plots of land to the exclusion of hunting and other older economic pursuits. From the perspective of the English, "divorce" from the land would fulfill the biblical directive to "subdue the earth and multiply" by bringing land into agricultural production to sustain a growing English Christian population. And it would also place Indian women and men in a "proper" relationship to the land. In the most crucial sense, however, the English failed to "divorce" either Indian women or Indian men



4. Southern New England communities in the early 1670s, reprinted from *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* by Jean M. O'Brien by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. © 1997 by the University of Nebraska Press.

images come. First, Indian societies that were "tribal" and politically independent prior to intensive colonization became effectively "detribalized" and politically encompassed by the late seventeenth century. By this time, most Indian individuals and families were incorporated into English communities, mostly in small clusters that rendered Indians virtually invisible within the context of the now-dominant New English society. Second, the prosperity of Indian societies, based on diversified agricultural economies and intensive use of seasonally available plant and game resources, was undermined as the English gained possession of nearly all Indian land by the end of the seventeenth century. The central element of the Indian economy was thus eliminated, requiring fundamental changes that resulted in the recasting of Native gender roles. Third, Indian societies that stressed communal values, sharing, and reciprocity were thrust into a market economy with the advent of colonization. Immersion in the market left Indians at the mercy of English legal institutions and affected the shape of Native social welfare practices. And fourth, Indians were quickly rendered a minority population within their own homelands by the astounding success of

from the land. Although in narrow legal terms the English succeeded in imposing their own rules for possessing the land, New England Indians did not monolithically embrace English gender ways. They remained crucially connected to the land that sustained their kinship and visiting networks and their own sense of proper place.⁸

In addressing the transformations accompanying the cultural conflicts between Indians and English colonists, I will focus on the issue of "gendered division of labor" rather than on the important problem of lineality in the northeastern woodlands, which also involved different conceptions of how gender ought to operate. Use of the dichotomous construction of matrilineal/patrilineal obscures much diversity in the ordering of families, reckoning of descent, ordering of power relations, and much more. Because of the paucity of early sources that provide detailed information on social organization, combined with the early occurrence of devastating epidemics throughout the region, there is much we will never know about the "precontact" shape of social organization in the northeastern woodlands. Indian peoples in early New England were concerned overwhelmingly with resisting and surviving English incursions, and the disruptions of epidemics that accompanied early contact certainly must have obscured their previous shape at least to some extent. About all that is evident is that, by the eighteenth century, patrilineal naming practices predominated among Indians; whether this was the case because it had always been so, or because the English imposed these forms on Indians in bureaucratic transactions, is not so clear.⁹

About a gendered division of labor, much more seems to be apparent. Most scholars agree that women performed most agricultural labor (except growing tobacco), built and transported bark or mat wigwams from place to place, manufactured baskets and pottery, gathered shellfish and wild foodstuff, processed hides, made clothing, and raised children. Men also made some household tools and were the principal woodworkers, making canoes and fortifications, for example.¹⁰

By 1700, Native American groups in New England had a long history of encounters with Europeans. Indians reeled from the impact of imported epidemic diseases, with many groups suffering demographic declines on the order of 90 percent. Military conquest followed quickly on the heels of the epidemiological disasters. The last major war in southeastern New England ended in 1676, terminating the political independence of those Native groups who had hitherto avoided encroachment by the English. These events effectively ended the autonomy of Indian groups in that region and rendered

many aspects of the aboriginal economy obsolete through massive displacement and dispossession. Under the cumulative impact of the colonial experience, a great many New England Indians found themselves landless, a diasporic population vulnerable to the institutions of English colonialism.¹¹

Missionary sponsorship had secured land bases for several Indian groups in the seventeenth century as part of English efforts to transform Indian cultures. Here, the English expected Indians to alter their gender roles in conformity with English cultural prerogatives.¹² Indian groups were allowed to retain small plots of land provided they would express responsiveness to missionary messages about cultural change. The English expected Indians to erect compact, English-style towns in order to fix them in particular places, directed men to forego hunting in favor of agricultural duties, and trained women in "household skills," especially spinning and weaving. Indians were encouraged to adopt English work habits, individual ownership of land, English tastes in material culture, and values structured by a market economy. Some Indians experimented with cultural transformations along these lines, but success in the market economy did not follow so easily. Many Indians were landless at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and, as their land was transformed into a commodity, Indian landowners continued to lose land.¹³ Many were encompassed within the flourishing English settlements, finding niches in colonial economies, performing agricultural and nonagricultural labor.

Although some Indians steadfastly resisted English influences on their life-ways, and others struggled within the market economy, still others borrowed extensively from English culture as a means of accommodating to English colonialism. In some senses, Jacob and Leah Chalcom symbolized Indian transformation as conceptualized by the English. Chalcom purchased land, established an English-style farm, and built a frame house in Natick, Massachusetts, an important mission town established seventeen miles southwest of Boston. He was involved actively in the local land market, buying and selling small parcels from time to time as he strove to upgrade his farm. The cultural priorities of this family are visible in their childrearing practices. The Chalcom children were literate, and the daughters were given dowries upon their marriages to local Indian men.¹⁴ After his death, Chalcom's estate included a thirty-acre homelot and "Buildings thereon," plus other lands, an assortment of household goods and husbandry tools, a horse, a cow, and books. After debts against his estate were discharged, fifty-two acres of land remained to be divided among his heirs.¹⁵

The women in Chalcom's family had made corresponding changes in their lifeways, including their separation from agricultural tasks. Leah Chalcom and her widowed daughters, Esther Sooduck and Hepzibeth Peegun, inherited land from their husband and father, respectively. Finding themselves without husbands, they pondered what to do with their inheritance. In 1759 they petitioned the Massachusetts General Court to sell their forty-six acres, arguing that "as your Petitioners [have been] brought up to Household business, [we are] incapable of improving said lands."¹⁶ They requested that their lands be sold and the money be put out to earn interest for their income and support, a strategy adopted by a number of women. The implication here is quite clear: these women were no longer farmers and were thus unable to "improve" the land except insofar as it represented a monetary resource. The mother and daughters recognized that English financial strategies could sustain them and prolong the nurturing functions of land from which they were effectively torn loose. Putting money "at interest" constituted one strategy for women who had maintained clear "legal" connections to the land. Their decision not to use the land for gardening, as English women often did, in part reflected their perception that if they chose to keep the land it would "speedily be exhausted by frequent Law-Suits."¹⁷

The "Household business" to which Leah Chalcom and her daughters referred reflects the efforts of English missionaries to realign Native American gender roles. Biblical imperatives motivated missionaries who aimed to train Indian women in English skills for structuring a household, and to integrate Indian families into the market economy. In 1648, missionary John Eliot wrote that: "[t]he women are desirous to learn to spin, and I have procured Wheels for sundry of them, and they can spin pretty well. They begin to grow industrious, and find something to sell at Market all the year long!]"¹⁸ Some Indian women continued to pursue these tasks that missionaries had pushed so vigorously in the early years of intensive English-Indian contact. Fifteen percent of inventories of Indian estates from Natick filed between 1741 and 1763 listed spinning wheels.¹⁹ Ruth Thomas, who died in 1758, was described in her probate docket as a weaver; Esther Freeborn and Hannah Lawrence, sisters who both left wills, were described as spinsters.²⁰

Esther Sooduck, also a weaver, died in 1778. Her probate documents vividly evoke the kinds of changes Indian women confronted even though very few accumulated and held onto material goods as successfully as Esther had.²¹ Her house, described as "much out of repair," nonetheless con-

tained an impressive array of furnishings and sat upon thirty acres of land. Included among her belongings were a bed and bedstead, a chest, a trunk, a rug, a table and two chairs, plus knives, forks, and pewter. She read her two old Bibles with "speticals." She owned two spinning wheels as well as baskets and "Baskets Stuf."²² Apparently merged in her economic pursuits were English skills (spinning and weaving) and Native American artisanal production (basket-making).

Native American women displayed transformations in their work habits, material life, aesthetic emphases, and even physical their appearance. Hannah Lawrence owned several articles of clothing when she died in the 1770s, including several gowns and aprons (one of them linen) as well as quilted petticoats and a pair of shoes with buckles.²³ Cloth replaced animal skins; petticoats and gowns were substituted for skirts and leggings. These accommodations were rooted in more than a century of profound cultural change. And in many ways, they represent an *uprooting*, a broken connection: English-style clothing signified the distance women had moved from their former way of life. Eighteenth-century economic adaptations no longer produced the materials for older ways of clothing production, and adopting English style probably reflected not just this reality but also newer Indian tastes.

There were many ways in which Native American women in eighteenth-century New England were divorced from the land: the colonial experience reoriented their relationship to the land in tangible and not so tangible ways. English ideals for cultural change aimed to realign the Indians' gendered economy and make room for English people to subdue the land in English ways. For Indian women this meant a stark separation: once the principal producers of the crucial agricultural element of subsistence economies, women were expected to sever the vital connection they had to the soil as its principal cultivators and nurturers. Though the English who wanted to accomplish these changes may not have noticed, their models for transformation went well beyond a simple shift in the gendered organization of labor. On the practical level, knowledge and skills were altered drastically, and the content of material life was dramatically recast. On the ideological level, less visible reverberations can only be imagined in individual and corporate identity, belief systems, and other deeply rooted cultural values. The tensions accompanying these transformations can be glimpsed in one possible explanation for the ultimate failure of Indian men as farmers in a market economy, which suggests that their reluctance to tend crops stemmed from

their view that these "effeminate" pursuits properly remained women's work.²⁴ In refusing English gender ideals, many Indian men resisted this foundational concept of English colonialism.

Leah Chalcom, Esther Sooduck, Hannah Lawrence—all of these women came from one kind of Indian community. They all lived in Indian-dominated towns, their land ownership sanctioned by the English, who conferred "possession" of these reduced plots of land according to English legal principles. At least in this nominal sense, they were beneficiaries of missionary endeavors.²⁵ Although they were relatively successful in emulating English ways, as the eighteenth century unfolded, the slow but steady dispossession of Indian landowners allowed fewer Indians to replicate earlier successes. Other Indians were uprooted utterly almost from the beginning of their contact with the English. They adjusted to English invasion differently, mapping out alternative kinds of lifeways. After the 1660s, for example, "The remnant of the Pocumtuck Confederacy, adopting in part the English costume, had gathered about the English in the valley towns. . . . Here they lived a vagabond life, eking out, as they could, a miserable existence on the outskirts of civilization. . . . So hampered, their stock of venison or beaver, with which to traffic for English comforts, was small, and the baskets and birch brooms made by the squaws ill supplied their place."²⁶

This is a stark outline of the principal difficulties Indians faced in making the transition to landlessness within a society emphasizing the market. With the possibilities for hunting gone, and no land—what remained? Production of Indian crafts constituted one possibility for women, who remained important in the economy and maintained this earlier economic role, which was possible even when landless. In their artisanal production, women continued to cultivate the specialized knowledge required to gather materials for fashioning baskets and other crafts. Their craftwork represented a revealing accommodation to dispossession: reaping basket stuff did not require "possession" of the land. At the same time, in marketing Indian goods, they earned an income and reinforced their "Indianness" in the popular perception.

Craft production by Indian women constituted one of the crucial threads that ran through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in New England. Indian women in the eighteenth century were engaged especially in basket making as an economic activity, but other artisanal skills were added as well.²⁷ In 1764, Abigail Moheag attested that she was "64 years of Age and . . . a widow [for] more than fifteen years and hath . . . by

her Industry in the business of making Brooms Baskets and horse Collars; Supported her Self till about two years ago She was taken sick."²⁸ The inventory from Hannah Speen's estate listed "baskets and barks, brooms and broom-sticks."²⁹ Craftwork, including the production of "new" items like horse collars, moved from the periphery of women's economic activities to the center as Indian women became enmeshed in the market and were no longer engaged in farming. For some women, craft production was fundamentally redefined. No longer one activity in an integrated economy, performed seasonally and for purposes largely internal to the household, artisanal activities became specialized and divorced from seasonal rhythms, and a principal means to get a living.

Wage labor constituted another possibility for Indian women. It remains unclear just what kind of work Indian women were doing, or what it was they received in return. In 1755, the circumstances of some Indian women at Mattakeset were such that "at present they live among White People, and work with them for a living."³⁰ The formula in these kinds of situations may have involved the contribution of unskilled and unspecialized labor, perhaps domestic work, in exchange for small wages or even some degree of basic sustenance. The existence of small clusters of Indians in virtually every Massachusetts town suggests that the lives of English colonists and Indians were intertwined in ways we are only beginning to understand.³¹

Disruption of Native societies extended to every sphere, requiring their constant adjustment. Marginal individuals, that is, those with few relatives or friends, Indian or non-Indian, and little in the way of economic resources, suffered the most. Prior to Indian enmeshment in the market, caretaking and nursing constituted central kinship obligations. During the eighteenth century, as kinship networks thinned, families became fractured, and involvement in the market made prosperity precarious at best. Individuals could no longer count on thick networks of relatives to care for them when they were in need of shelter, sustenance, or support. Nursing and caretaking became commodified and unreliable. Even when an intact family was in place, taking on caretaking obligations in this changed context could spell the economic ruin of a precariously established family. These developments represented the cumulative effect of generations of demographic decline, military conquest, economic disruption, and cultural transformation. Abigail Speen reported to the General Court in 1747 that she had: "by Reason of her great age & infirmities . . . been long and still is Unable to do anything to Support herself, & so having cast herself on Mr. Joseph Graves of Sd Natick

[an Englishman]; She has been kind entertained & Supported at his House now for near two years, & has nothing to recompense Sd Graves with nor to procure for her the Necessaries of Life for the time present & to come.³² This woman had land, and she liquidated the remainder of her estate in order to pay Graves. No doubt he realized that his "investment" was secured by that plot of land she owned in Natick. This replacement of Indian kinship obligations with market-driven social welfare occurred throughout New England and accounted for much dispossession of Indian peoples who might otherwise face legal proceedings for debts they accumulated.³³

Just as Abigail Speen cast herself on Joseph Graves, Indian women cast themselves upon other Indian women, too. What differed in the eighteenth century was that these women were not necessarily relatives, and that nursing or caretaking was often given in exchange for monetary compensation. The administrators of the estate of Elizabeth Paugenit, for example, allowed nearly two pounds to Hannah Awassamug "for nursing."³⁴ Sarah Wamsquan was cared for by Eunice Spywood, among others. Englishman John Jones petitioned the General Court in 1770, setting forth Sarah's dire circumstances and begging: "let something be done that Shall Speedily relieve the poor person that has her—or they will perish together."³⁵ Town authorities did not always countenance such arrangements. In 1765, when "Sarah Short a molatto woman Last from Wrentham [was] Taken in by Esther Sodeck," Natick selectmen feared she would become a town charge and warned her that she should leave the town.³⁶

Banding together just to survive, these women struggled within a radically changing world. Often their situation was complicated by the dramatic transformations accompanying their dispossession, which stretched Indian communities thinly across the landscape to form a network of small clusters of families throughout southeastern New England. One response was to move constantly in search of a niche. As landlessness accelerated throughout the eighteenth century, a pattern of Indian vagrancy emerged: this pattern, accepted by the dominant society as natural, was also an accommodation strategy. Indian women, especially, were described as wandering from place to place, a characteristic that was associated in the public mind particularly with Indians. An Englishman of Dorchester petitioned the General Court in 1753 as follows: "An Indian Woman called Mercy Amerquit, I think Born Somewhere about Cape-Cod, but had no settled Dwellingplace any where, . . . Strolled about from one Town & Place to another, & sometimes she wrought for Persons that wanted her work[. She] came to my House . . . and

desired liberty to tarry a little while, and your Petr condescended, expecting that she would go some other place in a little time (as their manner is) and what work she did for your Petr she was paid for as she earned it."³⁷ It is clear from this passage that English observers expected Indians to "wander." Their semi-sedentary lifeways had always been regarded most simplistically as nomadism. In the eighteenth century this translated into constant movement, "from one Town & Place to another . . . as their manner is." In this case, an arrangement seems to have been negotiated that involved Mercy Amerquit performing labor for wages as well as for her temporary residence with the narrator. He expected her to "go [to] some other place in a little time," and the arrangement was regarded as rather unexceptional. The only reason this relationship was documented at all was because Amerquit died while in the petitioner's residence and he sought to recover money he expended for her burial.

The story of Mercy Amerquit was by no means unique. An Englishman from Roxbury reported to the General Court about sixty-year-old Hannah Comsett, who became ill at his house: "She informs that her Mother was born at Barnstable, she at Scituate, and that for 30 years past she has been [strolling] about from Town to Town getting her living where she could but never lived During that time the space of one year at any Town at any time."³⁸ Though Hannah Comsett's mobility seems rather astounding, there are so many similar stories available that it is certain it was not an aberration.

The mechanisms behind Indian vagrancy were complex. Prior to the arrival of the English, Indian societies in New England reaped abundance from economies that depended upon knowledge about and extensive use of resources and a semi-sedentary lifeway. Scheduled mobility lay at the center of this system. In the eighteenth century, Indian migrations may have been scheduled, but if so, they were motivated by very different priorities, since they could no longer rely on movements governed by independently composed Indian communities to and from places that "belonged" to them in the strict legal sense. Probably kinship ties and some knowledge of labor markets entered into movements, but for women like Mercy and Hannah, there seemed to be nothing particularly patterned about their shifting about. Perhaps it was setting about to track the occasional charitable English colonist that spurred on the solitary and needy Indian women, from whom a different kind of resource might be procured. One important element that differentiated earlier migratory practices from new patterns was their largely individual nature; this new "vagrancy" drew upon older

patterns and places, but was not necessarily kin-group sponsored movement with planned, deliberate ends in mind. At the heart of the problem lay landlessness, whether it had resulted from military conquest in the seventeenth century or from failure in the market economy in the eighteenth. "Divorced" from the land initially when their economic role was redefined along English lines, a much more literal separation had been accomplished for most by the middle of the eighteenth century.

The situation of these women hints at two recurrent themes regarding Indian women in eighteenth-century New England. First, transiency is graphically described in a manner consistent with the emerging problem of landless poverty in New England more generally. The "wandering Indian" had much in common with the "strolling poor,"³⁹ although the fact that the English categorically distinguished between the two offers testimony for their separatist views about race. The problem of Indian women seems to have been compounded, however. The extent to which these are stories of women alone, or mostly alone, is the second theme and it is most striking.

Where were the men? The evidence suggests that, despite the missionary model of settled agriculture performed by men within nuclear families on family farms, transiency also remained characteristic even of landowning Indian men. Most Indian landowners lost what they had over time, and the tendency for Indian men to enter service in two areas (military service and the emerging whaling industry) contributed to a grossly distorted sort of transiency.⁴⁰ As a result of their participation in these activities, Indian men were absent for extended periods of time, engaged in dangerous pursuits that seriously jeopardized their lives and well-being and compromised their ability to function effectively within the English-dominated society. Whaling, in fact, fostered the same sort of debt peonage that proved so devastating in fur trade relationships.⁴¹ These orientations contributed to uncertainty and instability for Indian families and also reduced the number of Indian men available as desirable spouses. Interpretations of the involvement of Indian men in the military and labor at sea have stressed the continuity in skills and culturally determined priorities they offered them.⁴² But some men also abandoned their families to escape their predicaments; evidence may be found in scattered narratives of Indian men "absconding" as difficult circumstances evolved into insurmountable economic and legal problems. Such was the case for Eunice Spywood's husband, who "Some Years Ago Absconded and left her in very distressing Circumstances, and he . . . never returned."⁴³

An important cumulative effect of English colonialism was to reconfig-

ure the relationships among Indian mobility, a gendered division of labor, and household structures. The semi-sedentary Indian economy entailed a gendered mobility that assumed that women and men would be apart for periods of time: men departed central villages for hunting and fishing, leaving women to tend crops and gather wild plant resources near their villages, for example.⁴⁴ But these periods of separation were scheduled, part of the seasonal rhythm of life, and as such they rendered neither women nor men helpless. Newer patterns of male mobility (such as participation in the whaling industry and the military) that drew upon older Indian life-ways frequently left women alone to experience harsher circumstances than before, when kin-based social welfare and flexible marriages had provided them with the means to alleviate their wants.⁴⁵ At least for women like Mercy Amerquit and Hannah Comsett, mobility was circumscribed by virtue of their being separated from men. And whereas whaling and military service may have reformulated earlier patterns of Indian male mobility, allowing men to resist the redefinition of gender in economic and social roles, the wives of these men—women like Eunice Spywood—were defined as "responsibilities" in new ways and experienced far greater hardship as a result of their men's flight. The English nuclear family model thus reconfigured kin responsibilities and marriage, leaving Indian women newly vulnerable to "divorce" in dramatically different ways.

Whatever the underlying motivations, Indians of both sexes experienced hardship as a direct result of participation of Indian men in military service, especially. The social and demographic impact of the Seven Years' War on Indian enclaves in New England was enormous. In 1756, a cluster of Indians at Mattakesett in Pembroke, Massachusetts, pleaded to the General Court "that Several of us [have] in the late Warts, lost our husbands & Sons, & Some of our Sons [are] yet in Sd Service, & that some of us are old, blind, & bed rid & helpless poor Creatures, Many of us [are] old Women & want help."⁴⁶ Indians of Eastham and Harwich in Barnstable County, Massachusetts, complained that many of their men "Have Died in ye Service & left their Squa & Children in Distressing Circumstances."⁴⁷ In 1761 Ezra Stiles reported that in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, "4 Ind. Boys [had] enlisted in the service . . . only one Boy more in Town, & he [is] about 10 y. old. I can't find . . . any Ind. Men in Town, . . . but several Squaws, perhaps 8 or 10." At Milford, Connecticut, there were twenty male Indians in 1755, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, but in 1761 "not one: but 3 or 4 Squaws."⁴⁸

Even when they did return, many Indian men were rendered incapable

of working to support themselves or their families as a result of war-related disabilities. Thomas Awassamug complained to the Massachusetts General Court in 1761 that "he having been engaged . . . as a Soldier . . . for more than thirty years past, has indured inexpressible hardships, and fatigues and thereby brought on him the Gout, and many other ailments . . . And [he has] no means of support." Awassamug sought to stir compassion by describing in detail his "deplorable Circumstances," and to clarify his own relationship with the colony by reminding the magistrates that he had "jeopardized his life in so many . . . very dangerous Enterprizes against those of his nation who remain Savage, and in behalf of his friends, the English."⁴⁹ The General Court allowed a small sum to be paid out of the public treasury for his temporary relief.

No comprehensive evidence is available to investigate the precise dynamics of demographic change for Indians in eighteenth-century New England. Several censuses gathered by Stiles in his journeys through the region are suggestive, however. In addition to his more random observations, Stiles compiled detailed lists of residents by household from three Indian communities he visited in 1761 and 1762. In these communities, widows constituted heads of households in proportions ranging from 29 percent (Mashantucket Pequot in Groton, Connecticut) to 52 percent (the "Potnummekuk" Indians in Eastham and Nauset, Massachusetts). These figures suggest that the tribulations outlined above were not idle and unconnected complaints.⁵⁰

One solution to the apparently growing problem of unbalanced sex ratios and insufficient numbers of Indian men was for Indian women to find spouses among free or enslaved African Americans, who occupied similarly marginal positions in New England. The dynamics of intermarriage between Indians and African Americans are difficult to map precisely from the surviving documentary record. Impressionistic evidence does exist. Stiles observed in 1761 that "At Grafton [Massachusetts] . . . I saw the Burying place & Graves of 60 or more Indians. Now not a Male Ind. in the Town, & perh. 5 Squaws who marry Negroes." A nineteenth-century history of Needham, Massachusetts, noted that there was "a colony of negroes, with more or less Indian blood, dwelling along the south shore of Bullard's Pond (Lake Waban)."⁵¹ Clearly, intermarriage did occur, as yet another kind of accommodation on the part of Indian women, representing an important demographic shift for Native populations of the northeast.

Equating "Indianness" with "blood quantum" (the perceived importance of "pure" blood lines) in rigid ways, English observers failed to understand the demographic and cultural changes that were reconfiguring "race" in New

England. Intermarriage, which blurred the picture for those who looked for racial "purity," helped the Native population of New England to survive the devastating consequences of English colonization. Most colonists who noticed Indians just lamented what they saw as an inevitable process of extinction. Some vaguely grasped the complex process of vagrancy and intermarriage that was so central to eighteenth-century accommodations, even if their cultural blinders rendered them incapable of analyzing the changes. In 1797, the minister at Natick observed: "It is difficult to ascertain the complete number of those that are now here, or that belong to this place, as they are so frequently shifting their place of residence, and are intermarried with blacks, and some with whites; and the various shades between these, and those that are descended from them, make it almost impossible to come to any determination about them."⁵² Indians became, like other groups displaced by the colonizing impulse of the English, a diasporic population defined by the complex transformations and dislocations brought about by English colonialism. In the end, the migratory pattern and complexities of intermarriage created an erroneous impression in the minds of English observers that the Native population was simply and inevitably melting away.⁵³

In truth, monumental Indian adjustments spanned the entire colonial period and stretched into the nineteenth century. Both precontact Native American societies in the northeast and early modern European societies were organized according to particular expectations about gender roles. In New England, Indian women were responsible for most agricultural tasks, for gathering wild foods, building houses, most craft production, and child-rearing. Men were warriors, diplomats, hunters, and fishermen, and they aided women in agricultural production by clearing fields. This way of organizing society came into direct conflict with English expectations, and the ability to maintain an economy that perfectly reflected older Native gender roles ran into the hard realities of changing circumstances. The loss of political independence and the massive displacement of Indians within their homelands brought tremendous changes that affected Indian women and men in different ways. Hunting and fishing became marginal, diplomacy became obsolete, and military involvement was transformed into economic activity. Agriculture was enormously altered in technique and organization: it became predominantly if not exclusively a male activity for Indian landowners, and it became a diminishing element of the Indian economy as Indians continued to lose land throughout the eighteenth century.

Although English expectations for change within Indian culture (encapsu-

lated most fully in missionary platforms) called for altering the gendered Indian division of labor, the English did not fully succeed in "divorcing" Indian women (or men) from the land. Even though they quite successfully displaced Indians, Indians remained in the homelands that continued to sustain their kin, community, and sense of place. Indian women and men found creative solutions for resisting displacement and surviving as Indian people in a milieu theoretically designed to erase their difference completely.

How does all of this connect to Hannah Shiner? The manner in which she is portrayed in the nineteenth-century account that I began with, compared to how she might have been characterized in the seventeenth century, speaks volumes. This Indian woman is not described generically, as most Indian women were when regarded as members of a tribal unit, but as an individual with an Anglicized name. Her categorization as an Indian is based on the observer's judgment of her (pure) genealogy. And her husband is seen as a "mulatto," a mate who probably could trace some African American heritage. Hannah Shiner was assigned several traits, including two ("judge of herbs" and "weaver of baskets") that were associated in the public imagination with "Indianness," and especially with Indian women. They also suggest trades, or means of support, that had always been female activities. Hannah Shiner symbolizes the tumultuous changes experienced by Native peoples in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England. Indian peoples survived the catastrophe of English colonization, and they resisted the erasure of their Indianness. Men and women experienced the fundamental transformations in their lifeways differently. "Divorced" from the land in some respects but, crucially, not in others, many women displayed the characteristics that are visible in this brief description of Hannah Shiner. Apparently accepted and incorporated as an individual member of the community of Medford, Massachusetts, Hannah Shiner represents a particular kind of transformation, though not of the sort English missionaries had in mind. "Marginal" and a bit "exotic," she was portrayed as a bit of "local color," a tangible tie to what seemed to be (but was not) an increasingly distant Indian past. Her configuration by a local historian as such was precisely what Anglo-Americans needed for her to continue to represent the "otherness" necessary for the ongoing construction of their own difference.

Appendix: William Wood's *New England's Prospect*

Published in London in 1634, William Wood's New England's Prospect is regarded as an unusually important early natural history and ethnography by

a writer mired in some obscurity. Likely based on approximately four years of personal observation and crafted in part as promotional literature and justification for colonialism, New England's Prospect found a ready audience in England that resulted in the publication of a second edition the following year.⁵⁴ The following is an excerpt from chapter 19 of Wood's book.⁵⁵

"Of Their Women, Their Dispositions, Employments, Usage by Their Husbands, Their Apparel, and Modesty"

To satisfy the curious eye of women-readers, who otherwise might think their sex forgotten, or not worthy a record, let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their owne happiness, if weighed in the womans ballance of these ruder *Indians*, who scorne the tuterings of their wives, or to admit them as their equals, though their qualities and industriousness may justly claime the preheminance, and command better usage and more conjugal esteeme, their persons and features being every way correspondent, their qualifications more excellent, being more loving, pitiful, and modest, milde, provident, and laborious than their lazie husbands. Their employments be many: First their building of houses, whose frames are formed like our garden-arbours, something more round, very strong and handsome, covered with close-wrought mats of their owne weaving, which deny entrance to any drop of raine, though it come both fierce and long, neither can the piercing North winde find a crannie, through which he can convey his cooling breath, they be warmer than our *English* houses; at the top is a square hole for the smoakes evacuation, which in rainy weather is covered with a pluver;⁵⁶ these bee such smoakie dwellings, that when there is good fires, they are not able to stand upright, but lie all along under the smoake, never using any stooles or chaires, it being as rare to see an *Indian* sit on a stoole at home, as it is strange to see an *Englishman* sit on his heeles abroad. Their houses are smaller in the Summer, when their families be dispersed, by reason of heate and occasions. In Winter they make some fiftie or threescore foote long, fortie or fiftie men being inmates under one rooffe; and as it their husbands' occasion these poore tectonists⁵⁷ are often troubled like snailles, to carrie their houses on their backs sometime to fishing-places, other times to hunting-places, after that to a planting place, where it abides the longest: an other work is their planting of corne, wherein they exceede our *English* husband-men, keeping it so cleare with their Clamme shell-hoes, as if it were a garden rather than a corne-field, not suffering a choaking weede to advance his audacious head above their infant corne, or an

undermining worme to spoile his spurnes.⁵⁸ Their corne being ripe, they gather it, and drying it hard in the Sunne, convey it to their barnes, which be great holes digged in the ground in forme of a brasse pot, seeled with rinds of trees . . . An other of their employments is their Summer processions to get Lobsters for their husbands, wherewith they baite their hookes when they goe a fishing for Basse or Codfish. This is an everyday's walke, be the weather cold or hot, the waters rough or calme, they must dive sometimes over head and eares for a Lobster, which often shakes them by their hands with a churlish nippe and bids them adiew. The tide being spent, they trudge home two or three miles, with a hundred weight of Lobsters at their backs, and if none, a hundred scoules meete them at home, and a hungry belly for two dayes after. Their husbands having caught any fish, they bring it in their boates as farre as they can be water, and there leave it; as it was their care to catch it, so it must be their wives paines to fetch it home, or fast: which done, they must dresse it and cooke it, dish it, and present it, see it eaten over their shoulders; and their loggerships⁵⁹ having filled their paunches, their sweete lullabies scramble for their scrappes. In the Summer these *Indian* women when Lobsters be in their plenty and prime, they drie them to keepe for Winter, erecting scaffolds in the hot sun-shine, making fires likewise underneath them, by whose smoake the flies are expelled, till the substance remain hard and drie. In this manner they dry Basse and other fishes without salt, cutting them very thinne to dry suddainley⁶⁰ before the flies spoile them, or the raine moist them, having a speciall care to hang them in their smoakie houses, in the night and dankish weather.

In summer they gather flagges,⁶¹ of which they make Matts for houses, and Hempe and Rushes, with dyeing stufte of which they make curious baskets with intermixed colours and protractures of antique Imagerie: These baskets be of all sizes from a quart to a quarter, in which they carry their luggage. In winter time they are their husbands Caterers, trudging to the Clamm bankes for their belly timber, and their Porters to lugge home their Venison which their lazienesse exposes to the Woolves till they impose it upon their wives shoulders. They likewise sew their husbands shooes, and weave coates of Turkie feathers, besides all their ordinary household drudgerie which daily lies upon them, so that a bigge bellie hinders no businesse, nor a childbirth takes much time, but the young Infant being greased and sooted, wrapt in a Beaver skin, bound to his good behaviour with his feete up to his bumme, upon a board two foote long and one foote broad, his face exposed to all nipping weather; this little *Pappouse* travells about with

his bare footed mother to paddle in the Icie Clammbankes after three or foure days of age have sealed his passeboard and his mother's recovery.

Appendix: Selections from the Massachusetts Archives

The next six documents can be found in the Massachusetts State Archives at Columbia Point, Boston, the depository of the official records produced and collected by the commonwealth since 1629. All of these documents are found in the collection of documents relating to Indian affairs. The first is from volume 32, document 65.

Petition of Mattekset Indian Guardians⁶² responding to Memorial of Patience & others

. . . One of them namely Peter Job is but a New Comer there, and with Respect to the Said Patience and her Grandson Caleb and Others that have dwelling Houses there, the Said Guardians Set out to them Such Portions as they Thot Proper after inquiring into their Circumstances and Manner of living by their Neighbours the white people; and which were at the time of it to Their Satisfaction expresd to the Guardians from the Indians [own?] Mouths. With Respect to Others of the Subscribers it did not appear to the Said Guardians that they were proper Owners of Land ther. Tho: their Relations who were originally Foreigners,⁶³ were Suffer'd by the Sachems⁶⁴ to make Some Improvement there formerly, and Since Decd and their Habitations Demolished, and the Petitioners being women, are not in a Capacity to build Houses, and as at present they live among White People, and worke with them for a living.

Samill Bradford

Jonah Edson

Nathaniel Smith, Guardians

Massachusetts Archives, volume 32, document 375.

The Petition of John Robinson of Dorchester in ye County of Suffolk, and Province aforesaid, Gentleman, Humbly, Sheweth,

That an Indian Woman called Mercy Amerquit, I think Born somewhere about Cape-Cod, but had no settled Dwellingplace any where, but strolled about from one Town & Place to another, & sometimes wrought for Persons that wanted her work, came to my House in Dorchester aforesaid,

some time in ye Month of October 1751, & brought with her a young Child of about Two Months old in her arms, and desired liberty to tarry a little while, and your Petr condescended, expecting that she would go to some other place in a little time (as their manner is) and what work she did for your Petr she was paid for as she earned it; But about ye middle of January following, she was taken Sick of a tedious Sickness & very Delirious, That after about 20 Days Sickness she Died, leaving her young Child upon your Petrs Hands; That your Petr was obliged out of meer Humanity as she was in his House; & so extreme bad, to send for a Physician for her, & to provide things for her that were necessary for her in her Sickness, & to nurse her, and also after she Died to Bury her; That your Petr Expended upon her ye Sum of Three Pounds Fifteen Shillings & Ten Pence, as appears by ye following Account . . .

[Petition was dismissed by the Council, September 11, 1753]

The following is an excerpt from a petition that complains of the encroachment of Englishmen, especially upon their ancient whaling beaches. Massachusetts Archives, volume 33, document 10.

The Humble Petition of us the Subscribers In Behalf of our Selves and Brethren Indian natives of ye Towns of Eastham and Harwich in ye County of Barnstable and Province Aforesd Humbly Sheweth.

. . . that we were Never more in a Distressing Case [than?] at present: As many of our Nation Have Entred into ye Warr with the English Against ye French and Indians in Alliance with them And many of them Have Died in ye Service & Left their Squa & Children in Distressing Circumstances. And as there is Many Old Crippled Indians among us that stand in Great Need of Relief all Which is under a Greater Necessity of making ye Best Improvements of What Little Lands that are Still Left in our Hands . . .

Isaac James
Joshua Ralph
Joshua Jethro
James Oliver
John Ralph Jen
[?]
Thomas [?]
Samuel [?]
Amos Laraninc

Massachusetts Archives, volume 33, document 106-107

The Petition of Leah Chalcom, Esther Sooduck, and Hepzibeth Peagun, Indian women of Natick in the County of Middlesex

That Your Petitioners being [posses?] of about Forty six acres of land in Said Natick, the fee where of is in themselves: As also of a small right in the Common and undivided lands in said Natick which is of small value; And your Petitioners being brought up to Household business, are incapable of improving Said lands: And their Predecessor/under whome they hold their present possession/ having many Years Ago, Sold Twenty Acres of very valuable land in Said Natick, the title where of having Since failed, Your Petitioners (being Subjected by Law) having paid for the Said lands and Secured the title thereof & the present occupants, and thereby involved themselves in debts to the value of about thirty five pounds Lawful money: And unless they Are impowered to Sell Some of their Lands, to discharge the Same, the whole of their Estate will speedily be exhausted by frequent Law-Suits: And as the [Remaining?] part of their Said Estate would be of More Advantage if Sold and the money at intrest in the hands of their Trustees or the money at intrest in the hands of their Trustees or Guardians, the Intrest thereof /and only that/ to be applied to their yearly support, as they Shall need the Same—Therefore your Petitioners Pray that Your Excellency and this Honl Court will grant them power to Sell their Said lands already laid out, and their Common Rights, their Said debts being paid, the remainder of their proceeds to be kept at Intrest for their support as above & Your Petitioners in duty bound Shall Ever Pray [&c]

Natick June 1 1759

Leah Chalcom

Esther Sooduck

Hepzibeth Pegun [their marks]

endorsed by John Jones & Jos. Buckminster, Guardians

granted Oct 17 1759

Massachusetts Archives, volume 33, document 300-301

The Petition of Abigail Moheag of Natick . . . Indian woman

Humbly Sheweth that your Petitioner is 64 years of Age and hath been a widow more than fifteen years and hath no child nor any Relation nearer

than a remote cousin and your Petitioner hath by her Industry in the business of making Brooms Baskets and horse Collars; Supported her Self till about two years ago She was taken Sick of a long fever and hath had weak and Ill turns at times ever Since and is in no wise able to Support her Self and it is Improbable that She ever will: and your Petitioner is now Indebted to the doctor and others for the Necessaries of Life four or five Pounds L = M = and your Petitioner hath no house Nor any Sort of Shelter of her own to repair to: but has been and Now is in a Suffering Condition and Stands in Great Need of Relief for She is Entirely Deprived of any Shelter; for her Cousins house where She used to live is taken Down and Carried off and Your Petitioner knows not of any Place where She can Get in if She Should be Sick—

And your petitioner having a free hold in lands in Natick the fee hereof is in her and she is willing to Sell Some Part of it now to Pay her Debts and for her Support and to Build your Petitioner a Small log house about ten or twelve feet Square that She may hav a house of her own where She may work if She be able and lie warm when She is Sick and Not be obliged to travel from one Place to another and Expose her health as heretofore and as your Petitioner is Not able to Say how Much it will take to Pay her Debts already Contracted and to build her Such a house as aforementioned and much More to Say what She Shall Stand in need of for the future: So She does not Pray for liberty to Sell a Certain Number of acres: hoping therefore that this honoured Court Can rely on the fidelity of our Guardians Your Petitioner humbly Prays that this Honoured Court will Grant her Power to Sell So much of her Real Estate as the Guardians Shall think of real necessity for the Purposes above Mentioned: And Your Petitioner as in Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray

Abigail Moheag [her mark]

Natick June ye 4 1764

endorsed John Jones, Jos. Buckminster

granted with Advise & Consent of Guardians

Massachusetts Archive, volume 33, document 513-514

Sir

I am desired by Eunice Spywood to write to you, but I don't know what was done on her Petition, and what she further needs. I cannot indulge her any farther than to Set forth Certain facts that have been heretofore Collected from Sarah Wamp-squan, the pauper mentiond in the Said Eunices Petition. Vizt

That the parents and grandparents of the said Sarah dwelt at Billerica in the County of Middlesex; That her Grand-parents were Sachems and owned that Town and lands adjacent—That her parents came occasionally to Natick when her mother was pregnant with the Said Sarah, and tarrying a few days she was born there, (at that time Natick was not incorporated, nor an English family in it,)—That she Said Sarah was carryed to Woodstock or Pomfret, and kept there till she was seven years old—Then bound to Deacon Braddish of Cambridge, whom she served till she was eighteen—Then went to service with Doctor Dalhone of Boston 2 or 3 years—and then married to an Indian belonging to Cape-Cod whose name was Lawrence—he dying, she married to Solomon Wampsqwan of Natick, who has been dead near 20 years. That her last husband was not a Proprietor in Natick, nor his predecessors:—That this poor woman is in advanced age—one side Dead with the Dead Palsey⁶⁵—unable of helping or even feeding herself—She has begged from door to door till about three years ago—when she could not Travel one mile in a day, and could not labour with her hands, which she was willing to do when able, and was honest as far as I know; And as she is also a human being, my heart has been greatly moved for her many a time, in particular in July last, when the Revd mr Badger the minister of Natick, (who had from year to year been exceedingly burthened with her and other poor Indians, who have been cast upon him one way or other) was at the General Assembly praying for the relief of the said Sarah, and at the Same time remonstrating against her being made the Charge of Natick—while mr Badger was thus employed from week to week at his own expense—this poor woman was brought in the night, and put into his necessary-house—in his absence . . . and from thence she was Carryed to this Eunice Spywood's—and has been there ever Since. Upon the whole, the Indians are not able to support her—nor themselves,—and the English of Natick are already Over-Stocked with their own poor, Some of whom I know suffer for want: This poor woman has been supported by this Province—Pray Let Something be done that Shall Speedily relieve the poor person that has her—or they will perish together—I have no expectation that the District of

Natick will pay Eunice Spywoods acct for the time past nor take Care of the Said Sarah Wampsqan for the future: Or if they Should be ordered by this Court, I may not say it will not be legal, but it will be attended by such delays, as will not answer the good intentions of the Legislature, and will prove and inlet to as many other Indians to come, as shall hear of it—And Towns that shall have an Indian in them will be likely to send him when he shall want relief—Sir, I can say no more than this—That I hope the Assembly will revive the Petition of Eunice Spywood—and order her acct to be paid out of ye Province Treasury—I doubt not of the wisdom of the Assembly of which you are a member—and hope you will be directed in this and all your proceedings—as shall most promote the Interest of the publick, and of individuals.

I am sir, yr friend and Humble servt—John Jones

Dedham April 4 1770

To Capt Eleazer Kingsbury a member of the Honble House of Representatives in Cambridge

Appendix: Probate Documents of the Middlesex County Court

The following probate documents can be found in the public records of the Middlesex County Court. They relate to the settlement of the estates of two Indian women of Natick, Massachusetts. The first set of documents is a will and attached estate inventory, divided into personal and real property sections, for Hannah Speen. Middlesex County Court, Probate Records, Cambridge MA, #21027, Hannah Speen, Will, 1742.

In the name of God amen. I Hannah Speen of Natick in the County of Middlesex in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England widow & Relick of John Speen Late of Sd Natick Deceased, Indian Being weak in Body but of sound & perfect mind & memory; but apprehending myself near to Death; Do Make Constitute & ordain this to be my Last will & Testament; that is to say; first of all I Give & bequeath my immortal soul into the hands of God who gave it, to be justified, sanctyfyed & Saved by the Spirit of God & in the name of Christ; & my Body to Christian & Decent Burial at the discretion of my Executr & as touching such outward Estate as God has given me I will give bequeath & dispose of it in manner of following—that is to say first

Imprimus:] I Give & Bequeath Unto my well beloved son Joseph Speen & my Beloved Daughter Hannah, all the Yearly Rents & Interest of the Me-guncog Money⁶⁶ which belongs to me, to be Received by them in Equal parts, if sd Joseph be alive & Live to return; but if not I give it all to sd Hannah; & upon Condition she shall dye without Heirs of her Body I give sd Money in Equal parts to my two sons hereafter mentioned. & inasmuch as the sd Joseph and Hannah will (if Living,) be Heirs to all their sd Fathers Estate—therefore

Item:] I Give & bequeath unto my two sons Samuel Speen & Zachary Speen alias Maynard, all my Lands & Estate which belongs to me in [Natic?] as the only Heir to my Father & Brothers Decd to be Equally Divided between them; to them & their Heirs and assigns forever, they to be put out & brought up, in ye fear of God, at the Discretion of my Executor

Finally I Constitute ordain & appoint my trusty & well beloved friend Isaac Coolidge of Sherborn in sd County of Middlesex to be my Sole Executor of this my Last Will & Testament, desiring & fully empowering him to see all & every part of it duely Executed according to the true Intent thereof; hereby revoking disannulling & making void all former or other Wills by me made, & Constituting appointing ordaining & Ratifying this to be my Last will & Testament, In Witness whereof I the said Hannah Speen have hereunto sett my hand & seal this twenty six Day of April Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred & forty two & in the fifteenth year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Second—

Signed, sealed, published pronounced

& declared, In the Presence of—

Thomas Russell

Jonathan Lealand

Benjamin Kendall

Hannah Speen [hir mark]

An Inventory of the Estate of Hannah Speen Late of Natick Decd widow taken by us the subscribers being sworn october ye 18th 1742 as was shewn to us by Capt. Isaac Coolidge Executor of her Last will and testament Which is as follows viz:

Imprimus to books 7s

to wearing apparel 18.7.6

Item to bedding 10-4-0

1:14

	to pewter and brass 1:3:8	
	to earthenware and glass bottles 0:4:9	14:10
	to iron ware 1-10:0	
	to wooden ware 1:1:6	
	to one old [berthmettle?] skillet 0:4:0	
Item	to baskets and barks, brombes and broombsticks	1:11:0
	to one knife 1:6	4:7:6
	to two old Chests 1:10:0	
	to six chairs 1:4:0	
Item	wampon ⁶⁷ and suckenhock ⁶⁸ 6:10:0	
	Total	27:2:3

Real Estate

to her Rights in Natick Lands £170
 The administr mentions a Sum of money which he has recd for Land Sold belonging to the Deceasd—which he will add to the inventory when the General Court shall have determined what proportion of it he ought to stand chargd with

Thomas Russell
Jonathan Lealand
Benjin Kendall
appraisers

sworn before ye Judge
Middlesex [?] Octobr 18 1742 mr. Isaac Cooledge the admistr—presented the forgoing & made Oath that the same contains a full & proper Inventory of the Estate of the beforesaid Decd so far as came to his Hands & Knowledge, & promised if more Shall appear he would cause the same to be added.
Jos. [?] Remington [?] prob[?]

An Inventory of the Real Estate of Hannah Speen Late of Natick in the County of Middlesex Deceasd as the Same was Shewn to us by Isaac Cooledge Esqr and was Taken by us the Subscribers Being Thereunto appointed and Sworn march ye 4th 1744 and is valued as followeth; That is to Say:

Impri To one Lot Lying the ye plantation of Natick aforesd
 Containing 84 acres att 5£ pr acer old tenor 420-0-0
 To one Lot Containing 43 ½ acers att £3 pr acer 130-10-0

To one Lot Containing 16 ½ acers att 5£ pr acer 82-10-0
 To one acer of meadow Land att £18 18-0-0
 Item To one half of a Dweling house att £50 50-0-0
 £701-0-0

Natick March ye 16th 1744
Thomas Russell
Jonathan Lealand
Benjamin Kendall
apprisers

March 18 1744 Major Isaac Cooledge the adminr sworn as usual before S. Danforth J. [pro. & Regr?]

A second, and much smaller, set of probate documents pertains to the estate of Esther Sooduck. Middlesex County Court, Probate Records, Cambridge, MA, #20860, Esther Sooduck, Will, 1778

Inventory of Esther Sooduck "Late of Natick Indian Woman Deceasd Taken the 20th: Day may 1778 and as follows Viz

To one Bed L9-0-0 to a rug 15s to one Bedstedd L12 10:7-0
 To one Cedar Tub 15s to Small log [?] one Table 16s 11=1-0
 To Two Chairs 2s to one Chest 12s one Trunk 10s 1=4-0
 To knives and forks 2s to old Puter 1s to one Pot 18s 1=1-0
 To one kettle 18s to two old Bibles 3s to Baskets 2s 1=3-0
 To Baskets Stuf 1s To one Tramel 3s to fire Shovel Tonges [?] 2=11-0
 To one Hamer 3s To Old Iron 2s to one mat 1s to [?] 0=7-0
 To one Box and lime 1s to one Glas Bottle 1s 0 2-0
 To one Bed board 3s to one Cotton Gownd 72s 3=15-0
 To one Spinning Whel 6s to one small [ditto] 16s 1=2-0
 To one ax 12s to one Pair Speticals 4s To Brick 10s 1=6-0
 To one mug 1s to Six yards Black Calaminco L5-8-0 5=9-0
 Total of the Personal Estate L 30=3-0
 To About Thirty Acres of Land and a Small Dwelling House thereon 75=0-0

Total of the Real and Personal Estate 105:3-0

Daniel Travis

Notes

For their valuable suggestions in revising the originally published version of this paper, I wish to thank Lisa Bower, Lisa Disch, and Jennifer Pierce.

1. *Gender, Kinship and Power*, ed. Mary Jo Maynes, Ann Waltner, Brigitte Soland, and Ulrike Strasser (New York: Routledge Press, 1996).
2. Quoted in Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower* (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 1980), 96.
3. William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (1634), as quoted in *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sixes*, ed. James Axtell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 119. See Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16 (1975): 698-714, for an analysis of Pocahontas as literary convention and national symbol, and how Native American women have been conceptualized according to the dichotomy between "princess" and "squaw."
4. Women's labor accounted for well over half of Indian subsistence in most northeastern woodland cultures. Agricultural production alone contributed approximately 65 percent to the diet. See M. K. Bennet, "The Food Economy of the New England Indians, 1605-1675," *Journal of Political Economy* 63 (1955): 369-97.
5. Charles Brooks, *History of the Town of Medford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: James M. Usher, 1855), 80-81.
6. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983). James H. Merrell has analyzed these massive structural changes in Indian-English relations by looking at the important shift in whose "customs" governed encounters between peoples. James H. Merrell, "The Customs of Our Country: Indians and Colonists in Early America," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 17-56.
7. On Indian dispossession and the negotiation of the social order in colonial New England, see Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On the last survivor trope in New England, see William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984* (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 1986), 3-4. On the forging of distinctive European/colonial identities with reference to Native peoples and imported African slaves, see the studies collected in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: The Study of the Indian in the American Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953); and Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier* (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973).
8. On the process of missionization see, for example, James Axtell, *The Invasion*

Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees* (especially ch. 2).

9. Scholars of this region have argued positions with regard to social organization across a wide spectrum: as matrilineal or patrilineal societies, as bilateral, or as some blend of these general rules. Lewis Henry Morgan, "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, 218 (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1870), and Lorraine Williams, "A Study of 17th Century Central Community in the Long Island Sound Area" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1972), are most often cited by those who argue for the matrilineality of southeastern New England groups. William S. Simmons and George F. Aubin, "Narragansett Kinship," *Man in the Northeast* 9 (1975): 210-31, argue for the patrilineal reckoning of political leadership and tribal identity and suggest that exogamous matrilineal clans may have existed to regulate marriage. In general, Kathleen Bragdon has agreed: "Another Tongue Brought In: An Ethno-historical Study of Native Writings in Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1981). Elise Brenner suggests that a bilateral kinship system was in place: "Strategies for Autonomy: An Analysis of Ethnic Mobilization in Seventeenth Century Southern New England" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1984). Those who argue for patrilineal or a bilateral system focus on the lack of evidence for matrilineality from the seventeenth century. Dean R. Snow, *The Archaeology of New England* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), and William A. Starna, "The Pequots in the Early Seventeenth Century" in *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*, ed. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 33-47, have argued that the inclusive nature of the evidence might signal differences in degree and/or be the result of the chaotic conditions surrounding conquest, which required flexible social responses and at least the periodic appearance of matrilineal or bilateral kinship systems. I am indebted to my research assistant, Margaret Rodgers, for helping me sort out this literature.

10. Robert Steven Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen: Middle Atlantic Coastal Algonkian Women during the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (New York: Praeger, 1980), 43-60; Snow, *Archaeology of New England*; Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); and William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*. Debate over gender roles in this region centers on the permeability of the boundaries between women's and men's work, and implications of the meaning of gendered division of labor for the relative power and status of women and men in these societies.

11. See especially Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976); Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*; and O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*.

12. Axtell, *Invasion Within*; and Theda Perdue, "Southern Indians and the Cult of True Womanhood," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations*, ed. Walter J. Fraser Jr., R. Frank Saunders Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 35-51.
13. The process of gradual loss of individually owned land in one missionized Indian town is documented in my book *Dispossession by Degrees*.
14. Massachusetts Archives, 31 (1730), doc. 175 [hereafter cited as Mass. Arch., vol. (year), doc.]; and Mass. Arch., 32 (1753), 417-18.
15. Middlesex County Probate Docket no. 4124, Jacob Chalcom, Admin. (1756) [hereafter cited as Middlesex Probates]. For a discussion of the diverse cultural patterns of Indian adjustment to the English, see O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, especially ch. 5.
16. Mass. Arch., 33 (1759), 106-76.
17. Mass. Arch., 33 (1759), 106-76. On English women and gardening, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980). On the loss of individual Indian-owned land through legal prosecutions, see O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*.
18. Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New-England* (London: Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy, 1648), reprinted in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3d ser., 4 (1834), 59.
19. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 6.
20. Middlesex Probates, 22411, Ruth Thomas, Admin. (1758); Esther Freeborn, Worcester County Probate Docket no. 2322 (1807) [hereafter cited as Worcester Probates]; and Hannah Lawrence, Worcester Probates, 36457 (1774).
21. Probate documents for several hundred Indian estates in Massachusetts were filed throughout the eighteenth century and have been preserved in county court records. Probate procedures seem to have been followed most vigorously when English creditors to Indian estates sought payment. The majority of Indians died intestate; divisions of Indian estates then almost always followed English estate law quite closely, with provisions made for "widow's thirds," a double share given to the eldest son, and equal shares to other children.
22. Esther Sooduck, Middlesex Probates, 20860, Will (1778).
23. Hannah Lawrence, Worcester Probates, 36457 (1774).
24. This is a common theme. See especially Anthony F. C. Wallace's classic work *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1970), as well as a critique offered by Diane Rothenberg, "The Mothers of the Nation: Seneca Resistance to Quaker Intervention," in Etienne and Leacock, *Women and Colonization*, 63-87.
25. Indian women could obtain title to land as individuals within the landholding system of Massachusetts, but most Indian women gained access to land as wives and children, as heirs to estates. In the process of dividing land in early eighteenth-century Natick, Massachusetts, nineteen individuals were designated proprietors,

- with principal rights to all of the land within the town. One of these was a woman; the rest were men. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 4.
26. George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Greenfield MA: E. A. Hall and Co., 1895), 171.
27. Ann McMullen and Russell G. Handsman, eds., *A Key into the Language of Wood-splint Baskets* (Washington CT: American Indian Archaeological Institute, 1987).
28. Mass. Arch., 33 (1764), 300.
29. Hannah Speen, Middlesex Probates, 21027, Will (1742).
30. Mass. Arch., 32 (1755), 675-76.
31. See, for example, John A. Sainsbury, "Indian Labor in Early Rhode Island," *New England Quarterly* 48 (1975): 378-93. Sainsbury found that "35.5 percent of all Indians in [Rhode Island] were living with white families in 1774; and if the Indians still living on the Charlestown reservation are excluded, the figure rises to 54 percent." He suspected they were "rent-paying lodgers." (Quotations are from p. 379.) In examining vital records from all over Massachusetts to identify Indians who were connected to the town of Natick, I located at least one Indian in each of 13 towns. Taking nine very distinctive surnames of Natick Indians, I located individuals with the same surnames in twenty towns. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 6.
32. Mass. Arch., 31 (1747), 529. Speen was petitioning the General Court for permission to sell all of her remaining land so that she could reimburse Graves for caretaking. Massachusetts erected a system of oversight for Indian land that required General Court permission in order for Indian individuals to sell land to non-Indians. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 3.
33. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 6.
34. Middlesex Probates, 17057, Elizabeth Paugent, Will (1755).
35. Mass. Arch., 33 (1770), 513.
36. Natick Town Records, First Book of Records for the Parish of Natick, 1745-1803, Morse Institute, Natick, Massachusetts.
37. Mass. Arch., 32 (1753), 375-76.
38. Mass. Arch., 32 (1751/2), 230.
39. Douglas Lamar Jones, "The Strolling Poor: Transiency in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History* 8 (1975): 28-54; and Jones, "Poverty and Vagabondage: The Process of Survival in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *New England Historical and Genealogical Society Register* 133 (1979): 243-54.
40. Richard R. Johnson, "The Search for a Usable Indian: An Aspect of the Defense of Colonial New England," *Journal of American History* 64 (1977): 623-51; Daniel Vickers, "The First Whalemens of Nantucket," in *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, ed. Colin G. Calloway (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 1997); Laurie Weinstein, "'We're Still Living on Our Traditional Homeland': The Wampanoag Legacy in New England," in *Strategies for Survival: American Indians in the Eastern United States*, ed. Frank W. Porter III (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 91.

41. Vickers, "The First Whalemens of Nantucket."
42. See especially Johnson, "Search for a Usable Indian"; and Vickers, "First Whalemens of Nantucket."
43. *Mass. Arch.*, 33 (1762), 204.
44. Cronon, *Changes in the Land*.
45. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 6. On English colonialism and the institution of Indian marriage, see Ann Marie Plane, "The Examination of Sarah Ahaton: The Politics of 'Adultery' in an Indian Town of Seventeenth Century Massachusetts," in *Algonkians of New England: Past and Present*, ed. Peter Benes, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1991 (Boston: Boston University, 1993), 14-25; and Plane, "Colonizing the Family: Marriage, Household, and Racial Boundaries in Southeastern New England to 1730" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1994).
46. *Mass. Arch.*, 32 (1756), 710.
47. *Mass. Arch.*, 33 (1757), 10.
48. Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles D.D. 1755-1794* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), 117, 149.
49. *Mass. Arch.*, 33 (1761), 170.
50. Stiles, *Itineraries* ("Potennummekuk"), 170, ("Nyhantic" in Lyme, Connecticut—47 percent widow-headed households), 130; and Stiles, "Mémorial of the Pequots," in *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, 3d ser., 10 (1834), 102-3.
51. Stiles, *Itineraries*, 203; and George Kuhn Clarke, *History of Needham, Massachusetts, 1711-1911* (Cambridge MA: University Press, privately printed, 1912), 558. Determining the degree of intermarriage between Indians, African Americans, and whites is problematic lacking vital records that systematically note the race of the individuals. Even when race is designated in vital records, labels such as "colored" and "mulatto" only indicate that intermarriage had occurred at some time in the past. Clerks did not necessarily use these labels consistently, either. Certainly intermarriage had been occurring between Indians and African Americans over the course of the eighteenth century. Intermarriage with the English was proscribed by legal statute. See Jack D. Forbes, "Mulattoes and People of Color in Anglo-North America: Implications for Black-Indian Relations," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 12 (1984): 37-62.
52. Stephen Badger, "Historical and Characteristic Traits of the American Indians in General, and Those of Natick in Particular, in a Letter from the Rev. Stephen Badger of Natick, to the Corresponding Secretary," *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, 1st ser., 5 (1790), 43.
53. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, ch. 6.
54. "Introduction," by Alden T. Vaughan in William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, edited with an introduction by Alden T. Vaughan (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), [1]-14.
55. William Wood, *New England's Prospect: A True, Lively, and Experimental Description*

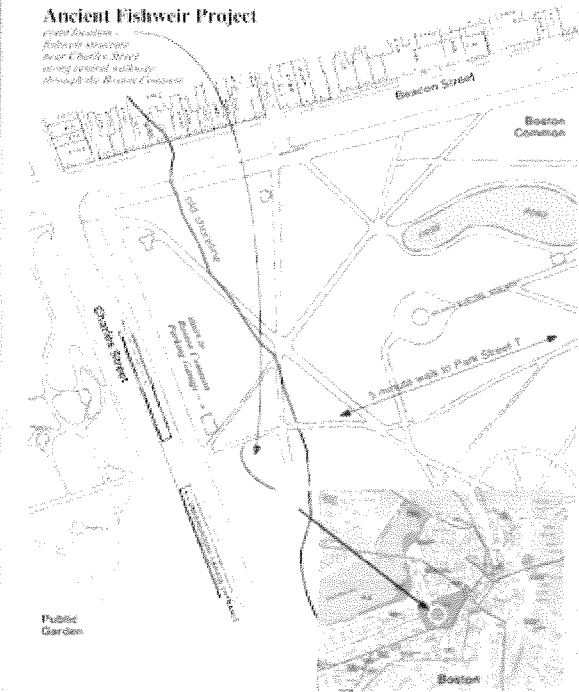
tion of that Part of America, Commonly Called New England: Discovering the State of that Countrie, both as it Stands to our New-Come English Planters; and to the Old Native Inhabitants. I am grateful to the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota for providing access to this volume.

56. Not in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but it clearly refers to the covering over the smoke-hole of a wigwam.
57. Builders.
58. Roots.
59. A derisive word to describe a slow, lazy, or idle person.
60. Suddenly.
61. A reed or such-like plant.
62. English individuals appointed by the commonwealth to protect Indian interests.
63. Referring to Indians from other locales in New England.
64. Indian leaders.
65. Paralysis, probably caused by a stroke.
66. Interest money earned due to the sale of a parcel of land called Magunkog in the Algonquian language.
67. Wampum—Indian medium of exchange and diplomatic symbolism, produced out of shells, and adopted by the English as an early medium of exchange.
68. Probably a bible or a book in the Massachusetts language. My thanks to John Nichols in sorting out this translation.

From: Anderson, Joyce Rain
Sent: Monday, May 03, 2010 1:24 PM
To: LeComte, Lori A.
Subject: Emailing: Event Calendar.htm Print in color?

- Ancient Fishweirs
- Discovery and Location
- In Boston's Back Bay
- Archeological Background
- Changing Shoreline
- Fishweir Event 2010
- Event Calendar
- School Collaborators
- Fishweir Curriculum
- Event Photos
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Ancient Fishweir Project



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[Photos of the Ancient Fishweir Project](#)

2010 Ancient Fishweir Project Calendar

Charles Street edge of Boston Common

Thursday, May 6, 2010 11am
Reflection on the fishweir by **Gil Solomon, Sachem of the Massachuset Tribe**
Construction of the fishweir begins on Boston Common
Participating schools include **Josiah Quincy Elementary School and Conservatory Lab Charter School**

Wednesday, May 26, 2010 12:30pm
Interactive performance with **Wampanoag Nation Singers and Dancers**

Monday, June 7, 2010 12:30pm
Interactive performance with **Wampanoag Nation Singers and Dancers** and **Making History Day** on Boston Common

Fishweir will be on view on Boston Common from May 6-June 7, 2010



View of the completed fishweir on the Boston Common

Native Women's History
in Eastern North America
before 1900

A Guide to Research and Writing

EDITED BY REBECCA KUGEL

and

LUCY ELDERSVELD MURPHY

2007