

George and Archibald Cam (Free African-Americans) Family Homestead & Historic Native American Ceremonial Site Shelton, Connecticut

By Mary E. Gage
163 Kimball Road
Amesbury, MA 01913
info@stonestructures.org

Photographs by James E. Gage, Richard Parkins, Glenn Parkins & Lucianne Lavin¹

Final Draft June 19, 2016
Copyright © 2016

Introduction

A walkover of the site was conducted on Friday September 18, 2015 with archaeologist Dr. Lucianne Lavin, Richard Parkins, James Gage and myself. A field map was drawn and photographs of the various structures were taken. Additional photographs were taken at a later date by Richard Parkins. Due to a shortage of time no measurements were taken. Teresa Gallagher, Natural Resource Manager for the City of Shelton was consulted on her deed research of the property.

Site

A general overview of the site showed several rectangular fields enclosed with stone walls. These walls were straight and neatly made. That gave a tidy and neat look to the farm not often seen. It also made some of the stone structures stand out such as the five neat stone mounds in two pastures. This farm did not exhibit any untidiness such as field clearing piles. The stones in the piles except for the outer stones were smaller than the stones in the walls. This raised the question, why were these stone piles left on the property and what were they built for? To study the site a master list was compiled of all the stone structures.

Map

The map on the next page is a hand drawn field sketch map by James Gage with additions made by Mary Gage. It is not to scale. Nineteen man-made features labeled #1 through #19 are noted on the map. xxxxxxxx who surface collected the site have labeled the locations where they found the artifacts. These are denoted by #21 through #32. He placed the artifacts in different groups using various criteria. In some cases, the artifacts within the group came from different parts of the site. Therefore, some artifact location #s are repeated on the map. (The original handwritten #s have been replaced with typed #s to improve readability.)

¹ Photos without any attribution are by James Gage except for artifact photos which are by Richard Parkins & Glen Parkins.

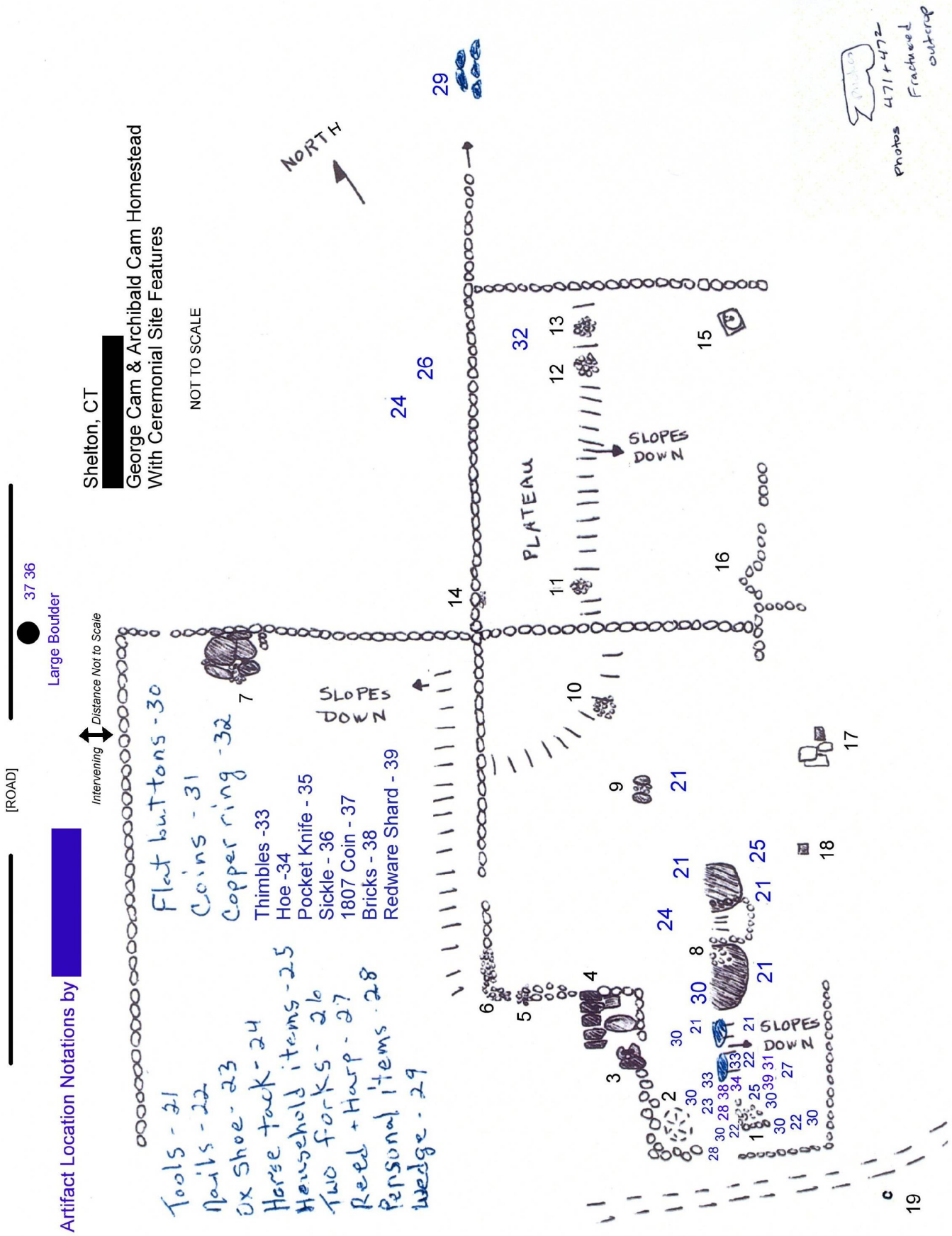


Fig. 1 – Field sketch map of site

Part I - Master List of Stone Structures

Field A

#1 Foundation

Two side walls were built up against an earthen embankment. The other two walls were exposed. One of the embankment walls was intact. It had an unmortared flat face. The second wall up against the down slope was in a collapsed condition. The floor of the foundation was covered with loose stone. James and Richard detected a partial stone footing on a third side that suggests the building's cellar had three or four stone walls. A short section of retaining wall extends south from the intact foundation wall. This indicates an extended footing showing the building was wider than the cellar.



Fig. 2 – George Cam house cellar, looking to the southwest (R. Parkins)



Fig. 3 – Intact south wall of cellar, looking to the south (R. Parkins)



Fig. 4 – Top down view of cellar, looking to the east (R. Parkins)

#2 L-Shaped Wall and Depression in Ground

The wall is in a partially collapsed state and was made up of large stones. It had an L shaped layout that extended out to a low outcrop with feature #3. A large circular depression in the ground was in the corner of the L shaped wall.



Fig. 5 – L-shape wall and depression feature in corner of wall, looking to the south (R. Parkins)

#3 Niche and Split

The low outcrop at the end of the L shaped wall (#2) had two boulders extending out from its side. The two boulders had a narrow opening between them. The split had a flat stone covering about ¼ of its length. The flat stone created a niche.



Fig. 6 – Overall view showing two boulders with a split in front of outcrop, looking to the south



Fig. 7 – Niche feature created by flat stone placed over the split

#4 Serpent Effigy Stone Head, Stone Wall and Split Bedrock

A large, elongated boulder with a tilted up end approximately three feet long was set up on top of surface bedrock. The end is rounded with a natural groove extending from one side around the end and part ways down the opposite side. The shape and position of the boulder with its groove gives the appearance of a serpent's head. The boulder is higher than the wall which it abuts.

The concept of a stone effigy used at a cairn site is seen at the Buell Hill site in Killingworth, CT. The photo of a turtle effigy on page 47 in Elaine Thomas's article (2015) *Maintaining the Integrity of the Homeland: Recognizing and Re-Awakening the Memory of Forgotten Places through Mohegan Archaeology* is undeniable. It proves animal effigies were used on Ceremonial Stone Landscape sites. In turn, it sets the precedence for other southern New England sites to also contain animal effigies.

A stone wall abuts the east and north side of the exposed bedrock. On the east side it is intact. It starts at the effigy's head and goes to the north end of the outcrop. Flat sided blocks of stone were the main type of stone used. In the middle there is a short section with small stones. This stands out as it is out of character with the rest of the wall. The small stone feature appears to be intentional. The wall along the north side is collapsed. Both segments of the wall are attached to the surface bedrock surrounding it on two sides. The collapsed portion of the wall stops at the end of the bedrock. At that point, the wall turns into a length of stone rubble with feature #5 at its end.

The bedrock extends south from the north stone wall. It is raised and straight with five short sections along the west edge containing four separate splits. Two splits have a few stones inside. The third split has a white quartz stone inside. The fourth split does not have any stone inside. The bedrock extends back toward the effigy in a fractured and uneven state. There is a narrow natural path between the effigy and split bedrock, and the split stone niche feature (#3) on the opposite side of the path.



Fig. 8 – Serpent Effigy with north wall (left), east wall (background), & serpent head boulder (L. Lavin)



Fig. 9 – Serpent Effigy – North wall, looking to the south (R. Parkins)



Fig. 10 – Serpent Effigy – East wall, looking to the west (R. Parkins)

Arrow points to a section of small stones in a wall otherwise made up of larger blocks & slabs.
Note: These are intentional as there is a large quantity of large flat faced stone blocks on the north end of the site fractured off an exposed outcrop.



Fig. 11 – Serpent Effigy – Four splits in bedrock, looking to the east (R. Parkins)



Fig. 12
Split #1 with stones inside



Fig. 13
Split #2 with stones inside including a white stone



Fig. 14 – Split #3 with stones inside



Fig. 15 – Split #4 with NO stones inside

#5 Stone Rubble Segment and Cairn

The stone wall surrounding the effigy ends at the end of the bedrock and turns into a long, narrow stone rubble pile with stone wall type stones. It is possibly the collapsed remains of a wall or possibly a low irregular length of stones. Attached to its west end is a stone mound cairn.

A neat, small, circular stone mound forms a cairn at the end of the stone rubble. The cairn is intact and contains small stones not seen in the wall. It was built on the ground. At that point there is a gap / opening before encountering feature #6.



Fig. 16 – Stone rubble segment with cairn at end, looking to the east



Fig. 17 – Cairn at the west end of the wall. Note the small size of the stones.

#6 Low, Elongated, L Shaped Stone Mound

Across from the cairn a low stone mound made up of small stones extends west to a corner where it turns north. The small stones, mounded construction and low height are noticeably different from the stone wall it attaches to heading north. The stone wall has large stones is approximately 2½' to 3' high. The wall stones are integrated and neatly placed showing decent workmanship. The stone mound with its small fractured stones is *not* a collapsed section of wall. It is an intentional feature.



Fig. 18 – Low elongated “L” shape mound, looking to the southwest.



Fig. 19 – Close-up of the small stones in the mound.

Field B

#7 Split Outcrop with Stones Placed Inside

This next feature is located in the adjoining west side pasture. The pasture's north wall is attached to a split outcrop. It is a tall outcrop made up of several boulders forming splits and two small openings at ground level. In the opening between the two tall boulders there is a low mound of stones (a). In a low crevice like feature there are several stones (b). On top where two boulders attach there are two stones (c). Underneath at ground level there is a triangular shaped small opening (d). On the wall side there is an attached medium sized boulder creating a second small opening at ground level (e). The two openings are adjacent to the stone wall.



Fig. 20 – Overall view (looking to the north) with various features denoted.



Fig. 21 – Feature B: Three stones in a crevice

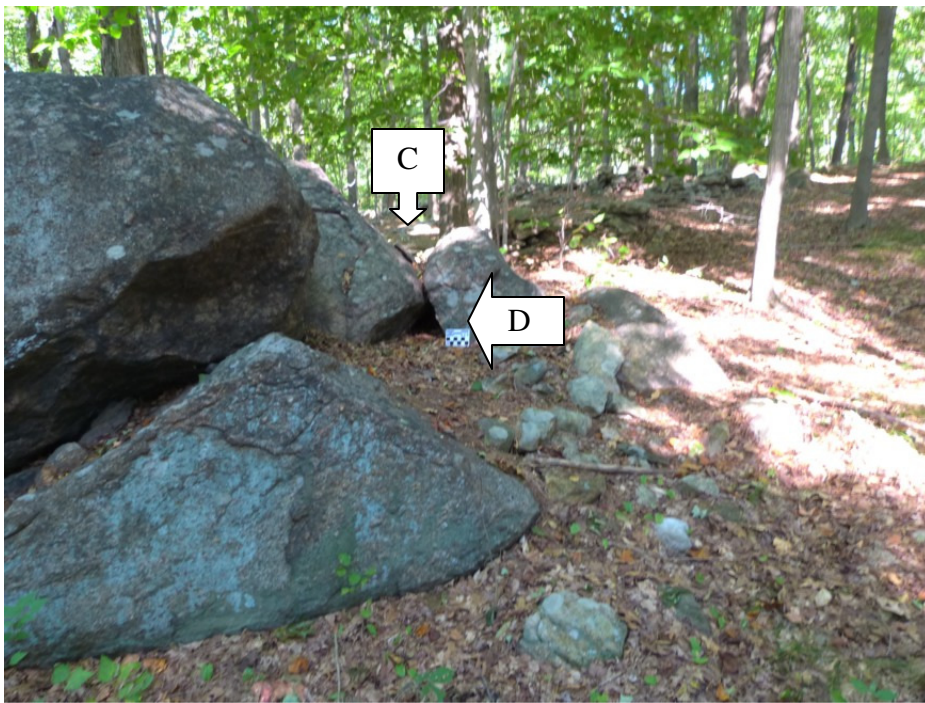


Fig. 22 – Feature D: Triangle shape opening. Note Feature C is on top of D.

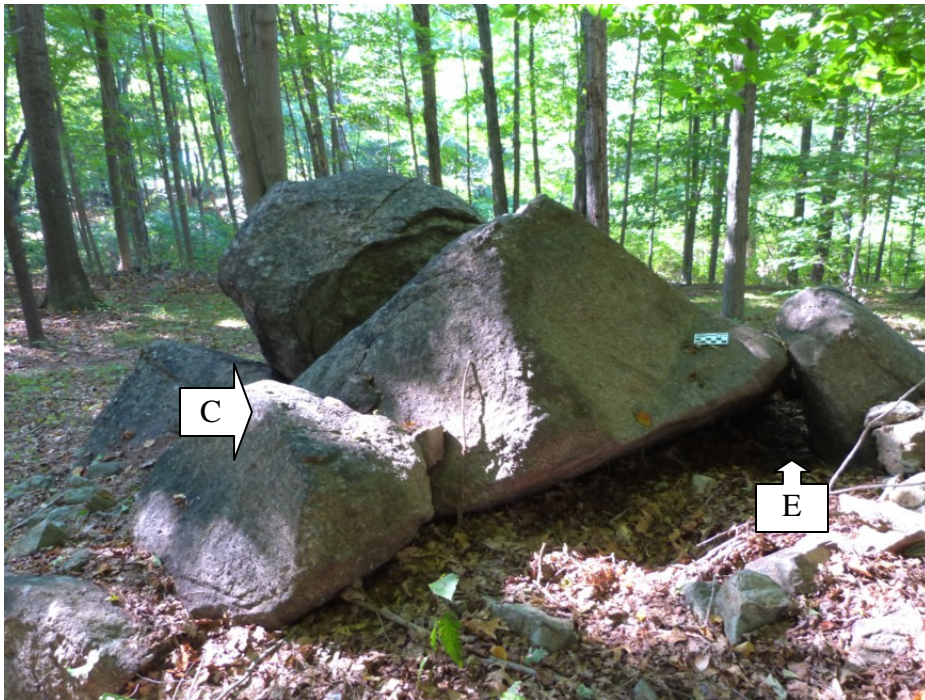


Fig. 23 – Feature C: Two Stones, Feature E: Triangle Opening



Fig. 24 – View showing the stone wall attached to the boulders (looking to the southwest)

#8 Low Walled Enclosure

The structure is located within field A, a short distance east of the effigy stone structure. The structure was built between two low outcrops with a wide gap. The stone wall making it up is attached to the inside of one outcrop on the down slope. It goes across the wide gap and attaches to the opposite side outcrop. On this side the wall is relegated to a single stone high and goes up and over the outcrop. Several stones were placed on top of the south side outcrop. The enclosed space opens west towards the interior of the field.



Fig. 25 – Low enclosure (looking to the south)



Fig. 26 – Low walled enclosure (looking to the east)



Fig. 27 – Low walled enclosure (looking to the southeast)



Fig. 28 – Low walled enclosure (looking to the west)

#9 Double Boulder Split Stone Cairn

A short distance northwest of the enclosure is the cairn. It was constructed using two boulders with a gap between them to form the split. The gap (split) is three feet wide and was filled with stones creating the cairn. The cairn is low to the ground and can not be seen until a person walks up on it. Yet as the photograph shows the serpent effigy is visible when standing at the cairn.



Fig. 29 – Split boulder cairn (looking to the west)

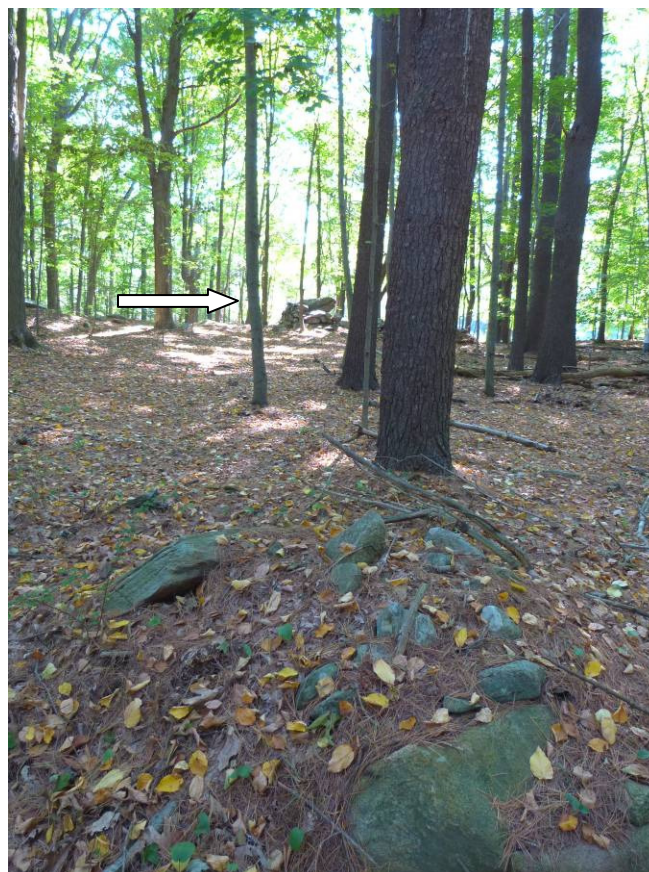


Fig. 30 – Relationship between the split boulder cairn and the serpent effigy (looking to the south)

#10 Mound on Ground Cairn

A short distance northwest of the double boulder split stone cairn is a low stone mound on the ground. The mound has large stones around the circumference. In the interior there are smaller stones. It is approximately 4 ½' to 5' diameter.

The large stones on the edge are similar to the stones in the wall. However, the interior stones are smaller than the wall stones. That shows this was not a field clearing stone pile built for use as wall building material.

NO PHOTO

Field C

#11, 12, & 13 Mound on Ground Cairns

These three cairns are located in the pasture (field C) north of the previous pasture (field A). They are low stone mound on the ground. The mounds have large stones around the circumference. In the interior there are smaller stones. They are approximately 4 ½' to 5' in diameter.

Stone mounds 10 through 13 were all located on the top edge of the plateau in their respective fields where the land begins to slope down. This homestead / farm is characterized by visual neatness. With the exception of the cairns and features 15, 17 & 18, the fields are for the most part clear of any surface stones or other debris. The stones in these cairns could easily have been disposed of by placing them on the existing walls which are 30 feet or less distance from them. The cairns are out of character with the agricultural aspects of this site. This suggests they are not field clearing but rather intentionally built structures for some other purpose.

No Photo

#11 On ground mound



Fig. 31 – #12 On ground mound



Fig. 32 – #13 On ground mound

#14 Small Stone Feature in West Wall (Field C)

Embedded in the west side wall near the south end is an anomaly. The stone wall in this section is made up of long block-like stones and square blocks of stone with a few smaller stones mixed in. Feature 14 is an eighteen inch wide by fourteen inch high section of small stones topped by a large blocky slab. In the middle there is a triangular stone pointed upwards. The feature stands out from the rest of the wall and is similar to the feature in the wall surrounding the effigy head.

The use of the smaller stones was intentional as there is a large quantity of available block-like stones on the north end at an outcrop with fractured pieces ranging in size from small to extra large. It is also not a recent repair as the smaller stones have the same accumulation / buildup of lichen as the large stones adjacent to the feature.



Fig. 33 – The feature is out character with the rest of the wall’s construction (looking to the west)



Fig. 34 – Close-up of feature



Fig. 35 – Another section of the same wall for comparison

#15 Stone Slab with Worked Features

In the northeast corner of the field there is a stone slab. One end is square with a raised and rounded section (fig. 37). The natural raised section is three inches thick. The overall thickness of the slab is approximately six inches. The stone is formed in thin horizontal layers. There is one major horizontal fracture where the round edge contacts the square lower section (fig.37). A secondary horizontal fracture can be seen above it. The top surface of the slab is uneven. The slab has a well-defined circular shape which is approximately 4 feet in diameter. (Letters a - e correspond to locations shown in fig. 36)

(1) Section "a" of the circular upper section lacks any tool mark and appears to be naturally curved. There are few chip marks along the top edge possibly from some minor trim work.

(2) Section "b" where the circular upper section continues past the lower square section towards the spout, the lower part of the curvature with a shelf appears to be natural but the top edge appears to have been continued by being chipped away from the stone.

(3) To the left of the spout "c" the circular shape and shelf appear to have been worked/chipped away to maintain the curvature.

(4) Continuing around the top edge a shallow groove "d" was carved between 2 to 3 inches in from the edge around a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the circumference of the circle. The segmented groove has an uneven width and was formed by a series of interconnected oval cuts. The tool used may have been a mason's *hand point*. An example of this tool was found at the site. The groove slopes down into and transitions into the narrow shelf (c). The groove may have served one of three purposes: (I) the groove was designed to drain a liquid off the stone; (II) the groove was a guideline for trimming the outer edge into a circular shape; (III) the groove was used to visually define the overall circular shape of this stone feature. The fact that the groove would drain any liquid downward onto the shelf (c) rather than towards the carved spout eliminates the first explanation.

(5) In the center of the top there is a shallow carved hole "e". It is approximately 3 inches in diameter around the top and narrows to about one inch diameter at the bottom. The hole is shallow but deeper than an attached groove. Extending out from the hole is a one inch wide groove. It goes out about three inches and stops. There is about an eight inch gap and then the groove "f" starts up again and goes out to the edge of the stone circle. The second segment is about eight inches long. The groove was crudely carved with ragged side edges.

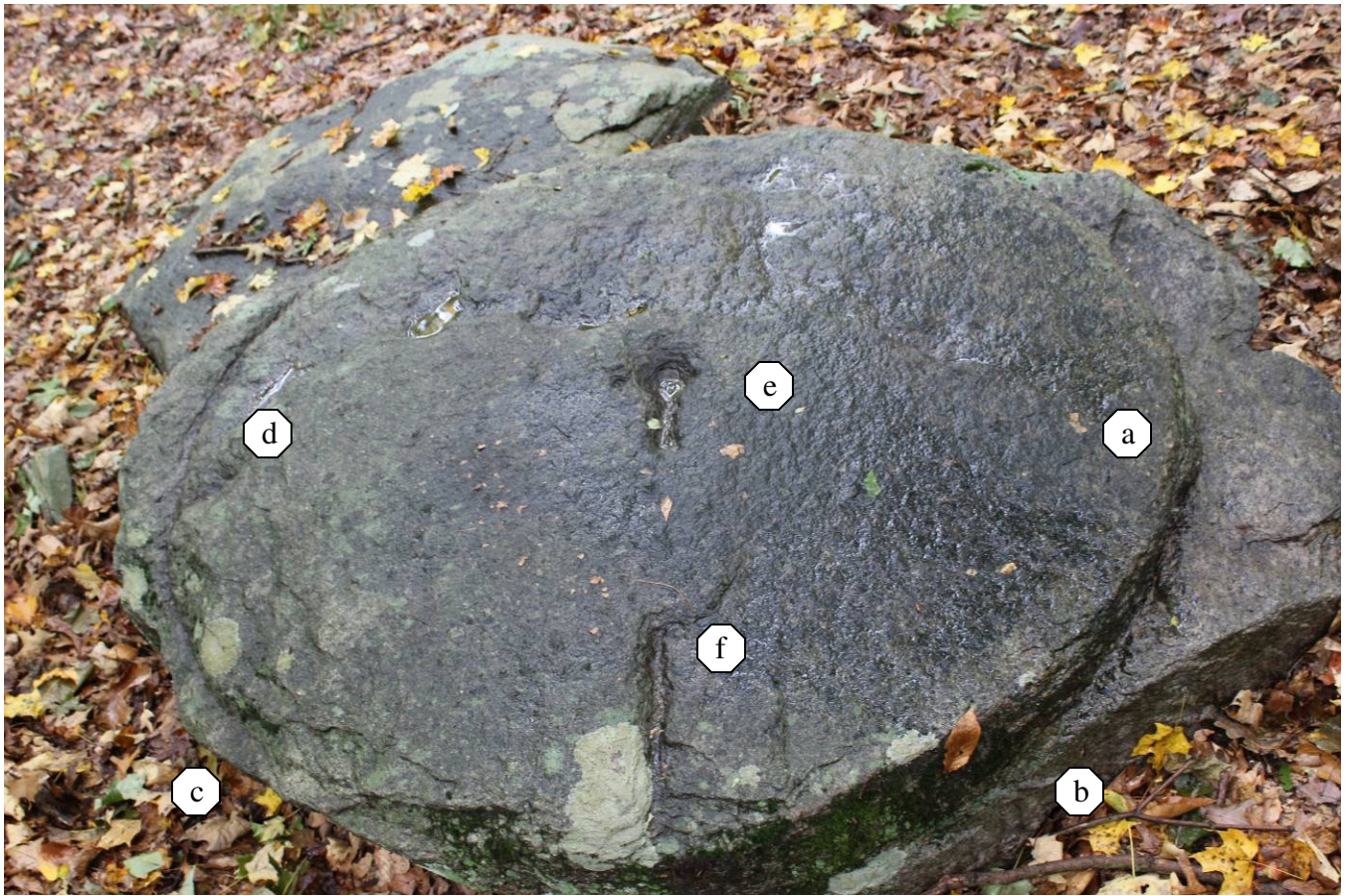


Fig. 36 –Overall view of the carved stone with locations mentioned in the description (R. Parkins)



Fig. 37 – Side view showing the square end with raised rounded section, note the horizontal fracture.



Fig. 38 – Natural curvature continued (to the left) beyond the edge of the square end



Fig. 39 – On the opposite side, the “rounded stone” was defined by a carved groove



Fig. 40 – Only one side had a low extension and naturally curved edge

#16 Indented Large V shape in Stone Wall

In the SE corner on the east side a wall goes northward for a short distance. It has a V shaped indentation feature. The V opens east away from the interior of field C. Beyond the V the wall is either in its start up stage or has broken down.



Fig. 41 – “V” shape indentation in stone wall (looking to the north) (R. Parkins)

Return to Field A

#17 Large Tilted Block-Like Slab of Stone

The stone was on the outer edge of a small section of surface bedrock. The bedrock was fractured into rectangular sections. The slab resembled the in-ground fractured bedrock with the exception it was in an upright tilted position. There was a flat stone behind it but it did not seem to be a support stone. This needs to be checked out by brushing the dirt away to see both stones and see if there was any relationship between them. It is unknown if this is a natural occurrence or was altered by man.

The stone is located on the east side of the field A. A short distance south is another similar tilted stone.

NO PHOTO

#18 Large Tilted Block-Like Slab of Stone

This stone is a rectangular slab-like block set up in an upright tilted position.

NO PHOTO

Area D

This area was not explored with the exception of the well shaft. It appeared graded over. It could use a thorough walkover.

#19 Well Shaft

A historic water well shaft was found on the south side of the dirt road. The farm / ceremonial site is on the north side of the road.



Fig. 42 – Well on south side of xxxxxxxx (R. Parkins)

Master List of Artifacts

The list is from artifacts collected through metal detecting by xxxxxx [current owner prohibits metal detecting and artifact collecting].

- a. Axe?: only part of this tool survived, not sure what type of tool it is
- b. Hand point (tool used to apply a finished surface to stone blocks): top in new-like condition, indicates very limited use
- c. Mortising axe: used to cut mortise sockets in timber-frame building construction and holes in wooden fence posts
- d. Short metal wedge: top is mushroomed from heavy use
- e. Hoes: three handheld hoes originally with wooden poles – large, medium, & small
- f. Axe head: short and thick
- g. Saw blade: One person crosscut saw with champion tooth pattern: sawing edge consisted of two triangular teeth (“cutters”) and one two forked tooth (“raker”). The raker removed the saw dust and shavings from the cut. This pattern was preferred for hardwood sawing. It has remnants of a “D” shape wooden handle. A hole along the top edge found at both ends of the blade was used to attach cylindrical wooden handles. This type of saw was used for sawing logs once the tree was felled.²
- h. Nails: ten nails were recovered – hand forged, cut, wire (1)
- i. Ox shoe: two sides making up a complete ox shoe, one side still had nails intact showing the animal lost it.
- j. Horse related: 1 Stirrup, 8 buckles (bridle) (different sizes and shapes square and round), 4 O rings (different sizes) (halter), 2 D rings (halter), two items with metal pins: square buckle-like head with long metal pin and circular or ring head attached to a long metal pin (pins appear to be made to go into wood as in a wagon)
- k. 2 two tine forks (two prongs)
- l. Door handle
- m. Knife blade
- n. Knife handle insert (originally would have had wood handle attached to both sides)
- o. Two tine fork (late 18th century?)
- p. Knife handle insert
- q. Plastering tool (?)
- r. Hatchet (?)
- s. Redware lid with brown glaze
- t. Redware with brown glaze
- u. Spoon (pewter?)
- v. Unidentified artifact
- w. Reed: belongs to a harmonica
- x. Jew’s harp
- y. Eye glasses hardware
- z. Tapered metal pin
- aa. Shoe buckle
- bb. Shoe buckle
- cc. Buttons: thirty six – 35 metal (32 flat and 3 convex), 1 bone or wood with two holes
- dd. Five coins: 1802 One Cent, two silver Spanish Reals 1786 & 1819, one too worn to read with small hole in middle, one smooth without letters or numbers
- ee. Copper ring

² Michael 2012.

- ff. Two Thimbles
- gg. Hoe
- hh. Pocket Knife (20th century?)
- ii. Sickle
- jj. 1807 Britannia half penny (copper)
- kk. Bricks – 38
- ll. Glazed redware shard – 39

xxxxxxx placed the artifacts in different groupings. Some of the groups are organized by a specific class of artifact like coins or nails. Others are organized by broader categories such as tools, horse tack, and household items. They gave each grouping a map location #. Since some of the artifacts in a group were found in different parts of the site, the same location # appears in multiple places on the map.

- Tools – 21 (axes, hoes, unknown tool)
- Nails – 22
- Ox Shoe – 23
- Horse Tack – 24
- Household items – 25 (includes 3 possible tools, knives, spoon, door handle, redware)
- Two Forks – 26
- Reed & Harp – 27
- Personal items – 28 (shoe buckles, eye glass hardware)
- Wedge (large) – 29
- Buttons – 30
- Coins – 31
- Copper Ring – 32
- Thimbles – 33
- Hoe – 34
- Pocket Knife - 35
- Sickle – 36
- 1807 Coin – 37
- Bricks – 38
- Glazed redware shard – 39

Artifact photos by Richard Parkins & Glenn Parkins.



Fig. 43 – Location #21 on Map

- A – Unidentified tool (axe?) or part
- B – Hand Point (stone working tool)
- C – Mortising Axe
- D – Wedge (splitting wood?) *Found at location #29 not #21
- E – Three different size hoes
- F – Axe
- G – Saw (one person crosscut with champion tooth pattern)



Artifact photos and locations
provided by Richard Parkins
Scale
Post-it note is 3" x 3"

Fig. 44 – Location #29

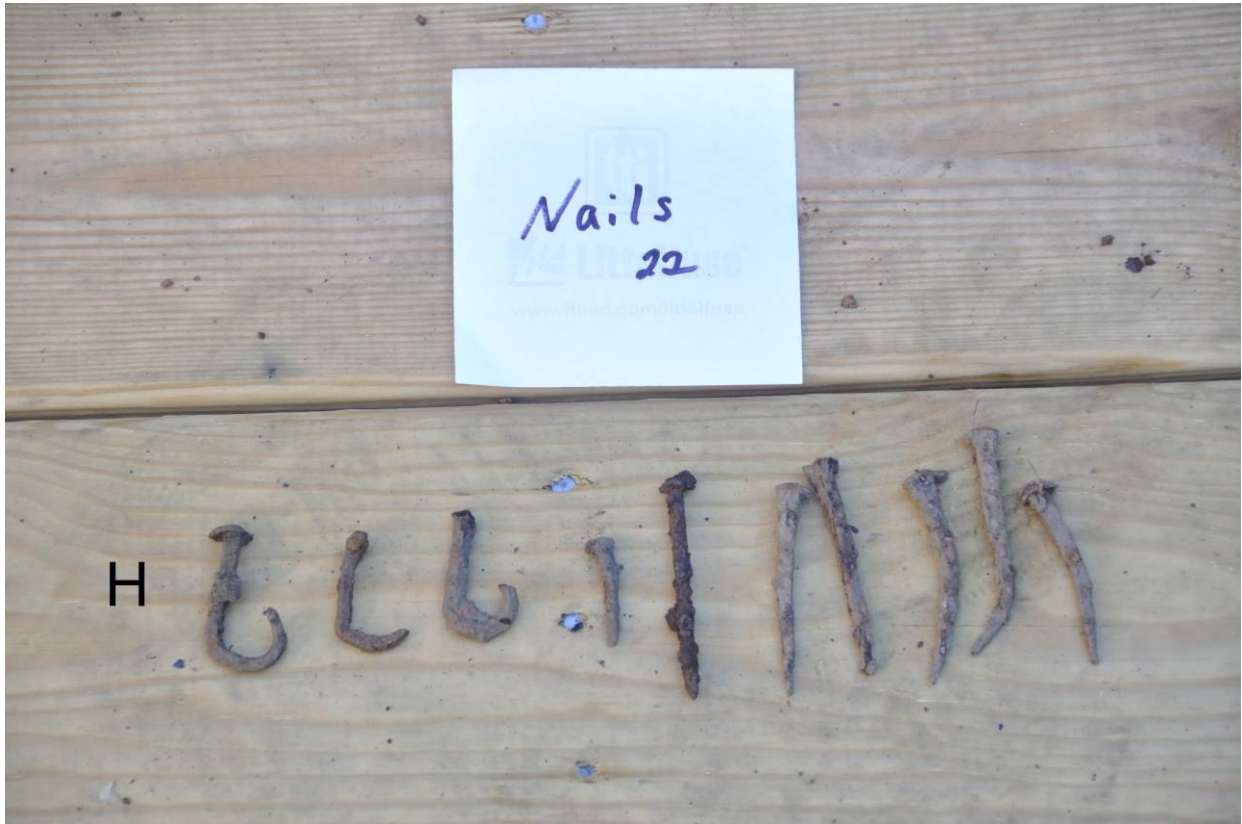


Fig. 45 – Location #22 on Map – hand forged, cut, & one wire nail



Fig. 46 – Location #23 on Map – Oxen Shoes



Fig. 47 – Location #24 on Map – Horse tack: stirrup, rings, & buckles

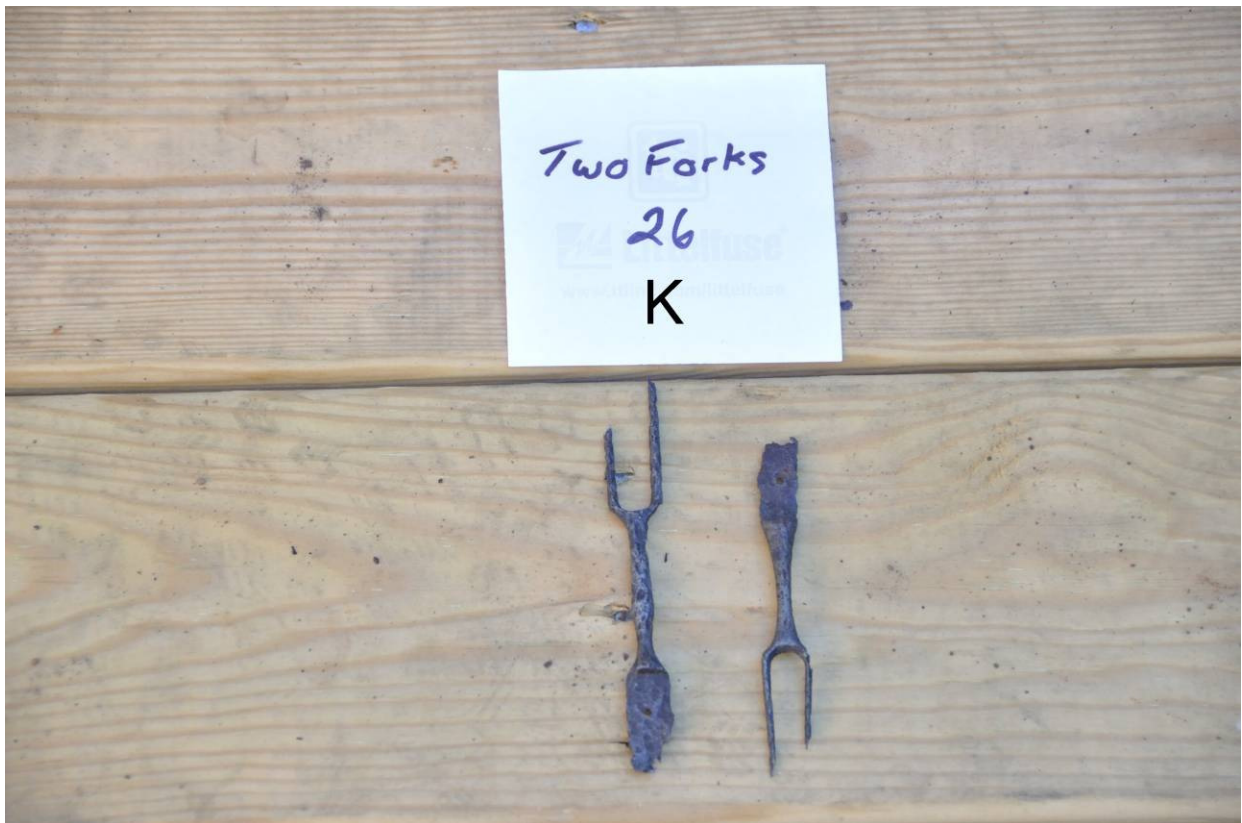


Fig. 48 – Location #26 on map: Two tine forks

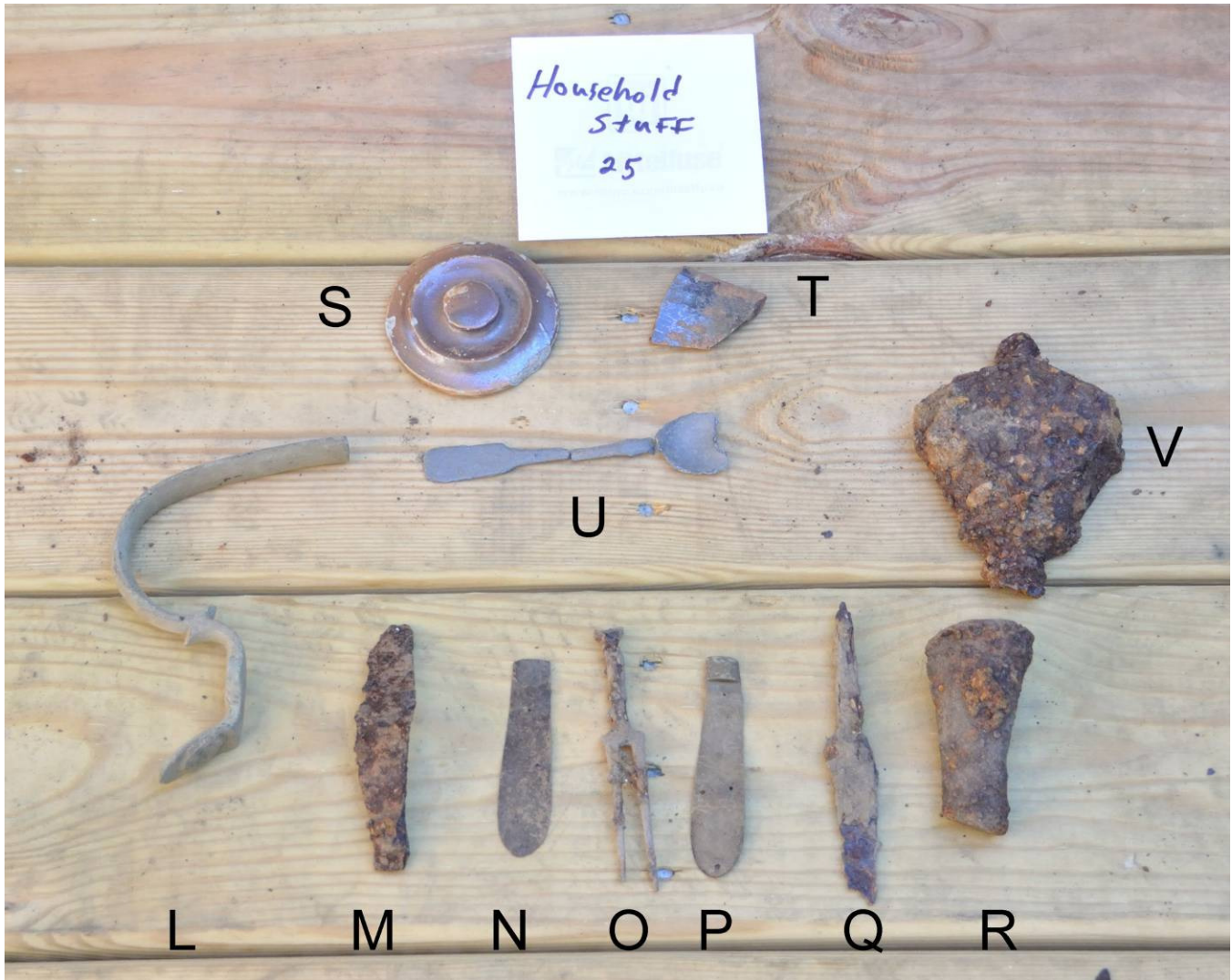


Fig. 49 – Location #25 on map

- L – Door handle
- M – Knife blade
- N – Knife handle insert (originally would have had wood handle attached to both sides)
- O – Two tine fork (late 18th century?)
- P – Knife handle insert
- Q – Plastering tool (?)
- R – Hatchet (?)
- S – Redware lid with brown glaze
- T – Redware with brown glaze
- U – Spoon (pewter?)
- V – Unidentified artifact



Fig. 50 – Location on Map #27 - Reed to harmonica & jew's harp

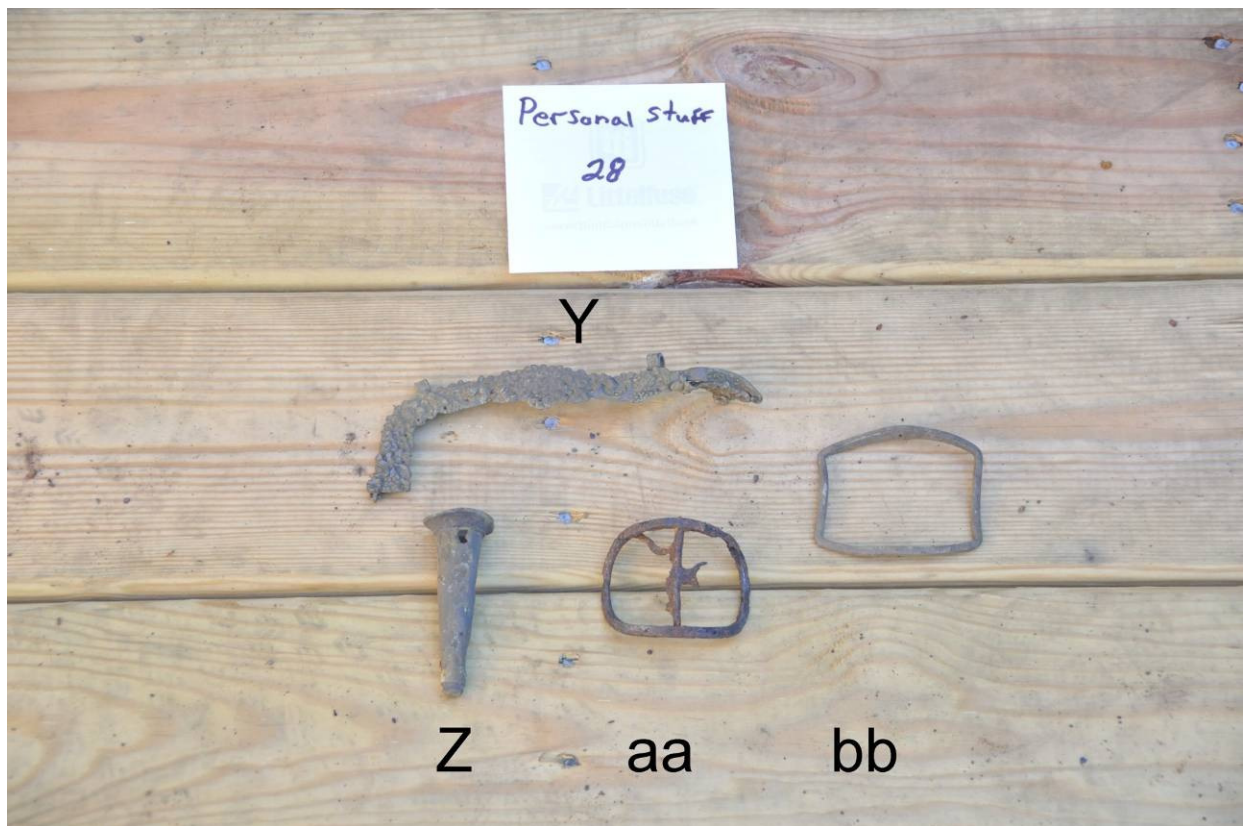


Fig. 51 – Location on the Map #28 – 2 shoe buckles, possible frame of eyeglasses, & unknown artifact



Fig. 52 – Location 30 on Map: Buttons were found scattered around the house foundation.

dd



Fig. 53
Location on Map #31 – Coins
 Worn (copper?)

Worn One Cent (1802)

Silver Real Silver Real
 (1819) (1786)



NOTE: The coins were found as a tight group



Fig. 54 – Location #32 on Map: Copper Ring

The Copper ring was found in field C which contained the grooved stone. Copper rings were sometimes used by Native Americans on necklaces according to Arthur Woodward “Indian Trade Goods” (p.8)



Fig. 55 – Location #33 on Map: Thimbles



Fig. 55A – Location #34 on Map: Hoe

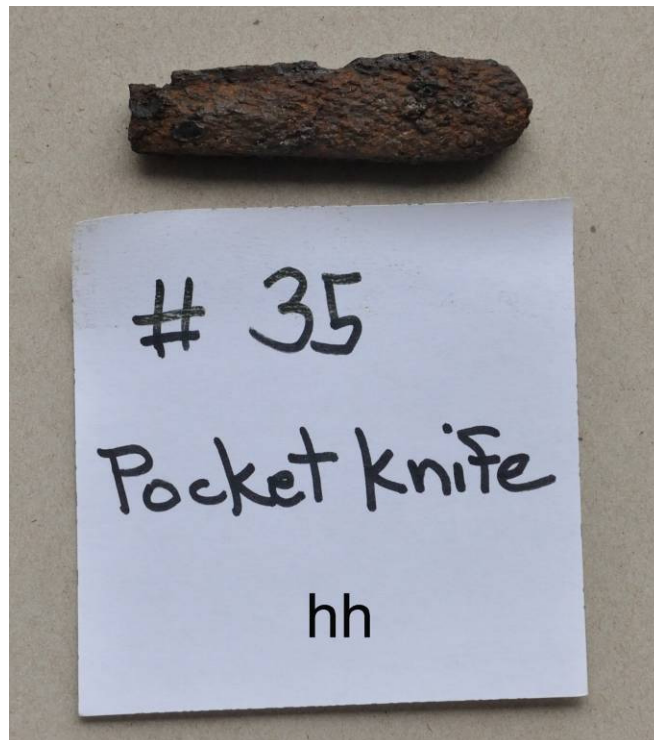


Fig. 55B – Location #35 on Map: Pocket Knife

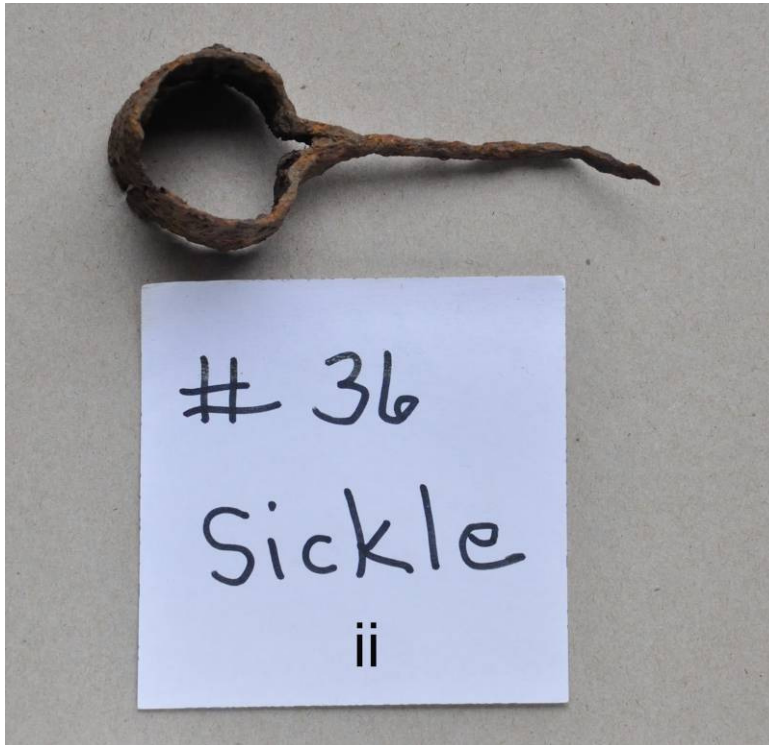


Fig. 55C – Location #36 on Map: Sickle

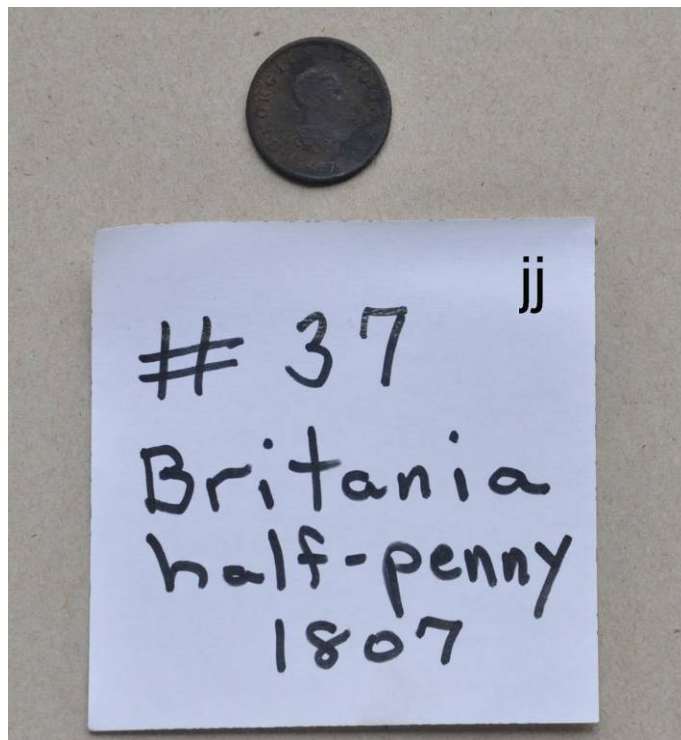
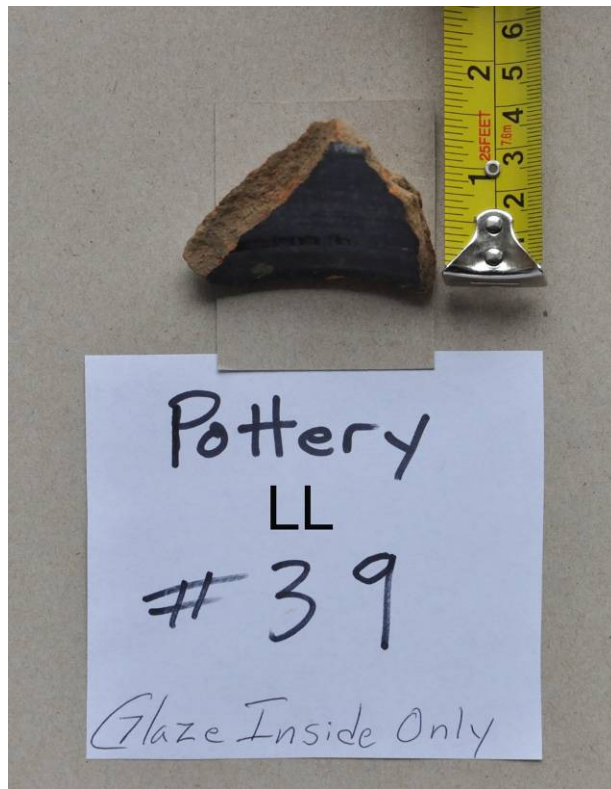


Fig. 55D – Location #37 on Map: 1807 Half-Penny



38
Bricks
 $7\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
kk

Fig. 55E – Location #38 on Map: Bricks



Pottery
LL
39
Glaze Inside Only

Fig. 56 – Location #39 on Map: Glazed Redware Shard

Part II

Deed research indicates the site was located on a six acre parcel of land owned by a free African-American family (George Cam and later his son Archibald Cam) from 1790 through 1878 when it was given to the town. It was subsequently acquired by the Shelton Water company in the early 1900s as a watershed buffer zone for reservoir #1 (a/k/a Silent Waters).³ A cursory glance at this site's stone structures and artifact assemblage would lead one to conclude this is a small homestead / farm site. However, a more depth examination of the site's stonework reveals features, structures, and construction techniques which are not consistent with homestead or agricultural activity. These structures and features are consistent with similar structures found at Native American Ceremonial Landscape (CSL) sites. George Cam's grandson, John L. Cam, Jr. had close ties with a local Native American, see the discussion of William Sherman (Part III).⁴

This section provides a synopsis of some of the key anthropological texts used to evaluate and interpret these features. The significance of some of the materials may not be immediately apparent as to how they apply to the stone structures and features. The site analysis in Part III will tie all of these different threads together into a cohesive picture.

Serpents in Literature

From *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life* by Diamond Jenness.

In 1929 Diamond Jenness spent seven weeks interviewing Native Americans living on Parry Island about their social and religious life. He had six principal Native American informants ranging in age from 37 to 90. There was a chief, a medicine-man who belonged to the Grand Midewiwin or Medicine Society, a woman, Mary Sugedud, full bloods, Ojibwa, Potawatomi and an Ottawa Indian all of whom were living long term on Parry Island, Georgian Bay, Canada.

Jenness presented different beliefs regarding serpents:

The first account from Mary Sugedud reads, "The chief enemies of both man and thunder are the water-serpents, which can travel underground and steal away a man's soul. The boss of all the water-serpents is *Nzagima*, one of whose contests with thunder is the theme of a well-known myth." "After the serpent had burned to ashes they ordered the girl to take some of the ashes and use them for medicine. 'This will be your medicine,' they said. 'Even though a man be at death's door these ashes will restore him.' The girl became a great medicine-woman and lived to a very old age. Often she restored the dying to life, and was summoned from great distances to heal the sick" (pp.35, 36).

A second account reads, "There is current also on Parry Island, however, a very different account of the great serpent, which makes it not the enemy of the Ojibwa and the patron of sorcerers, but through the agency of *mede'* medicine-men, a benefactor. In this account there are two great serpents, a male, *Nzagima*, that is black and has horns like a deer, and a female that is white. The usual name for both is simply *mishiginebik*, 'big snakes' " (p.39).

³ In the early 1900s, the water company had been expanding its reservoir system and may have acquired the land with the intention of creating a reservoir out of Cranberry Swamp.

⁴ It is currently unclear if the Cam family prior to John L. Cam Jr. had any genealogical ties to the Native American or not. Christine Pittsley, Connecticut State Library, has found a 1763 inquest for the untimely death of a woman in Derby "also known as Mary Cam" who was identified as Native American. No genealogy links have been found between this woman and the Cam's of Shelton. George Cam was born after her death, so she is not a direct ancestor.

A third account reads, “One old man, John Manatuwaba, even identified it with the earth-*manido* of the *mede*’ society, *Nokomis* (“grandmother,” a title that to Georgian Bay Ojibwa outside the Midewiwin society signifies the moon) ; for he claimed that the serpent, *manido* lived under the earth, and through the many subordinate *manidos* at its command controlled or guarded all the trees and plants” (p.40).

The fourth account reads, “The majority of the Parry Islanders, however, have never seen the *Midewiwin* rites. They believe that the society existed primarily for witchcraft and that the *mede*’ was above all else a sorcerer. Any *manido*, therefore, that the *mede*’ claimed to employ was by that fact evil. Then Christianity, with its teaching of the “fall of man” through the serpent, put its seal on this interpretation, which is the one most prevalent today on Parry Island” (p.40).

Discussion

The first account speaks of the chief water-serpent who is the enemy of man and thunder. The fourth account explains why the evil/malevolent serpent belief has become entrenched in the culture. The second account shows a belief in a benevolent serpent. The third account also speaks of a good serpent whose domain is the Underworld, which is under the ground versus under the water. The different accounts show a wide range of beliefs in a super/chief spirit. Most talk about a single chief spirit but the second account identifies two chief spirits (male and female). This account placed deer like horns on the snake and brought in two colors, black and white.

Serpent Physical Representation

(1) From *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes* by Selwyn Dewdney and Kenneth E. Kidd. This was a “systematic recording” of the Quetico sites in the Canadian Shield of the Great Lakes.

“Our objective: a site mentioned by a United States geologist, Joseph Norwood. Conspicuous on the Canadian shore of the Narrows is a serpent-like vein of white feldspar, against a background of dark schist. Norwood, to borrow a quotation from Grace Lee Nute’s *The Voyageur’s Highway*, said of this that it ‘must be highly esteemed by them, from the quantity of vermilion bestowed on it, and the number of animals depicted on the face rock.’ This report made in 1849, is the earliest printed comment I have yet found on a specific Shield site” (p.40).

This account shows a natural, physical feature, with the color white that was incorporated into the Native American’s petroglyph site. Offerings were made in the form of red vermilion which can be equated to red ochre.

(2) From *Picture Rocks, American Indian Rock Art in the Northeast Woodlands* by Edward J. Lenik

“Images of snakes or serpents are not uncommon in the northeastern woodlands. A dual anthropomorphic-snake image was found on the eastern end of the main ledge at Birch Point on Machias Bay. Hedden dates this glyph to around one thousand years before the present and describes it as a ‘succinct visual expression of Algonkian concepts of spiritual metamorphosis.’ Seven snake or serpent figures, several with horns, made by Mi’kmaq Indians have been recorded at Kejimkujik Lake in Nova Scotia, Canada” (p.56).

The Mi’kmaq created serpent or snake images with horns and without horns. It also shows the serpent was well represented here in the Northeast.

(3) Canonchet Brook Preserve Site 6, Hopkinton, Rhode Island (Gage 2016)

A long stone wall has two distinct ends. One is a historically finished end, flat and square attached to a well made three foot high section of wall. The opposite end has a large triangular shaped block of stone, a single stone on the end. It is attached to a low section of wall. The triangular block stands out creating a serpent's head effigy (structure 64). The snake effigy is part of a large cairn site.

Underworld: People, Animals, and Sun Spirit

Two accounts from *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life* by Diamond Jenness, 1935

1st – ‘One winter a moose, in the form of a big old man, carried two boys away to a land where there was no snow. It was *bitokomegog*, the underground world in which the moose have their village. Some time afterwards he brought the boys back to earth and restored them to their people’ (Jonas King) (quoted by Jenness page 24).

2nd Mary Sugedub recounted a Native American boy's vision in great detail, “Vision of Ogauns” It shows how Ogauns first went up to Upperworld and in his second quest went into the Underworld. The written account takes up four pages. Quoted here is an excerpt. “During the darkness I heard footsteps around my camp and a voice calling to me, ‘Ogauns why do you want me? Was it that you just remembered me, from past years?’ I uncovered my face, and a bright light shone over me. Leaping to my feet I exclaimed ‘Why have I slept so late’ ; for the atmosphere seemed bright as day. But my friend, one of the suns in our sky who had come to join my expedition, answered me, ‘It is not day. Your firelight guided me to you through the darkness. Not until the moon is full shall we descend to the lower world” (p.57).

The quotes are from Native Americans who expressed their beliefs.

Niche, Holes, Fire, & Serpents

(1) From *Picture Rocks, American Indian Rock Art in the Northeast Woodlands* by Edward J. Lenik

Titicut Site Feature 179

Lenik stated, “The Titicut petroglyph was found in cultural feature number 179 at the site. Feature 179 consisted of a fire hearth described as a circular ring of large pebbles with a flat stone base that contained lumps of charcoal and some calcined bone fragments. Beneath the base stone of the hearth was another flat stone lying horizontally and forming a cover over three elongated flat stones that were placed on edge at right angles to each other to form a box or cist. In the cist, the excavators found a full grooved ax, a clumsy plummet, and a white quartz scraper, all covered with red ochre. The underside of the cover stone contained three incised figures and was covered by a thin layer of graphite. The contents of the box or cist suggested that the feature dated to the Late Archaic period, and that the white quartz artifact was an engraving tool that was used in producing the incised figures.” (pp.134-135)

There are three figures in the petroglyph: (a) a snake or serpent with an eye and its mouth open flicking its tongue. Its body goes the whole length of the stone curving around the end enclosing two other figures; (b) a human figure; (c) a sun or star depicted by irregular repeated circles in the middle and six triangular points crossing the center of the circles.

An illustration of this petroglyph can be viewed on page 135 of Lenik's book. The Native Americans have classified this petroglyph as a burial object and therefore it is no longer appropriate to show an image of it.

Lenik called the structure underneath the hearth a box or cist. That may be incorrect. The structure had three sides. Its fourth side was open indicating it was a niche. Within the niche feature is a pattern. The niche contained three objects covered with red ochre: an ax, plummet, and scraper. There

were three figures in the petroglyph that was covered with graphite. This shows a repeated pattern of three's and the use of a covering substance. Plus, there were three sides to the niche structure. The three's show up three times. That is a definitive pattern.

The fire on top may have been more than a simple fire. Fire is a living spirit who has other abilities (see example 2 below). The burnt bones were not identified as to who they belonged to animal or human so no interpretations can be drawn on them.

The three petroglyphs were more than representations of spirits, they were living spirits. This comes from work by Alanson Skinner with the Menomini tribe. He showed how the people wove food contents into flat woven food dishes or painted food on to birch bark food dishes. These dishes were placed at grave houses that had openings (holes) for the deceased spirit to come out and partake of the real (symbolic) food (1921, 260-261). The three stone objects were potentially offerings or tools for use by the spirits represented in the petroglyphs. The open end of the niche would have allowed the three spirits in the petroglyph to exit and enter.

The niche was under the hearth thus underground in the Underworld. Did serpents go into the Underworld? Serpents as shown above were either Underworld Water spirits or underground (earth) spirits. Did people go into the Underworld? Did the Sun Spirit go into the Underworld? Diamond Jenness and M. R. Harrington both pointed out boys going through vision quests went in to the underworld (Jenness 1935, 24; Harrington 1921, 63-64). This places ordinary people in the Underworld. Jenness also included a rare retelling of the vision of a boy named Ogauns. In Ogauns vision he showed the boy was accompanied by the Sun Spirit on his journey into the Underworld (Jenness 1935, 57-59). The theory of the Titicut petroglyph having the Sun Spirit in the Underworld is cross-checked by Ogauns vision in which the concept was documented through Native Americans informants. This opens up a way to look at spirits from one world going into another world that are documented in the historical / anthropological literature.

The evidence suggests the feature was used for a ceremonial purpose. Was it an annual ceremony or a one time ceremony?

(2) Winnebago Tribe (Wisconsin)

“The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them [4 snakes]. There he likewise places tobacco for them [snakes]. First he pours tobacco in the fire for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people ...” (Radin 1990, 277)

In this quote the fire spirit is the mediator between the people and the snake spirit. The snake spirits are invited into the ceremony.

(3) Offerings Placed in Niche

From *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes* by Selwyn Dewdney and Kenneth E. Kidd

“In an alcove of the glaciated granite, against a glistening white reredos of encrusted lime, the little red markings appear like tiny icons. Passing Indians still [1960s] leave tobacco in the little niche that is shown below” (Dewdney & Kidd 1967, 67 - Vermilion River site just south of Carling Lake).

Note: Dewdney used an old illustration that only shows the top of what appears to be a stone pile. The stone pile is at the bottom indicating it is the niche. It is assumed there is an opening underneath the stones.

Dewdney in his travels found two niches that were being used by the Native Americans. In each niche tobacco had been left, a perishable offering, was being made. He noted, “the most recent a cellophane-wrapped cigar!” (ibid,128).

Discussion

At the Titicut site a niche was used to hold stone objects covered with red ochre. The ochre confirms a sacred or ceremonial usage of the niche and its contents. The underside of the roof stone contained an image of a serpent as well as a human and a sun or star. The petroglyphs and stone objects were under a hearth that contained a fire and bones. That placed the niche and its contents underground in the Underworld. At the Snake Clan Feast holes were dug in the ground for spirit portals so the snake spirits could be called forth. Then a fire was built that was given a tobacco offering to the Fire Spirit. The Fire Spirit was the mediator between the people and the snake spirits. The fire was more than a fire it had a spirit whose powers the people could tap into for their ceremony. This same concept is what likely took place at the Titicut site. At that fire unidentified bones were found in it. The bones may have been from a sacrificial offering. At Titicut the niche had an open side. This equates to the holes dug in the ground to create spirit portals.

In the last example, tobacco offerings are made in niches above ground. This shows spirits used niches to obtain offerings. Niches and fires in conjunction with offerings are linked to communicating and making contact with snakes/serpents and other spirits. In two examples the snakes/serpents are underground in the Underworld. In the Winnebago example the snakes are called forth from the Underworld to be present at the ceremony. All of these concepts showed up with the structures involved with the serpent effigy at the Cam site (discussed in Part III).

Snake Underground

Early Dutch Text – Nicolaes van Wassenaer, “Historich Verhael” (1624-1630)

Quoted in Simmons (1990, 145)

Hole in Hill – Property-Offering Ritual involving a guardian spirit, in the form of a snake

William Simmon states “An early Dutch text presents a shaman’s eye view of the property-offering ritual, wherein a guardian spirit, in the form of a snake and another spirit take possession of the valuables: ‘They have a hole in a hill in which they place a kettle full of all sorts of articles ... as a part of their treasures. Then a snake comes in, then they all depart, and the Manittou, that is the Devil, comes in the night and takes the kettle away, according to the statement of the ... devil-hunter, who presides over the ceremony.’ ”

This is a 1600s Pequot ritual from southern New England. It shows a ritual specifically involving a guardian snake spirit. The snake spirit is underground in “a hole in a hill”.

Splits in Stone

(1) From Diamond Jenness

Crevasse and Invisible Indians

“The ‘Little Wild Indians’ are dwarfs that do no harm, but play innumerable pranks on human beings. ... Pegahmagabow once saw their tracks, like those of a tiny baby, on a muddy road on Parry Island. Certain dwarfs haunt a crevasse in a rock on French river, where they sometimes make themselves visible; if you throw them some food they disappear” (Jenness 1935, 43).

In this quote the Little Wild Indians, spirit people live in a crevasse in the rock.

(2) From Diamond Jenness

This quote comes from a telling of Ogauns vision by Mary Suggedud

“He [Almighty Manido of Upperworld] said that I might have my wish, but bade me first descend to the three layers of the underworld.” ... “Some moons later I left my parents again, carrying this time a complete travelling equipment, even a small birch-bark canoe. I found the chasm securely blocked, and stared aghast at the huge, irregular granite masses in front of me, charred and discoloured where they had been shattered. ‘All hope is gone then,’ I murmured ; ‘Never shall I obtain the everlasting life’; and I covered my face with my hands. But while my face was thus covered the pathway stood revealed to me, and looking up, I searched for the mouth of the chasm by which I must enter” (Jenness 1935, 57).

(3) From Selwyn Dewdney & Kenneth Kidd

Whitefish Bay & Aulneau Peninsular

“The Devil’s Hole is no more than a deep, almost horizontal fissure, averaging about five inches in width, in the granite outcrop just north of Devil’s Bay on the west shore of the southern arm of Whitefish [Bay]. The adjacent paintings seem to be merely smears, except for one small abstraction. In the fissure, I ought to add, which goes farther back than the eye can see, are traces of offerings, fragments of chinaware, and so on.” (Dewdney & Kidd 1967, 54)

Discussion

In the first two quotes there is evidence of spirits and people using splits to enter the stone. In the case of Ogauns, it was a way for him to enter the Underworld. In the last quote a split was used to place material offerings.

Spirit Travel in the Underworld

Lake Superior

“Scrambling up a spiky deadfall we reached the ledge from which the pictographs were painted, a hard stratum of the reddish sedimentary rock that outcrops along this part of Lake Superior Shore.

Influenced, no doubt, by the orderly arrangement of the rock layers, the symbols appear in neat succession along some fifty feet above the ledge—extraordinarily like an arithmetician’s nightmare. The squatting figure that was painted from the shore below is surely a Maymaygwayshi; the more so as Lake Nipigon Indians informed me of the old belief in an underground channel that led from underneath this figure directly through to Lake Nipigon. This accounted for the Maymaygwayshi being seen up in Gull Bay with huge trout freshly caught in Lake Superior” (Dewdney & Kidd 1967, 76).

Who or what are the Maymaygwayshi? Dewdney inquired with the local people around the lake regarding the *May-May-gway-shi*. “Among the Cree, where these mysterious creatures are described as little men only two or three feet high living inside the rock, the English equivalent is ‘fairy.’ Among the Ojibwa various translations run from ‘ghost,’ ‘spirit,’ and ‘merman,’ even to ‘monkey.’ When I consulted Canon Sanderson (who was born a Cree but has spent all his ministerial life among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa) for a literal translation, he said the first two syllables mean ‘wonderful,’ but he had no clue to the others. The best rendering in English I could hazard from the scores of descriptions I have listened to would be ‘Rockmedicine Man.’ They are said to live behind waterside rock faces, especially those where cracks or shallow caves suggest an entrance.” -- hence, Dewdney’s Rockmedicine Man (ibid p.13).

These ethnographic examples show spirits traveled from place to place.

Enclosures in the Native American Culture

(1) From Selwyn Dewdney & Kenneth Kidd

Thunderbird Nest

“... in Sabaskong Bay there is a small rocky island in the centre of which is a huge ‘nest’ of boulders, obviously an artifact—though a laborious one—and the island is named Devil Birdnest Island. Indians as far east as Lake Nipigon refer to such constructions as ‘Thunderbird’s Nests.’ I have heard of others, but this is the only one I’ve seen” (Dewdney & Kidd 1967, 53).

(2) From Field Research by the Gages

Deerfield, NH Site

A ring of large boulders was set on top of a mound of stones. A few feet away there is a pair of deep narrow horizontal tunnels built into the same mound. The ring of boulders meets the description of the Thunderbird Nests of the Great Lakes region.

The Deerfield Thunderbird Nest is part of a group of stone cairns. Another large mound cairn has a vertical walled enclosure built into it. The cairns with their features are a Native American stone cairn ceremonial site.

Thunderbird Nest: 4’ Wide x 4’ Long x 2’ Deep (Exterior height from ground to top: 4’)

Double Niche: (a) 8” Wide x 8” High x 26” Deep

(b) 7” Wide x 6” High x 15” Deep

(3) From Ritzenthaler & Ritzenthaler

Shaking Tent

“The conjuror used a special tent or wigwam, built according to his personal dream, but while it varied somewhat in shape and in the number and kinds of poles, it was basically a pole framework about three feet in diameter and seven feet high. The cylindrical sides were covered with skins, birch bark, or blankets to conceal the shaman; the dome-shaped top, however, was left uncovered for the entrance of those spirits that would help him. The conjuror then called on certain supernatural spirits to come into the tent” (Ritzenthaler & Ritzenthaler 1970, 103-104).



Fig. 57 – A 19th century illustration of spirits entering a shaking tent to interact with the shaman during a ceremony.

Discussion

The Deerfield enclosure shows Native Americans in New England built and used stone enclosures. This one has the added feature of a niche/spirit portal that confirms it is not a farm related stone pile. The Great Lakes structure was reported through contacts with the Native Americans of that region verifying it was Indian. The shaking tents show how the enclosures worked whereby spirits entered inside with people.

Offering Features

(1) *Stone & Brush Offerings*

Example from Plymouth-Sandwich, MA: “Stiles upon information furnished by one Mr. Williams, wrote concerning this memorial, ‘that on the road from Sandwich to Plymouth there is a large Stone or Rock Indians immemorially have been used whenever & as often as they pass this large Stone, to cast a Stone or piece of wood upon it’” (Butler 1946, 4).

(2) *Natural Shallow Depressions in Stones*

“On that cut rock [vertical outcrop], there are rocks like cups all through the channel. Indians put tobacco and gunpowder in the hollows. You could see a little bit of water in those basins, too” (Fred Pine, Ojibwa Elder / Shaman quoted in Conway 1993, 151).

It is unclear if the water was a man-made offering or natural occurrence. Since Fred Pine included the water in relation to other offerings it is likely that the water was an offering by the Indians.

(3) *Personal Items*

“But here, as on most other Lake of the Woods sites, we found offerings on a water-lapped ledge; neatly folded clothing and a towel, topped by a little pile of tobacco.” Found on Picture Rock Point, Western Peninsular and Portage Bay (Dewdney & Kidd 1967, 44).

Discussion

Offerings to spirits had a wide range of materials and objects. There were natural objects like stone and water. There were man-made objects like gunpowder, clothes, towels, and chinaware. Perishable plant materials like tobacco and brush. Offerings to spirits came in many different forms the list is longer, including food, which is not applicable here. Both men and women made offerings.

Blended Religious Ideas

One point that shows up but is not discussed is the blending of Christian and Native American beliefs. This occurs with Ogauns vision. Ogauns first goes up to the Upperworld to meet the “Almighty Manido”. This is a Christian term. Then he goes into Underworld to meet the “blessed *manido*”, again another Christian term. What he retains from his native culture is the presence of a benevolent master spirit in the Underworld. The Underworld is not all bad as preached by the Christians it has both good and evil spirits like the Upperworld, a very Native American way of thinking. The reason for bringing it up is the presence of Native American ceremonial stone structures with strong, positive (good) Underworld symbolism. There is a misunderstanding among the Euro-Americans and some of today’s Native Americans that the Underworld is a bad/evil place. Native American ancestors of the Algonquin lineage from the Canadian Shield region of the Great Lakes spoke of the Underworld in very different terms. Some of the Parry Islanders saw it as the home of the moose and a place “where there is no snow” (Jenness 1935, 24). It was where boys went on their vision quests. Lenape boys from Delaware also went into the Underworld as well as the Upperworld like Ogauns during their vision quests (Harrington 1921, 63-4)

Part III

Visual Observation

Visual observations can be useful to look for potential interpretations. They must be backed up by historical/anthropological accounts and/or archaeological studies, along with the entire set of stone structures found at the site. They are a place to start however, they are never okay to use by themselves.

Standing a short distance NW of the Serpent Effigy, viewing the wall and head it gives the impression of a giant serpent emerging out of the underground (fig.58). The visual was enhanced by the cognitive knowledge that the wall was attached to a split stone. One of the splits has a symbolic white quartz stone inside further implying the split was a spirit portal to the world below the ground, the Underworld. It is backed up by the visual seen in the photograph from the double boulder split stone cairn giving the impression the Serpent is emerging out of the ground (fig.59).



Fig.58



Fig.59

Interpretation

Fitting the pieces together! The data collected in the field on the stone structures was combined with the knowledge found in the archaeological record and historical/anthropological literature. Then the combined data was used to analyze and interpret the site.

House & Land Usage

The small square foundation had flat sided interior walls. That is an indication of a building's cellar. Historically, house and barns had flat sided interior walls (Gage 2015). The foundation had two walls built into an earthen embankment and two exposed. A house foundation with this style foundation was found at Groton, CT. Around the perimeter were multiple artifacts. Nails confirmed a wooden building. This was the only area where nails were recovered, indicating the building was the only one on the back end of the property. Household items, reed (harmonica), Jew's harp, personal items, metal

buttons and coins made up the other artifacts found near the building. These items indicate the building was a house.

In addition to the items associated with a house there were tools that seem to follow two paths, one on the west side of the outcrop with enclosure (#8) and the other on the east side. This shows work took place outside the house.

There was one exception near the house was an ox shoe. Bridle hardware and a stirrup were also found near enclosure (#8) and in an outlying area (E). These items show animals were present on the property. The ox was involved with work and the horse was used for riding. Were they kept on the property? Or were the animals borrowed from a neighbor? The horse was likely kept on the property, possibly up at Archibald's house on xxxxxxxxxxxx, as there was no evidence of an animal shed or barn out back. The ox could have been owned or borrowed. Joshua Hempstead's diary spoke of lending and borrowing work animals periodically.

Stone walls on the back portion of the six acre parcel show neatly laid out rectangular fields. The ox and horse show they may have been used for pasture. The hoes show they could have been worked for crop production.

Across from the house there is a large shallow depression in the ground. It is bordered by a collapsed wall on two sides. This was likely a field root pit (Gage 2012, 41). That suggests some of the fields were planted to raise a crop. An excavation would be needed to look for evidence of disturbed soils from planting. The field root pit would have been used in addition to the house cellar for food storage.

A well shaft was located across the road a short distance from the house. It is on a neighbor's property. An interesting story has surfaced. "I also just spoke to xxxxxx. He's in his 60's and his family has lived next door to the Cam ruins there for generations. He said when he was a kid, his grandfather told him 'slaves lived in that shack back there', referring to an area behind his property and to the right when viewed from xxxxxx. He said the 'slaves' also had the ruins we looked at [old Cam property]" (Teresa Gallagher e-mail 10/13/2015).

The deed transferring Archibald Cam's property to the town mentioned "buildings" with a plural. An 1867 map shows Archibald's house near the junction xxxxxxxx and xxxxxx. The small house on the back (east side) of the six acres was located on xxxxxxxxxxxx. Deed research confirms the house foundation belonged to George Cam. This agrees with xxxxxx's story of a slave house on the back side of Cam's property. The other slave house on xxxxxx's property has not been searched for therefore its location is currently unknown. The well on the back of xxxxxxxx's property suggest the slave house on his family's property may be in the vicinity of the slave house on the back of the Cam property.

The deed, artifacts and oral history all collaborate that there was a small house on the back of Archibald Cam's property. Is the slave story correct?

The artifacts tell their own story

A one-person crosscut saw in good condition, ax and one well used metal wedge attest to the fact the trees on the land were harvested. A mortise ax indicates some of the timber may have been turned into building timbers or fence posts. It appears the Cams likely had a small timber / carpentry business on the side in addition to working as farm laborers.⁵ Minority groups were known to have their own cottage industries. An account by John Elliot shows Native Americans were taught to make cedar shingles. "At the Praying Indian Town of Magunkaquoq established in Ashland, John Elliot taught the natives to make cedar shingles and clapboards in 1669. Eliot writes of the natives: 'Unto which work in moiling in the swamp they are fitter than any English, and many English choose to buy them [shingles & clapboards] of the Indians than to make them themselves' (Metcalf 1988:19-20)" (Quoted in Dudek &

⁵ Archibald Cam's occupation was listed as farm laborer in census records. See the deed and genealogical report for more details.

Smith 2010, 34). African Americans fall into a similar cultural group as Native Americans, often times intermarrying each other like members of the Cam family. They likely learned similar woodworking skills. That in turn, gave them access to hard currency like the coins found at the site, which included two silver pieces.

Thirty six lost buttons were found scattered around the house foundation. This seems excessive for such a small house. Taking into account the fact that two thimbles were recovered suggests a woman in the house may have had her own sewing business. In the third generation of the Cam family, Catherine was listed in the 1880 census as a 25 year old single woman whose occupation was “stitching corset”. It shows she had a sewing business.

The three hoes are proof of planting crops. These were handheld hoes indicating the land was worked by hand versus being plowed by oxen. The oxen were likely engaged in the logging part of the timber industry. There is a possible field root pit along with the house cellar showing the people living there grew a quantity of food for use in the cold weather months and stored it on site.

The multiple eating utensils (3 forks, 2-3 knives and 1 spoon) show there may have been a place setting for everyone living in the house. The redware jar had a lid showing it was used for storage. These people had a higher standard of living than slaves.

The house was built and owned by George Cam circa 1790. He lived there until his death in 1838. George Cam according to Town Records (book 1 page 54) was “A Free Born Negro” who married “Lilpha a free Born Woman”. This verifies the people were not slaves. George purchased other parcels of land in town eventually owning a total of 25.75 acres valued at \$330.50 at his death (6.25 acre homestead, 5.25 acre Popple Hollow parcel with house, 10.25 acre woodlot, & 4 acre “Swamp Outlet” parcel).⁶

In 1839 Archibald, son of George, inherited the property. The 1867 map shows that Archibald built a house on the west side of the property near xxxxxxxx. The 1820 census listed Archibald as a separate household suggesting he had built his own house by this date. It is unknown if George’s house continued to be used after 1839 or not.

Archibald Cam owner of the property (1839 – 1878) was a Brigadier General in the Black Governor movement that had him traveling, hence the need for a riding horse. Evidence for a riding horse on the property is attested to by the stirrup and other artifacts related to horse equipment.

One last artifact a copper ring was the only artifact so far found in field C where the grooved stone is located. Was it a wedding band? Was it a ceremonial object? Did the African Americans hold copper as a special object? The Cam family also had ties to the Native American Golden Hill Paugussett tribal community (discussed in next section.) This raises an additional question, is the ring a Native American ceremonial object? Copper was a sacred metal among the Native Americans of the Great Lakes (Martin 1999, 199).

A Native American Ceremonial Site

The back (east) portion of the Cam property with George Cam’s house bordered a secondary road that had numerous wood lots on it. The only neighbor was an African American family. That made the back of the Cam property the ideal site to set up and hold ceremonies. However, the ceremonial stone structures are Native American not African American.

Teresa and James found a tie to the local Native American community in the third generation. The connection was between William Sherman and John Lewis Cam Jr. John Jr. was son of John Cam Sr. brother of Archibald and son of George. John Sr. was born and raised on his father’s six acres. He moved to another part of town to raise his family. In 1820, he purchased an 8 acre parcel of land with a house at the junction of Long Hill Avenue and Kneen Street. Long Hill Avenue led to the Derby bridge, Kneen Street was an access road down to Huntington Landing one mile distant. It was a settled area with

⁶ See deed and genealogical report for more details and citations.

other houses nearby, and Long Hill Ave paralleled the turnpike which made it a likely bypass route to avoid paying the toll. The evidence suggests the road was well traveled. In the 1860 census both John Sr. and John Jr. were listed as mulatto where as John Sr.'s wife was listed as Black.⁷

John Lewis Cam, Jr.'s second marriage was to Huldah Sherman daughter of William & Nancy Sherman of Trumbull in 1888. William Sherman, a Native American / African American (mulatto) re-established the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribal reservation and served as tribal chief (Brilvitch 2007, 89). Sherman mentions a number of trips to visit Cam in Huntington in his diary. Sadly, no first name was given in the diary. He attended the funeral of John Jr.'s daughter Mary indicating he had a personal relationship with him. Historians feel the Cam was John Jr. Who was William Sherman?

William Sherman, Nichols Farm & the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe

Author and historian Charles Brilvitch covers the history of the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe and William Sherman in great detail in his book *A History of Connecticut's Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe* (2007). What follows is a bulleted list of some of the relevant details. This history has a direct bearing on a hypothesis concerning the ceremonial site found on the George & Archibald Cam homestead. This list has been supplement from other sources.

*Golden Hill, Bridgeport, Home of the sachem the 'keeper'*⁸

- Sachem Tom Sherman died 1801
- Sachem Tom Sherman, Jr. (1753-1849)⁹
- 1802 Native Americans forced to leave the land called Golden Hill
- Indian burials on Golden Hill: "As the hill was built upon by whites over the course of the nineteenth century, it was found to be almost entirely covered with native burials ..."¹⁰
- Shell midden: "When the Town of Bridgeport laid out Elm Street at the base of the hill in 1827, it was constructed over a layer of clam and oyster shells many feet deep, indicating a lengthy occupancy by the Paugussett tribe."¹¹
- Spring: An ancient stone-walled spring was uncovered in the village according to Hurd, author of *A History of Fairfield County, Connecticut* (1881, 74)

*William Sherman*¹²

- Born 1825 Poughkeepsie, NY
- Grandparents: Jim Mansfield [Shoran – i.e. Sherman] married his cousin Ruby, daughter of Tom Sherman 2nd (Junior) who had Nancy
- Nancy's son William Sherman
- Nancy married John Sharpe: children Beccher, Nancy, Charles
- J. Sharpe sent to State Prison, afterwhich Nancy lived with Rensler [Rensselaer Pease] in Monroe and had Olive
- Monroe is just north of Trumbull
- About fourteen or fifteen years of age William went to sea on whaling ships for seventeen years
- First mate on ship for five years

⁷ John Sr. died in January 1860. The 1860 census mortality schedule listed him as "mulatto."

⁸ Brilvitch 2007, 82

⁹ Ibid, 82

¹⁰ Ibid, 82

¹¹ Ibid, 82

¹² Information from Brilvitch 2007 & a biography of William Sherman found in Orcutt 1886, 42-43.

- Lived in Bridgeport 1847 - 1853
- 1857 his son (name not given, one of three sons) was recorded in the town of Trumbull records
- 1870 & 1880 censuses listed him as an Indian
- Died 1886 in Trumbull, CT
- Great grandson of sachem, Tom Sherman, Jr. and great, great grandson of Tom Sherman, Sr. the last sachem to live on Golden Hill
- Sachem of Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe, a hereditary position inherited from his great grandfather, Tom Sherman 2nd
- Educated
- Farm laborer at Nichols Farms and “long trusted with considerable responsibility in the management of the farm and properties of Mr. F. P. Ambler and Sons, while they engaged in the business of Saddletree manufacturing at the place.”¹³
- Sherman was the farm manager
- Sexton of the Nichols Farms Village Cemetery for thirty years serving the whole community
- Nurse: both he and his wife Nancy attended people with severe illnesses
- Kept a diary from 1873-1879. Brilvitch points out Sherman’s diary entries kept track of his interactions with tribal members during this period.

Nichols Farm – New Home of the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe, Trumbull

- Nichols Farm was a village. The farm was a 19 ¾ acre tract of land on the Wells Turnpike within the village.¹⁴
- 1841 or 1842 Nichols Farm was purchased by Smith Tweedy overseer of the Indian Bureau of Affairs to create a community farm for the Golden Hill Indians¹⁵
- 1854 The Indian farm was closed and the land was sold to Franklin Ambler
- Circa 1857 William Sherman moved to Trumbull
- Nichols Farm manager – keeper of the land but not its proprietor

“Always protect the land. Always come back to the land.”¹⁶

- ¼ acre lot – Sherman at age 50 purchased the lot in 1875 with a shack on it
- Located across the street from Nichols Farm
- Procured \$800.00 from the Golden Hill Tribal Fund to build a “two-and-a-half-story house”¹⁷
- “It is known that some tribal members were buried on the back part of the reservation [1/4 acre house lot], a place where it dips down toward a wetland.”¹⁸ Brilvitch feels this was a continuation of the practice that went on at Golden Hill. I agree with him. It is certainly out of character with his position as sexton of the local community cemetery.
- In 1886, Sherman transfers title of his land and house to the tribe. Brilvitch states, “William appears to have taken it upon himself to restore, if only in some token manner, the land base of the Paugussett tribe. He took the necessary steps during the last few months of his life, giving up title to his hard-earned property and the house built with his own sweat and toil for the good of his people.”¹⁹

¹³ Orcutt 1886, 42-43

¹⁴ Brilvitch 2007, 56

¹⁵ Ibid, 56

¹⁶ Ibid, 89

¹⁷ Ibid, 74

¹⁸ Ibid, 89

¹⁹ Ibid, 75

Discussion

Sherman moves to Trumbull at the time the Indian project at Nichols Farm ends. He goes to work for the new owner Franklin Ambler and becomes the farm manager. Ambler and his sons operate their saddletree manufacturing business. Why this particular farm? Did he live on the farm? There is no reference as to where he lived from 1857 until 1875 when he purchased his ¼ acre house lot. Being the farm manager he likely lived on the farm. The farm's land may have held importance to him as being recent ancestral land.

After Franklin Ambler's death in 1873 he purchased his house lot across the street from the farm. He also continued a close relationship with his son Charles, mentioned in his diary. That kept him in close proximity to the farm where he likely continued to work. Why the move?

Brilvitch found out he interred tribal members on his tiny house lot. This was an old practice seen at the Golden Hill village site. Sherman appears to have intentionally purchased the property to set up a tribal land base as Brilvitch suggested. He was reviving the old traditions while living, working and functioning in the present modern day world. Did he revive more than the old burial tradition?

The burial tradition follows suite with a philosophy that, Nancy, William's wife instilled in their granddaughter, Ethel. "Always protect the land. Always come back to the land." This appears to be what Nancy and William did when they came back to Nichols Farm former land of the Paugussett Tribe. By becoming manager of the farm, William *protected the land*. In turn, he became the *keeper* of the land. "oral tradition holds them[Tom Sherman and his family] as the "keepers" of this place [Golden Hill] that was long held sacred by the tribe."²⁰ In purchasing the house lot, William and Nancy came full circle and *came back to the land*. In doing so, they protected the land for future generations.

How does William Sherman fit in with the Native American Ceremonial Site on the Cam property in Shelton?

John Cam, Jr.'s uncle was Archibald Cam whose property the ceremonial site is on. His house and property fronted on xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. However, the back of his property was a remote area devoid of houses and neighbors on a little used road, the ideal location for a ceremonial site. Archibald had built a house out on Shelton Road circa 1820 where he lived up until 1878 when he deeded the property over to the town for support at the end of his life. His father had died in 1838 leaving the house out back. What became of it is unknown.

The land out back contained a natural split stone and split bedrock the primary features needed to create a ceremony. A small ceremonial area with limited stone structures would not interfere with farm activities.

This is circumstantial evidence but the pieces of the puzzle fit together. However it does raise some questions. Did John Jr. have a Native American ancestry mixed in with his African American ancestry? Or were John Jr. and Archibald sympathetic to William Sherman's quest? Every thing suggests Archibald allowed his land to be used by William Sherman and tribal members to hold an underground Native American ceremony.

²⁰ Ibid, 82

Serpent Ceremony

Enclosure

In the middle of field A there are two exposed bedrock outcrops. Each one is raised a little above surface level. There is a wide gap between them. The gap has a stone wall on the down slope end going from outcrop to outcrop. On the south side the stone wall abuts the side of the outcrop. On the north side the stone wall is reduced to a single stone high and goes over the top of the outcrop. The up slope gap was left open. Is it animal enclosure? The walls in general are not tall enough or strong enough to contain an animal. The north side wall is one stone high. In addition, the two different types of side walls do not match known animal enclosures. This rules out that idea.

Is it ceremonial? The difference in the stone walls (one on top of the outcrop & one abutting an outcrop) indicates there was a symbolic meaning in how each one was constructed.

Dewdney showed that Native Americans built stone walled enclosures called thunderbird nests (1967, 53). The Ritzenthalers' ethnographic account showed how enclosures functioned (1970, 103-4). They were used to call a spirit(s) inside with a person. Through these two accounts the enclosure can be interpreted as a structure to hold a person(s) and a spirit(s).

Serpent's Body & Head Effigy

What form's the body? There are four segments of wall that are potentially associated with the body.

- (1) Partially collapsed wall with large stones forming an L shape on the south end.
- (2) Finished wall with small stone feature integrated into it going from serpent's head (#4) around a 90 degree corner enclosing exposed bedrock on two sides.
- (3) Medium-large loose stone segment extends from the finished wall in a straight line out to a circular low, stone mound on the ground (cairn). The cairn (#5) is distinguished from the line of stones by its circular configuration and small stones.
- (4) A gap, then another L shaped segment (#6) made up of small stones in a mound like configuration. The small stone segment attaches to a normal stone wall.

Each wall like segment is different. The stones in each segment were generally all the same size: small, medium-large, or large. Anywhere from one to three segments may make up the body. There is no way to clearly identify which segments other than the second segment forms the body.

The head was clearly identified. The boulder has an oblong shape with a rounded end. The end has a natural groove going from one side around the end and part ways down the opposite side. It gives the appearance of a mouth. The boulder was placed in a slightly tilted up position with the mouth upwards. This gives the appearance of the serpent emerging out of the ground or bedrock. The head faces the four splits in the bedrock. The finished wall goes from the head around to the split bedrock. Two splits have a few stones inside them. One split has a white quartz stone inside which was placed there. The fourth split is open (no stones inside). The white quartz shows the splits were features. The stone wall enclosing the bedrock connects with the head. This suggests the serpent was emerging out of the underground through a split which is a spirit portal to the Underworld. In Ogauns vision a reptile's head came out of a split in the rock (see Master Spirit and Giant Serpent Concept) (Jenness 1935, 58). The idea of a split being a portal to the Underworld showed up in Ogauns vision where he entered through a chasm in the rock and Little People using splits in rocks (ibid 43 & 57). The small stones in the cairn (#5) and in the L shaped mound (#6) were likely offerings to the Serpent Spirit.

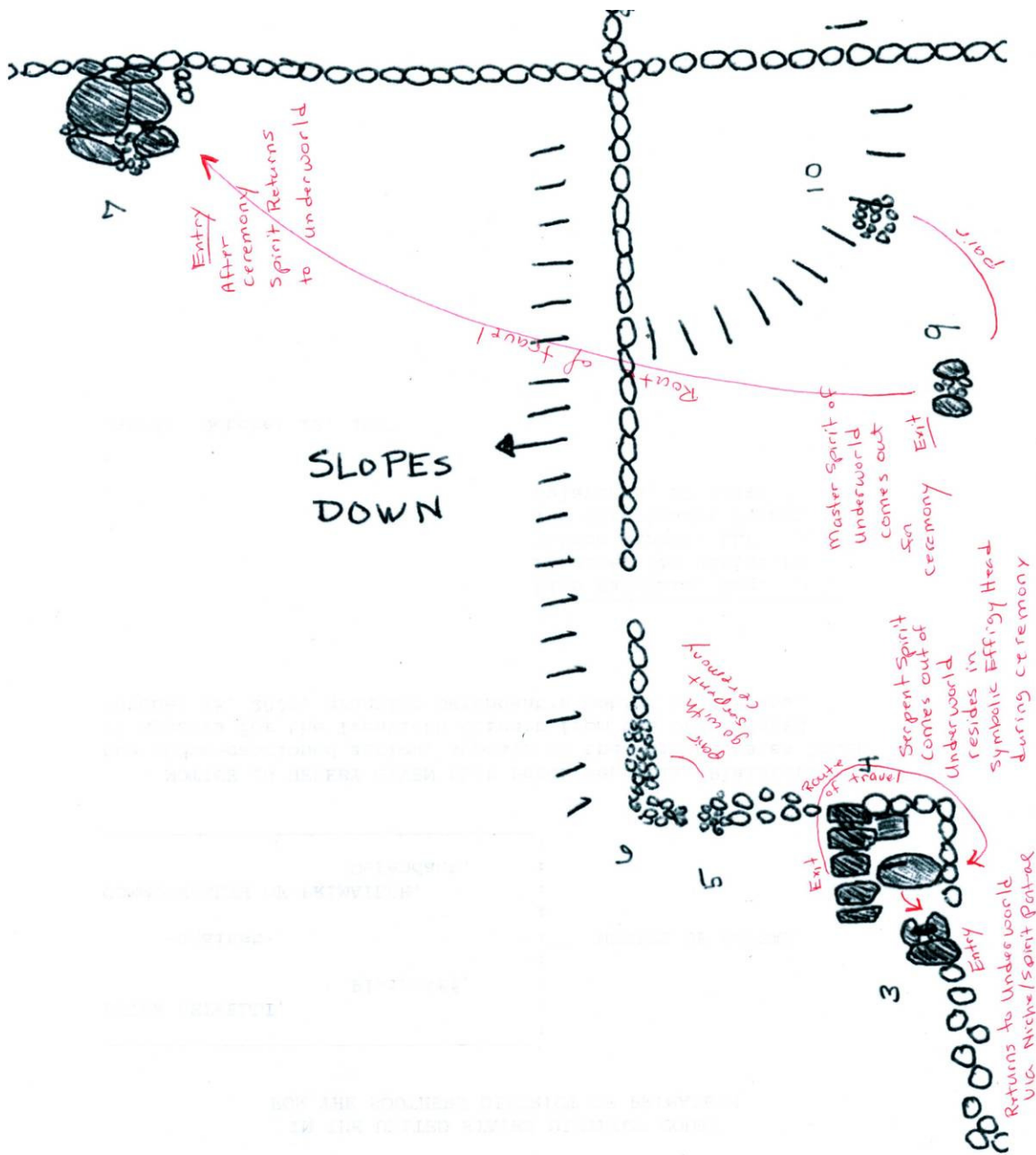


Fig.60 – Diagram Interpreting the Movement of the Spirits during the Ceremonies

The cairn is small in comparison to the L shaped mound. These two structures appear to be contemporary with each other. Based on that the shape of the circle verses the L shape suggests each structure had a different purpose or function. The size of each structure is an indicator of how many people used each one. This is based on the concept that each person made an offering of a single stone. The small size indicates a small number of people were involved. Based on the one stone per person concept the large mound suggests it is the result of many people contributing a stone offering. The “many people” concept I have equated to “community”. Community suggests everyone attending the ceremony had the opportunity to make an offering to the spirit. The small cairn with its small quantity of stones suggests a small number of select people had the privilege of contributing a stone. In turn, this suggests there was a separation or hierarchy among the people holding the ceremony.

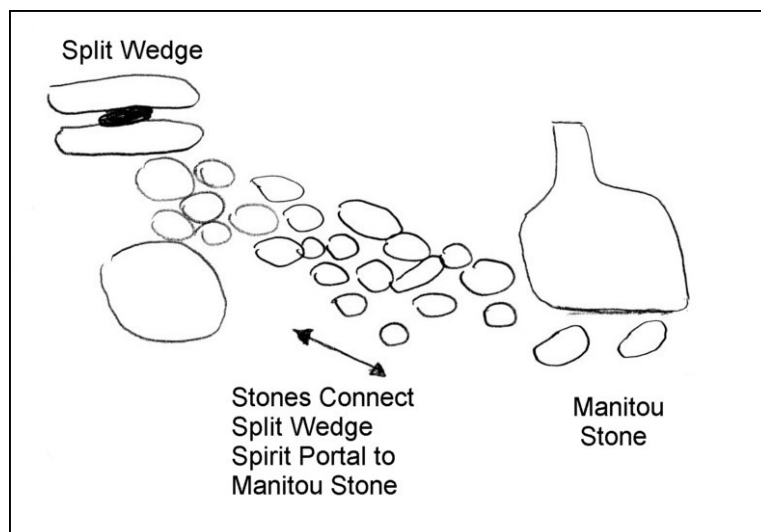
That indicates a separation among the people of who contributed to each feature. The smaller cairn had limited stone offerings indicating it was used by the Powwow or spiritual leader and his/her helpers. This would have been an annual ceremony whereby the cairn would grow in size (slowly) over the years. The L shaped mound segment had a much larger quantity of stones. That indicates it was used by all the people attending the ceremony and is thought to be a community offering feature.

Some people may argue the L shaped mound was used to discard small stones removed from the kitchen garden. This would take an excavation to prove there was a kitchen garden adjacent to it. It can not simply be speculated. In addition, the type of stone and quantity of stone found in the ground would need to be compared to the type and quantity of stone in the mound. Do they match? This can be done because stones continue to work their way up through the soil to the surface. I have personal experience with both the quantity and type stone from continuously gardening in the same plot for over ten years at the community garden. The stones that come to the surface do not lessen over time. Nor do they change type over time. So the testing I am proposing is legitimate.

There is historic evidence of Native Americans continuing to practice old traditions into the early 1900s. Frank Speck working under Dyneley Prince in 1907 went out to the Mashpee Tribe. “Such Mashpee of to-day as are superstitiously inclined still observe the custom of throwing a twig or branch upon the rotting frame-work, or on the former sites of these spirit-lodges, whenever they pass by.” (quoted in Simmons 1986, 254) Eva Butler in her article “The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England” states “The Rev. Gideon Hawley, missionary to the Indians of Mashpee, Massachusetts, wrote in 1796 that he had ‘observed in every part of the country, and among every tribe of Indians ...’ heaps of stones and sticks. He paid tribute to the above memorial, however, when he said, ‘The largest heap I have ever observed, is the large collection of small stones on the mountain between Stockbridge and Great Barrington’ ” (Butler 1946, 3).

These two quotes show the Native Americans continued old traditions and used stone piles (cairns) and brush piles into the 1700s, 1800s, and early 1900s. Gideon points out this was a wide spread practice. That creates the need to prove or disprove utilitarian origins for the lengths of stone mounds and cairns.

The loose stone segment of medium-large stones between the small cairn and the outcrop may have been a physical link for the spirit to be able to get the offerings. An example of a loose stone segment was found at a site in Ashburnham, MA.²¹ The stone structure there consisted of a two foot high Manitou stone (Neck with two sloping shoulders stood upright) which was connected to a split wedge cairn via a loose stone segment.



²¹ see <http://www.stonestructures.org/MA-Ashburnham-Analysis--public-.pdf>

Fig. 61 – Manitou stone connected to split wedge rock via a segment of loose stones.
Ashburnham, MA

The split in the bedrock attached to the serpent's body would have been used by the spirit-of-the-serpent to come forth (exit) the Underworld. Radin had an example where the host (ceremonial leader) dug holes in the ground for the snakes to exit the underground. (1990, 277) The head of the serpent would have been used by the spirit as a physical structure for it to be present at the ceremony.

The concept of a symbolic object representing a real object was seen in the example of the woven food symbol (Skinner 1921, 260-1). The use of a physical representative object for ceremonial usage was documented by Willoughby. Shanawdithit, a Beothuk woman living with Euro-Americans from 1823 to 1829 made a drawing of symbols placed on staffs. One was a half circle representing the moon. It was one of several symbols (1973, 63).

Niche / Spirit Portal

A few feet south of the serpent head there is a narrow path. On the opposite side of the path there is split feature. Two large blocks of stone have a gap forming a split that has a flat stone across the top. The flat stone creates a niche. The split feature is a spirit portal, hence its name "niche / spirit portal".

Is it an agricultural feature?

The feature is located at ground level and outside a building. That shows it was not a Euro-American agricultural niche. They were always built half ways up on the interior walls of a house cellar or root cellar (Gage 2012, 26-29). This is a Native American ceremonial niche.

How was it used?

The niche was used to make an offering to a spirit. It did not have stones inside indicating it likely had tobacco offerings. The offering was used to call or direct the spirit to the portal. Dewdney recorded an ethnographic example of tobacco offerings continuing to be made into the 1960s in a niche on the Vermilion River (1967, 67). The spirit portal (split) was used by a spirit to enter or exit the rock. Jenness provided an ethnographic example of this with the Little Wild Indians using a crevasse on French River. (1935, 43)

Two Different Types of Offerings

Tobacco and stones appear to have been used for offerings to the Serpent Spirit. The two different types of offerings would have been used so as to not confuse the spirit as to where it needed to travel during the ceremony.

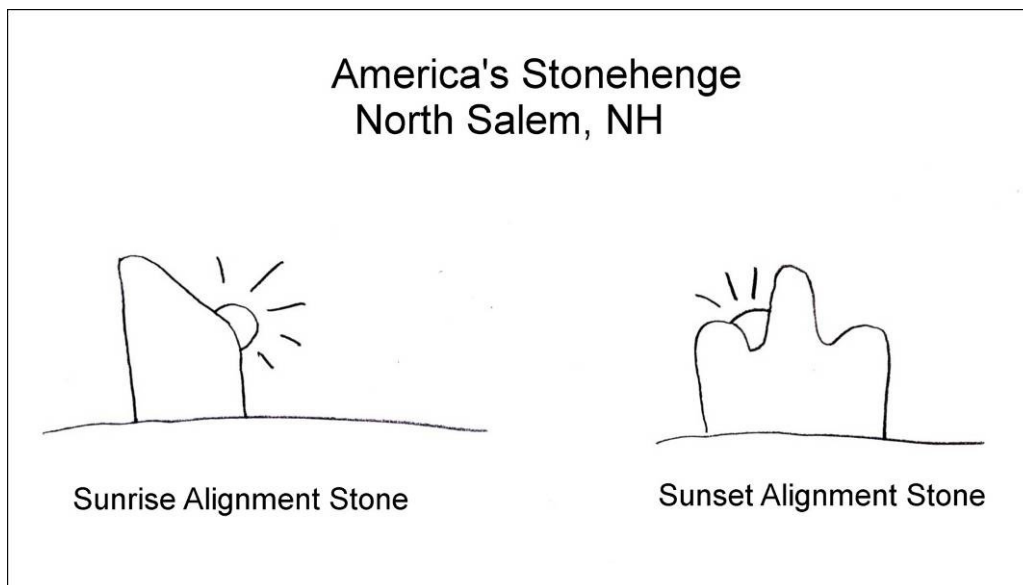


Fig. 62 – Use of different shaped stones at America’s Stonehenge, North Salem, NH

An example of the use of two different shapes was found at America’s Stonehenge, North Salem, NH. On the summer solstice there are sunrise and sunset alignment stones. The sunrise alignment stone has one long sloping side. The sunset stone has a peak and two shoulders (Gage 2006, 152 & 198). Albeit these were sunrise and sunset stones the fact remains each one had its own specific shape which corresponds to the concept of two different types of offerings to avoid confusion.

When the ceremony concluded the spirit-of-the-serpent needed to return to the Underworld. That was accomplished by placing a tobacco offering in the niche/spirit portal to show the spirit where it needed to go to return (enter) the Underworld.

How do I know the niche / spirit portal was used in this manner? People assisting and directing a spirit’s route of travel shows up in several different examples. The first is the two differently shaped alignment stones above. Another example is the arrangement of split stone, line of stones and Manitou stone at Ashburnham. In a third example (see South Street Site below) the Underworld Spirit is called forth by making a stone offering at the split stone and then directed into the center of the ceremonial area by a directional spirit portal. There is evidence to suggest people assisted spirits by directing them where to go via tobacco offerings in niches, stone offerings in split stones, different shaped stones, stones with an opening in its top that were set upright and lines of permanent stones. There is a basis for this directional assistance when we factor in the wandering souls of the dead who interrupted people’s travel in Mashpee, MA as noted by Frank Speck (Prince 1907, 495). The people holding the ceremony at the Cam site did not want the spirit wandering around at will when the ceremony was not in session. They therefore did not leave it up to chance they built a combination structure called a niche and spirit portal where they could place a perishable offering such as tobacco to make sure the Serpent Spirit returned to the Underworld.

Split Stone Cairns & Master Spirit of Underworld

Within field A north of the serpent effigy there are two low unassuming stone piles. One pile was built between two boulders. It is the Double Boulder Split Stone cairn (#9). The second is a Mound on Ground cairn (#10). The two are in close proximity to each other and are set apart from the other stone structures. In the adjoining field B there is another Split Stone cairn (#7). This one has a different configuration. It was created by adding stones to a tall split outcrop. There is a pile of stones in between

a large split and several stones on top of a stone shelf. Two stones were placed above a triangular shaped opening at ground level. The two stones on top of this opening show it was converted to an intentional feature, a spirit portal. Spirit portals are features used by spirits to enter or exit a structure. There is a second low opening between the large boulder integrated into the stone wall and the outcrop. The stone wall may have been a link that the spirit used to travel between the two fields.

The cairns exhibit evidence of a second Underworld spirit, plus another entry and exit set up. The entry / exit concept is derived from the two split stone cairns. The Double Boulder Split Stone cairn was likely used in conjunction with the Mound on Ground cairn. The split stone cairn has limited stones indicating a select number of people were allowed to contribute a stone offering. The mound cairn is larger and has more stones indicating it was a group cairn for a group offering. The set up of a pair of cairns suggests stone offerings were made to a spirit in the Underworld. The Double Boulder Split Stone cairn was likely the spirit's exit from Underworld into the ceremonial area.

The split outcrop (2nd split stone cairn) also had a limited number of stones indicating a select number of people were involved. Having a spirit called into a ceremony created the need to have it return to its world afterwards. The split outcrop was likely the spirit's entrance back into the Underworld. It would have utilized the stone wall as conduit as the split outcrop is integrated into the wall. A similar but slightly altered example of the Ashburnham site set up.

The concept of a spirit traveling from one place to another was seen in the Lake Superior belief where Maymaywayshi (spirit beings) traveled from one lake to another lake through an underground channel. (Dewdney, 1976, 76)

An example of spirit travel with exit and entry features is seen in an arrangement found at a site in Byfield, Massachusetts. It is the South Street Site. The pertinent cairns are a Double Split Outcrop filled with small stones. It is in line with a Mound Attached to Boulder cairn with an upright slab of stone with a U shaped top. The shaped stone is a spirit portal to direct the spirit to another pseudo split stone cairn, a stone with a V shape filled with stones. Here the spirit was contained during the ceremony. Afterwards the spirit returned to the Underworld via a Split Wedge cairn. There is no mistaking the arrangement of these cairns. It is one of the best arrangements to be able to *read* (interpret) what took place.

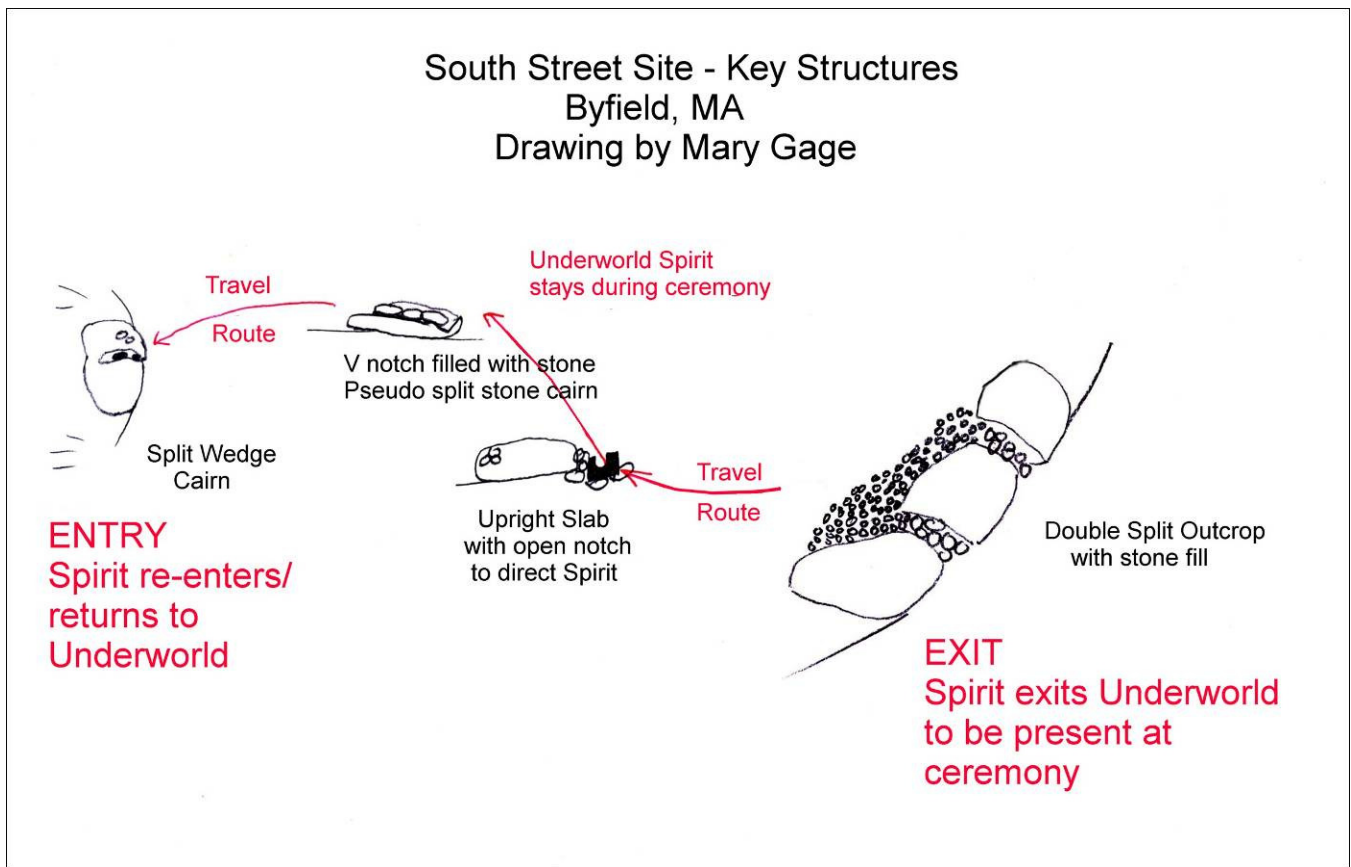


Fig. 63 - Interpretation of the ceremony which took place at key structures at the South Street Site, Byfield, MA

To identify the Underworld spirit first there is a need to look at the ceremony from a logical point of view. The Serpent Spirit appears to be a chief spirit due to its size. It is from the Underworld. It has its own entrance and exit so it does not need a second set. That shows there is a second Underworld spirit involved in the ceremony. Who is it?

Master Spirit and Giant Serpent Concept

Mary Sugedub, a Native American woman, recounted Ogauns vision into the Underworld. “Here and there were fires around which contented Indians sat. Some glance at us and invited us to stay with them, asking why we should seek to visit [deeper levels of] the underworlds. ...we travelled on until we came to a great open space intersected by a swift river. Crossing safely, we stayed to hunt and gather rations for the remaining stages of our journey. In this river were rich deposits of precious stones and an abundance of fish; ... Again, we journeyed on. Now we encountered mist, and moved silently along the great road, groping our way. Close by I heard a sound between a snort and a hiss, and turning sharply, beheld a vast and terrible head emerging from a dark fissure in the rock. ... Some monstrous reptile. ... Downward we soared, over sharp-pointed mountains, until we reached a valley ... The child led us on to where human beings dwelt in happiness. My companion [Sun Spirit] and the child waited behind, while I pressed forward to the place where I should meet the blessed *manido*. ... I will grant you a blessing that you have earned. You shall be a great warrior.” (Jenness, 1935, 58-59)

Ogauns descended down three levels in the Underworld. He had numerous experiences in which he encountered both good and evil spirits. He found precious stones for spiritual usage and fish for food. In one encounter Ogauns killed a giant malevolent serpent. In another encounter he came upon a giant

reptile emerging from a split in the rock. He concluded his visit to the Underworld in level three where he met the Master Spirit of the Underworld, the Blessed Manitou who granted him his vision.

This vision shows several things that correlate to the stone structures at the site. There were giant serpents in the Underworld. These happened to be malevolent however, as was noted before some giant serpents were benevolent. One serpent's head emerged out of a split. This fits the giant stone serpent's head emerging out of the bedrock. There was a master spirit, the blessed Manido. The term blessed indicates the spirit was benevolent. This shows a benevolent Master Spirit of Underworld existed within the Native American culture.

Alanson Skinner gave this historic account of the Rice Harvest ritual. "We make this offering to Grandfather, the Master of Rice, who caused it to grow for our use" (1921, 144-145). Here we see an offering being made not to the Rice Spirit but to the Master of the Rice. It is a similar concept that may have taken place at the ceremonial site.

At the ceremonial site the Underworld spirit was present at the ceremony. The name of the Master Spirit of Underworld is unknown so it has been given its title name. Master Spirit of Underworld being the guardian spirit of the Underworld, it was brought forth in the same manner a Native American Chief would be at a ceremony held in his territory. If we begin to look at spirits from a living perspective then they become living beings. In turn, the master spirit who controlled its world was similar to a chief who controlled his territory. When an event took place the chief would be called forth and so it was with the master spirit. (Note: Native American Chief's had subordinate chiefs. This fits a Chief Serpent Spirit and Master Spirit of Underworld concept. Also see below concluding paragraph.)

This was the Serpent Spirit Ceremony. The serpent resided in the Underworld. That necessitated the Master Spirit of Underworld to be called forth to join the ceremony. It was the master or guardian of the serpent.

The Serpent Spirit was likely a chief spirit within his realm. It was also likely to have been a benevolent spirit. Diamond Jenness pointed out two of four Native American informants accounts placed the serpent in the benevolent category. One of those accounts said the serpent "lived under the earth, and through the many subordinate *manidos* at its command controlled or guarded all the trees and plants." The significance of the ceremony may have been similar to this concept whereby the Serpent Spirit likely was a guardian spirit of something. To maintain harmony and good will with the spirit they held an annual ceremony. In the ceremony, they would have brought forth the Serpent Spirit to make requests, give thanks and make offerings to it.

Standing Stones

On the east side of field A there are two potential standing stones. The standing stones are semi-upright (tilted), about 2 feet high, block-like stones. One stone was set up in among surface level fractured bedrock. At first it appeared to be natural but upon working on the interpretation it may have been purposely set up.

This comes from two factors. The first is the south side lacks a stone wall in the area of the standing stones. Second, the standing stones form a pair of structures. The pair or set of two structures fits a pattern found within fields A & B. There are two split stone cairns, two mound on ground cairns, two standing stones and two main structures the enclosure and serpent effigy forming an enclosure. The significance of the set of twos will be looked at more in-depth in field C.

The pair of standing stones is between the field and a wetlands area. The stones appear to do two things: mark the boundary of the ceremonial area and block out any spirits in the wetlands from entering the ceremonial area.

Fields A & B One Ceremonial Area

Fields A & B each had natural features that were utilized to achieve the structure arrangement the people needed for the ceremony. These structures worked in conjunction with each other to form a ceremonial area (see above the *Split Stone Cairns & Master Spirit of Underworld*). The concept of a single ceremonial area was determined by the pattern of sets of twos. To obtain a set of two for the split stone cairns fields A & B had to be included and combined. Sets of twos did not show up in field C. This suggested there was a second ceremonial area on the farm.

Return of Rain Water Ceremony

Field C

This field is distinguished from the other two fields by the fact it has sets of threes. There are three mound on ground cairns and three separate structures. In addition, there is no evidence of the Underworld. That is there are no split stone features. The field is open on its northeast side to a wetlands area with a seasonal stream.

Set of Three Cairns

At the edge of the down slope which goes the length of the field three stone mounds were created. One is on the south end and two are close together on the north end. Technically that forms a secondary pattern of two and one.²²

Two and One Pattern

The next three are independent structures and features. One is an arrangement of small stones in a wall, the second is a "V" shape enclosure in a wall and the third is a stone slab with a groove on the ground. The two and one pattern is exhibited in the fact two of the three structures/features are integrated into a stone wall while the third is on the ground without any association with a wall. The basic pattern follows that of the cairns above.

Patterns such as the three show up periodically. At the Titicut site the hearth / niche / petroglyph feature exhibited a repeated use of the three pattern. The Titicut site was in Bridgewater in southeastern Massachusetts.

Feature 14

The feature is a short section of wall made up of medium-small stones with a large rectangular block on top. It stands out from the rest of the wall making it a feature. It is unknown what the feature represents except it is intentional. It has a counterpart embedded into the wall surrounding the serpent's head.

V Shaped Indentation in Wall

This structure is an enclosure formed by a V shaped indentation in the wall (#16). The open end faces outwards towards the wetlands. In other words, it faced towards the seasonal water.

A short section of collapsed wall extends northward beyond it then stops. That leaves the north half of the field open to the wetlands and the water.

Copper Ring

The only metal artifact recovered from field C was a copper ring. Copper was a sacred metal to the Native Americans who believed it contained power that could be transmitted to people. Without

²² These are not field clearing piles. The stones could easily have been disposed of in the stone wall 20 - 30 feet away.

information about African American beliefs and use of ceremonial objects for a comparison, the ring remains an anomaly.

Circular Stone Slab (#15)

The circular stone feature has segmented grooves on top and partially around the perimeter that exhibits poor workmanship. They were done in a crude manner with short linked segments that had an even width with rough, ragged sides (fig. 64). The quality of the workmanship suggests it was being done by people with very little knowledge of stone working. The grooves do not exhibit straight sides, which is the hallmark of stonemasons. The emphasis appears to be on creating a circular shape with no regard for the thickness and leaving the base in its unfinished state.

xxxxxx recovered a stone pick called a *hand point* while metal detecting. (fig. 43 Item B) The stone working tool fits the segmented grooves showing it was used to create them. The stone pick was the least used tool with no mushrooming on the top. This suggests the circular stone was the only project it was used for.

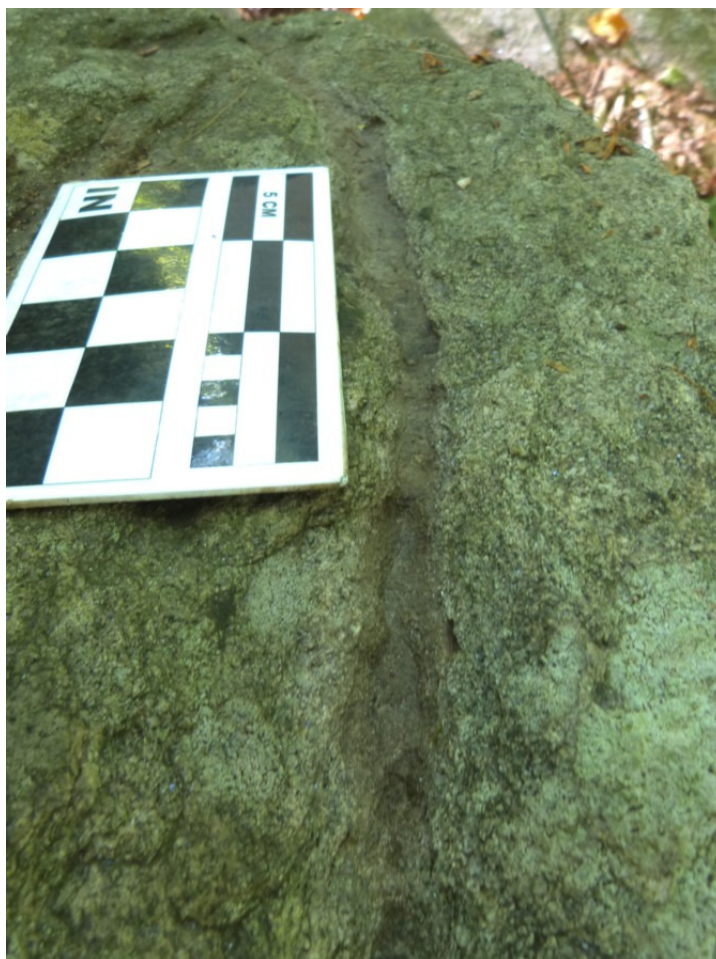


Fig. 64 – Poorly carved groove

Is it a Millstone, Grindstone, or Crushing Stone?

Each of these types of circular stones has different requirements in terms of the type of stone used, its design, and carving methods. However, all three share the same basic requirement: a stone free of natural defects. This stone slab has visible horizontal fracturing that makes it a poor choice to even begin carving any type of grind stone, crushing stone (i.e. pulping apples; crushing tan bark; etc), or mill stone. The risk of catastrophic failure (splitting) during the carving process or during use would be extremely high. Another problem is the fact this stone slab is composed of thin layers which break off in thin flakes. This is quite evident at location C in fig. 36. Weight and rotational stresses would likely causes this stone to break apart quickly. The poor quality of the stone makes it at best only usable as a lye stone.

Note: Millstone and grindstone production was a skilled craft. It required knowledge of rock types suitable for these purposes as well as the correct tools and skills to carve them. Charles Hockensmith and Larry Meadows' article (1996) on an archaeological survey of six millstone quarries in Powell County, Kentucky is a great resource for understanding the millstone production process.

Is it a Lye Stone?

The first step in lye production was to leach the lye out of wood ashes with water. One method was to fill a wooden barrel full of wood ash and then pour water into it. The water with the lye slowly drained out of the bottom of the barrel through holes drilled in it. The barrel was placed on a raised

platform (either wood or stone) which collected the liquid and drained it via a spout into a receiving bucket. Known examples of lye base stones have a shallow groove around the circumference a few inches in from the edge on the top surface with a short groove out to the edge. Occasionally, in addition to the circular perimeter groove, they will have one or more grooves extending from the spout into the center of the circle. Most lye stones were made on the farm and exhibit crude workmanship in carving. The quality of the stone slabs range from good to poor.

We considered the lye stone hypothesis for this carved stone but found it problematic:

(1) The shallow perimeter groove only extends about $\frac{1}{4}$ away around. Counter argument – it is unfinished. Response - The groove (fig. 36 location D) transitioning into an “L” shaped shelf below the top of the stone (location C). The shelf continues the circular arch of the edge of the stone. With a lye stone we would expect the groove to extend around the perimeter to the spout drain. In this case the liquid would be spill off the length of the shelf’s edge and be lost.

(2) We have not seen any examples of a lye stone with a central shallow hole feature. The hole feature is deeper than the groove extending from it in the direction of the spout groove. This would make draining liquid from the center feature problematic.

Having eliminated all of the logical utilitarian explanations, we are left with only one other plausible explanation to consider.

Is it a ceremonial feature?

The stone slab feature’s location on the northeast side next to the wetlands and seasonal water suggests it was used with water. The grooves indicate a liquid was involved likely water. Conway quoted Fred Pine in speaking about shallow holes in rocks used to make offerings. Some of the holes had water. This shows some Native Americans utilized shallow holes in stone (Conway 1993, 151).

The top of the stone was shaped into a circle. The circle symbolism was likely meaningful but what it meant to those who created this stone is currently unknown.

The three stone cairns for stone offerings indicate a ceremony took place. The V shaped enclosure facing the water and the groove on top indicate this was a water ceremony area. The wetlands stream is active in the springtime. The water in question was rain water suggesting the ceremony was the Return of Rain Water.

Conclusion

The Cam homestead was an integrated farm and ceremonial site. The house, well and the household artifacts surface collected by xxxxxx confirms the site was occupied as a homestead. The small fields bordered by straight stone walls suggest the land was used for a small farm. This is reinforced by the recovery of three hoes and animal related items.

The ceremonial aspect was deduced from the non-agricultural stone structures and features found throughout the site. The tilted up Serpent’s Head Effigy is one of those features that could not be incorporated into any type of building. The copper ring was a potential jewelry type item used by the Native Americans during their ceremony.

William Sherman integrated ceremonial burials on his $\frac{1}{4}$ acre house lot. In turn, he turned a house lot into a ceremonial site an old tradition seen on Golden Hill the former Paugussett Tribe Reservation. Integrating a stone structure ceremony into a farm site on the Cam homestead is in-line with Sherman’s house lot / ceremonial site.

This is a historic ceremonial site integrated into a historic farm. The ceremonial site is hidden in plain sight. As these types of sites become recognized it will show some Native Americans during the

1700s and 1800s did not abandon their old beliefs but continued to practice them. The Native Americans went underground, so to speak, to hide their activities from the Euro-Americans who passed laws prohibiting them from doing so. Like the prohibition era of the 1920s it did not work.

Bibliography

Brilvitch, Charles

- 2007 *A History of Connecticut's Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe*. Charleston, SC: The History Press.
2015 Personal communication (email) October 12, 2015

Butler, Eva L.

- 1946 The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England. *Bulletin of the Archeology Society of Connecticut* 19: 2-11.

Conway, Thor

- 1993 *Painted Dreams: Native American Rock Art*. Minocqua, WI: Northwood Press Inc.

Dewdney, Selwyn & Kenneth E. Kidd

- 1967 *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes*. 2nd Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Dudek, Martin G. & Alan F. Smith

- 2010 *Archaeological Intensive (Locational) Survey for the Douglas Wind Farm Project, Douglas, Massachusetts*. Prepared for American Pro Wind LLC by John Milner Associates, Inc. On file with Massachusetts Historical Commission.

Fowler, William & Hoffman, Curtiss

- 1991 *A Handbook of Indian Artifacts from Southern New England*. Massachusetts Archaeological Society.

Gage, James E.

- 2012 *Root Cellar in America: Their History, Design and Construction 1609-1920*. 2nd Edition. Amesbury, MA: Powwow River Books.

Gage, Mary E.

- 2006 *America's Stonehenge Deciphered*. Amesbury, MA: Powwow River Books.
2013 *Native American Ceremonial Site, Ashburnham Massachusetts*. Online report <http://www.stonestructures.org/MA-Ashburnham-Analysis--public-.pdf>
2015 "Testing the Stockpiling and Field Stone Clearing Pile Theories." *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 76(1): 2-27.
2016 *Canonchet Brook Site 6, Hopkinton, RI*. (Revised 2016) Report on file with the Rhode Island Historical and Preservation Commission, Providence RI. *An article is in preparation about the site for *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Massachusetts*.

Gallagher, Teresa

- 2015 Personal correspondence (e-mail) October 13, 2015

Harrington, M.R.

- 1921 *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, Indian Notes and Monographs [Series] New York: Museum of the American Indian.

Hockensmith, Charles D. and Larry G. Meadows

- 1996 "Historic Millstone Quarrying in Powell County, Kentucky." *Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology* 11:95-105

Hurd, Hamilton D.

1881 *A History of Fairfield County, Connecticut*. Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co.

Jenness, Diamond

1935 *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life*. (Bulletin No. 78, Anthropological Series No. 17), Canada Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, I.S.O., printer); [Facsimile Reprint, Coyote Press]

Lenik, Edward J.

2002 *Picture Rocks: American Indian Rock Art in the Northeast Woodlands*. Hanover & London: University Press of New England.

Martin, Susan R.

1999 *Wonderful Power: The Story of Ancient Copper Working in the Lake Superior Basin*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Metcalf, Frank J.

1998 *Indians in Ashland, Mass.* *Archaeological Quarterly of the W. Elmer Ekblaw Chapter of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 10(1): 19-23.

Michael, David E.

2012 *Saws that Sing: A Guide to using Crosscut Saws*. Missoula, MT; USDA Forest Service.

Orcutt, Samuel

1886 *A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport*. Bridgeport: Fairfield County Historical Society.

Prince, J. Dyneley

1907 Last Living Echoes of the Natick. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 9(3): 493-497.

Radin, Paul

1990 *The Winnebago Tribe*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press. [Reprint of 1923 edition].

Ritzenthaler, Robert E. & Pat Ritzenthaler

1970 *The Woodland Indians of the Western Great Lakes*. New York: American Museum of Natural History.

Simmons, William S.

1986 *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

1990 "The Mystic Voice: Pequot Folklore from the Seventeenth Century to Present." *The Pequots in Southern New England* (Laurence M. Hauptman & James Wherry eds.) Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Skinner, Alanson

1921 *Material Culture of the Menomini*, Indian Notes and Monographs [Series] New York: Museum of the American Indian.

Smith, Elmer L.

1973 *Early Tools and Equipment*. Lebanon, PA. Applied Arts Publishers.

Thomas, Elaine

2015 “Maintaining the Integrity of the Homeland: Recognizing and Re-Awakening the Memory of Forgotten Places through Mohegan Archaeology” *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* 77: 41-50.

Willoughby, Charles

1973 *Antiquities of the New England Indians with Notes on the Ancient Cultures of the Adjacent Territory*. New York, NY: AMS Press, Inc.

Woodward, Arthur

1965 *Indian Trade Goods*. Portland, OR: Oregon Archaeological Society.