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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

New Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing
Indigenous American Ceremonial Stone Landscapes of the Northeast

B. Associated Historic Contexts
Traditional Cultural Places throughout the Northeast, 12000 BP – 300 BP

C. Form Prepared by:
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D. Certification
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Doug Harris (for John Brown) Tribal Historic Preservation Officer **Date:** 9/19/15
John Brown III
Narragansett Indian Tribe

Tribal Historic Preservation Officer **Date:** 9/19/15
Marissa Turnbull
Mashantucket (Western) Pequot Nation

Bettina Washington Tribal Historic Preservation Officer **Date:** 9/19/15
Bettina Washington
Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah)

Tribal Historic Preservation Officer **Date:** 9/19/15
James Quinn
Mohegan Tribe

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Table of Contents

	Page Numbers
E. Statement of Historical Contexts (See Continuation Sheets)	E1-E17
Statement of Tribal Historical Context	E1
Tribal Historical Background	E2
Historical Bias	E4
Historical References	E6
F. Associated Property Types (See Continuation Sheets)	F1-F22
Introduction	F1
Property Types	F2
The Ceremonial Stone Landscape Site	F3
The Ceremonial Stone Landscape District	F5
Features within Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites and Districts	F6
Description of Astronomical Features	F13
Bounds of the Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites	F17
Property Type Significance	F17
Integrity/Loss of Context	F18
Property Type Registration Process and Requirements	F19
Ceremonial Stone Landscape Feature Worksheet	F22
G. Geographical Data (See Continuation Sheets)	G1
H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods (See Continuation Sheets)	H1-3
I. Major Bibliographical References (See Continuation Sheets)	I1-4
J. Photographs and Images (See Continuation Sheets)	J1-27

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E. Statement of Historical Contexts

Statement of Tribal Context

We, beings of Earth, exist in the balance and harmony formed by Great Spirit/Creator and our Mother, the Earth. Within the ancestral territories of the Northeast, there exist sacred ceremonial stone landscapes and stone structures which are of particular cultural value to many federally recognized Tribes. The contents of this Multiple Property Listing shall serve as a guide for National Register of Historic Places dialogues with federally recognized Tribes who seek to protect and preserve their ancestral Tribal ceremonial stone landscapes under 36 CFR 800.4 (c)(1), which states that in undertakings by federal agencies, "…Agency officials shall acknowledge that Indian Tribes… possess special expertise in assessing the eligibility of historic properties that may possess religious and cultural significance to them." Nominations under this Multiple Property Listing shall therefore be made by or with one or more federally recognized Tribes.

United South and Eastern Tribes, Inc. (USET),[1] is a non-profit, inter-tribal organization of 26 Federally Recognized member Tribes from Maine to Texas. On October 31, 2002, the USET tribes informed the public that, "for thousands of years before the immigration of Europeans, the *pauwaus* or medicine people of the USET Tribal ancestors used these sacred landscapes to sustain the people's reliance on Mother Earth and the spirit energies of balance and harmony."[2] "During and following the Colonial oppression of Southern and Eastern Tribes, many cultural and ceremonial practices, including ceremonial use of stones and stone landscapes, were suppressed."[3] Today, "the properties which comprise these sacred landscapes are threatened by the encroachments of imminent development and… whether these stone structures are massive or small structures, stacked, stone rows or effigies, these prayers in stone are often mistaken by archaeologists and State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) as the efforts of farmers clearing stones for agricultural or wall building purposes."[4] "These sacred sites of

[1] Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians; Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida; Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; Seminole Tribe of Florida; Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana; Seneca Nation of Indians; Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana; Saint Regis Mohawk Tribe; Penobscot Indian Nation; Passamaquoddy Tribe – Pleasant Point; Passamaquoddy Tribe – Indian Township; Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians; Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana; Poarch Band of Creek Indians; Narragansett Indian Tribe; Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation; Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah); Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas; Oneida Indian Nation; Aroostook Band of Micmacs; Catawba Indian Nation; Jena Band of Choctaw Indians; The Mohegan Tribe; Cayuga Nation; Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe; and Shinnecock Indian Nation.
[2] USET Resolution No. 2003:022
[3] USET Resolution No. 2007:037.
[4] *Ibid*.

our past are no longer hidden by their remote locations, but many now stand in desirable development land without local ordinances to protect them."[5]

From the foundation of the USET resolutions, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) have stepped forth to assist in identifying and protecting Tribal ceremonial stone landscapes. Though ceremonial stone landscapes exist throughout North America,[6] the presence of ceremonial stone landscapes in the Northeastern United States and their particular characteristics have gone unrecognized or even denied by some members of the professional archaeological community. This document focuses on Tribal ceremonial stone landscapes in the Northeast, where Tribal representatives have come together with shared knowledge about the historical and present importance of these landscapes to Tribal peoples. Specifics of the ceremonial stone landscapes may vary from Tribe to Tribe and region to region. The aim of this document is to open a new chapter in the recognition, preservation, and protection of these sacred places, and to provide an understanding of these places' significance and eligibility under the National Register Criteria.

Tribal Historical Background

Tribal acknowledgement is that the Indigenous Tribal People/*Enishkeetompauwog*/*Kiyawun Skitôpak*[7] of this continent have been here since time immemorial. Regional Tribal oral histories indicate that the Indigenous residents of this region were a part of a much larger federation of Tribal peoples bound together culturally by language, customs, and beliefs that reportedly stretched from present-day Labrador south to the Carolinas. Our Tribal peoples are often described as the Algonquian, a North American language group. Northern Algonquin peoples include Innu of Northeastern Quebec and Labrador, the Micmac, the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, the Eastern Abenaki (Penobscot), and the Western Abenaki. The Southern Algonquin people include the Pennacook, Pawtucket, Massachuseuk, Pokanoket and Nauset (whose descendants are known as the Wampanoag), Narragansett-Niantic, Pequot, Pocumtuck, Mohegan, Nipmuck, and Pocumtuc. Various bands, clans, and families lived in

[5] USET Resolution No. 2009:057

[6] A few examples include Chaco Canyon National Historical Park in New Mexico, Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota and the stone huts, effigies, stone groupings in Colorado documented by Native American Research and Preservation, Inc.

[7] *Enishkeetompauwog* is a Narrangansett word meaning "tribal people," and *Kiyawun Skitôpak* means "we the people" in the Mohegan language. Many English terms have been used to refer to the indigenous peoples of this continent, including, for example, American Indian, Native American, First Nation, Tribal people, and Indigenous American. For the purposes of this document, Indigenous American and Tribal people are used interchangeably and particular tribes are referred to by name.

communities throughout the area known today as Northeast. Traditional lifestyle of the ancient Indigenous people was marked by the pursuit of balance and harmony with the Earth Mother and all her offspring. "Human beings do not own the Earth Mother; she owns them."[8]

The late Dr. Ella Wilcox Sekatau, ethnohistorian and Medicine Woman of the Narragansett Tribe shared with us that "The people who have become known as Narragansett returned to this area after going South with the stages of recession of the last Ice Age called the Paleoarchaic Era by some writers."[9] This is an alternative to the suggestion of some archaeologists that the Tribal people of New England were 'hunter-gatherers,' who only began to supplement their diet with agricultural crops in the last five hundred years or so before contact.[10] Ella Sekatau questioned this notion: "The so-called Woodland Era began around 1500 BC. According to modern writers, conclusions that the Narragansett nation's people had become more dependent on products from maritime resources is questionable… because the return north of the people after the recession of the Ice Age brought new ways of survival from the Southern climates. Gathering continued and agriculture of maize, beans, and squash called the Three Sisters added to dietary practices. The additional practice of raising the Three Sisters crops made life easier in the seven month preparation for the six month's needs."[11] The Tribal calendar had thirteen months, representing the thirteen 28 day cycles of the moon each year: "seven good months," and "six months of need."[12]

For many Tribes, there is no record that glaciation occurred in the oral history, therefore, many Tribes do not accept the concept. If glaciations occurred as geologists describe, with multiple stages of advancing and receding, then the people of this region would have advanced and receded out ahead of the glacial movement. Ella Sekatau shared with us that the first settlements recalled by Tribal oral history were out on the continental shelf, at sites now covered by the ocean's waters. Narragansett oral

[8] Herndon, Ruth W., and Ella Wilcox Sekatau. 1997. The right to a name: the Narragansett people and Rhode Island officials in the Revolutionary era. *Ethnohistory* 44(3): 433-462. p. 439

[9] Sekatau, Ella W. T. 2010. Chapter 4: Cultural and Historic Resources, Section 410.2: Narragansett Tribal History. In *Rhode Island Ocean Special Area Management Plan* Volume 1. Edited by the Rhode Island Coastal Resources Management Council. pp 6-15.

[10] For example: Dincauze, Dena. 1990. A Capsule Prehistory of Southern New England. *In* The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation. Pp. 19-32. L.M. Hauptman and J.D. Wherry, eds. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
Also see discussion of "the maize debate" in: Chilton, Elizabeth S. 1999. Mobile farmers of pre-contact southern New England: the archaeological and ethno-historic evidence. Pp. 157-176. In *Current Northeast Paleoethnobotany*. John P. Hart, Ed. New York: New York State Museum Bulletin.

[11] *Ibid*. p. 10.

[12] *Ibid.*

history cites that in a time over 15,000 years ago, in the ancient villages of the Narragansett, the waters began to rise over night and the people had to abandon their homes. Other regional Tribes have oral histories that share this knowledge.

Geologists report that 24,000 years ago, what is now the continental shelf was an open, vegetated plain.[13] Evidence for the presence of the harvesting and processing of mastodon by Indigenous peoples exists in the sediments of the Atlantic Outer Continental Shelf.[14] Extensive hunting of game, like caribou, as well as walrus and other arctic species is reported. As these species declined in population, other animals continue to be hunted, including birds, rabbits, shellfish, fish, seals[15] and deer. These foods were supplemented by edible plants and agricultural products produced by techniques brought back from the south.[16] Fruit, nuts, seeds, berries, tubers, and some grains were foraged or farmed depending on the season.[17]

Historical Bias

There has been an anthropological bias against recognizing ceremonial stone landscapes in eastern North America. As anthropologist Frank Speck wrote in 1945, "Brush piles and rock heaps have been well calculated to exalt the poetic fancy of historians and folk-lorists. Archaeologists, however, have so far apparently paid them scant attention. Ethnologists have described them but casually. A systematic search through literature would nevertheless yield abundant references to records of such sites in the old Indian country."[18]

In the absence of consultation with Tribal representatives, ceremonial stone structures have been dismissed as having "no Native American… origin."[19] A state publication asserted that "archaeology

[13] Boothroyd, John and Peter August. 2008. Geologic and Contemporary Landscapes of the Narragansett Bay Ecosystem. In *Science for Ecosystem-based Management: Narragansett Bay in the 21st Century*. Desbonnet, A. and Costa-Pierce, B., eds. Springer.
[14] Stanford, Dennis and Bruce Bradley. 2012. *Across the Atlantic Ice.* University of California Press. Pp. 100-103.
[15] Dincauze, Dena. 2000. The Earliest Americans: The Northeast. *Common Ground: Archeology and Ethnography in the Public Interest.*
[16] Sekatau, 2010. *Op. cit.*
[17] Bragdon, Kathleen J. 2001. *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Northeast.* Columbia University Press.
[18] Speck, Frank G. 1945. The Memorial Brush Heap in Delaware and Elsewhere. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware,* Vol. 4 (2).
[19] Massachusetts Department of Cultural Resources. 2007. "Stones that Speak: Forgotten Features of the

and ethnohistory provide conclusive evidence that stone walls, piles and chambers are not the work of ancient cultures."[20] Some archaeologists have more recently contended that ceremonial stone structures "in fact date to the early- to mid-nineteenth century following the boom in textile production associated with the American Industrial Revolution."[21] These views have permitted ceremonial stone features "to be the subjects of the sacrilege of archaeological dissection and later destruction during development projects."[22] "Claiming them as products of farm clearing, professional archeologists and the SHPOs annually pass judgment on the significance and potential protection of these sacred ceremonial stone landscapes and their structures within USET ancestral territories."[23]

Shortly after the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, Tribal author, theologian, historian, and activist Vine Deloria Jr. wrote about developing a relationship between academics and Tribal people in which Tribal people are viewed as people, rather than specimens. He pointed out that, "One difficulty in making this transition is that we already have a large body of data which represents the efforts of the previous century, and we are stuck with these writings and with the language they represent, which is often derogatory and demeaning to American Indians."[24] It is now necessary to move beyond this historic bias. In some recent cases, State offices and Tribal leaders have successfully tested approaches for the shared control of archaeological sites, and archaeologists have deferred to Tribal leaders regarding sensitive materials.[25]

The Tribal people of southern New England have not accepted the biased narratives that historians and academics have crafted, and we have honored our own ancient history, despite years of oppression and suppression. Redressing historical bias reveals the cultural richness and prevalence of ceremonial stone landscapes in the Northeast.

Landscape," *Terra Firma* 5.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Public Archaeology Lab. 2014. "Perspective on Northeast Stone Landscapes: A Position Paper." Paper submitted to Spectra Energy Partners, LP for Algonquin Incremental Market (AIM) Project Southeast Compressor Station FERC Docket No. CP14-96-000, November 14, 2014. p. 5
[22] USET Resolution No. 2007:037
[23] *Ibid*.
[24] Deloria Jr., Vine. 1992. Indians, Archaeologists, and the Future. American Antiquity57(4):595-598.
[25] Brown, John B., III and Paul A. Robinson. 2006. The 368 Years' War: The Conditions of Discourse in Narragansett Country. Pp. 59-75. In *Cross-Cultural Collaboration: Native Peoples and Archaeology in the Northeastern United States*. Jordan E. Kerber, Ed. University of Nebraska Press.

Historical References

It is clear that contact with European people destabilized Indigenous culture. It is difficult to pinpoint when the destabilizing contact between European and Indigenous peoples began. Tribal oral history suggests that it likely occurred with the coming of Europe's cod fishermen on shore to process their catches, well before Giovanni daVerrazzano, the Florentine explorer, appeared in Narragansett Bay in 1524. The development of Colonial trade from Europe and the more frequent presence of Europeans as permanent colonists on Tribal land by the mid-16th century began to change the balance and harmony that the Tribes had experienced for millennia.

There are numerous historical references to Tribal customs that provide insight into ceremonial stone landscapes and their importance in connecting earth and sky, and to mark times for ceremony and planting. In an early historical reference, Giovanni daVerrazzano, wrote to King Francis I of France on July 8, 1524 of the earth/sky connection in the Narragansett's use of the cycles of the moon and of the Pleiades, "…when sewing [sowing] they observe the influence of the moon, the rising of the Pleiades, and many other customs derived from the ancients."[26]

In 1643, the 17th century English theologian Roger Williams observed that the Narragansett people looked closely at the sky, writing in his portrayal of Narragansett language and culture, *A Key into the Language of America*: "By occasion of their frequent lying in the Fields and Woods, they much observe the Starres; and their very children can give names to many of them, and observe their motions."[27] Williams specifically mentions their observation of "*Mosk* or *Paukunnawaw*[28] the great Beare"[29] known then among the English as "Charles' Waine" and known more commonly now as the Big Dipper. Williams also noted numerous feasting periods: "After Harvest, after hunting, when they enjoy a caulme of Peace, Health, Plenty, Prosperity, the Nickommo, a Feast, especially in Winter…they run mad once a yeare in their kind of Christmas feasting."[30] "There they say (at the South west) is the

[26] Da Verrazzano, Giovanni. "Letter to King Francis I of France 8 July 1524." Reprinted at <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/amerbegin/contact/text4/verrazzano.pdf>
[27] Williams, Roger. 1643. A *Key into the Language* of America. London: Gregory Dexter. p. 79.
[28] *Mosk* translates as "bear," and *Paukunnawaw* translates as "Medicine Person's Ladle or Spoon" (*kunnam* meaning spoon) in the Narragansett language.
[29] Williams 1643. *Op cit.* p. 80.
[30] *Ibid*. p. 111.

Court of their Great God Cautantouwit [*sic*[31]]: at the South-west are their forefathers soules: to the Southwest they goe themselves when they dye."[32]

Williams made many references to Narragansett ceremonial feasts. In letters written on August 12th and August 20th in 1637, Williams commented on the mid-August gathering, still celebrated today at the Narragansett Tribal Gathering Ground. In the August 12th letter Williams mentions that an individual named Miantunnomu (Sachem Miantonomo) was not available because the Narragansett "have bene this fortnight busie that is keeping a kind of Christmas."[33] In the August 20th letter he says that the Narragansett were busy "ten or twelve days together, as indeed they were in a strange kind of solemnity, wherein the sachims eat nothing but at night and all the natives round about the country were feasted."[34]

Explicit references to ceremonial stone features appear in a number of historical documents. In Samuel Hopkins' 1753 book, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatunnuk*[35] *Indians,* he describes a stone grouping on Monument Mountain in present day Stockbridge, Massachusetts as a "a large heap of stones — I suppose ten cartloads." According to Hopkins, his Tribal interpreter supposed that the feature was, "designed to be an expression of their gratitude to the Supreme Being that He had preserved them to see the place again."[36] Monument Mountain was named after this stone grouping, which still stands. This six-foot high stone grouping and an adjacent stone row is preserved as part of the Trustees of Reservations Monument Mountain Reservation.

Noah Webster wrote about the Tribal practice of creating "heaps of stone" on burials. Although he had not seen the practice of Tribal people "casting a stone upon the heap," he wrote that he had "no doubt of its existence, as it is confirmed by the general testimony of the first American settlers."[37] William Cothren later affirmed knowledge of this tradition, describing a Tribal memorial to Pomperaug, sachem of the Pootatuck tribe. Pomperaug, "on his death-bed, for some cause, chose to be buried by a small rock near the carriage-house of Hon. N. B Smith… In accordance with an Indian custom, each member of the tribe, as he passed that way, dropped a small stone upon the grave, in token of his respect

[31] Kautantawit.
[32] *Ibid*. p. 21.
[33] Williams, Roger in Glenn W. LaFantasie, 1988. The Correspondence of Roger Williams. Brown University Press. p. 110-111.
[34] Williams, Roger in LaFantasie, 1988. *Ibid*. p. 112-114.In his footnote (5, p 111), LaFantasie notes that sometimes as many as a thousand persons attended those feasts, which were conducted by powwows (shamans).
[35] Now known as Housatonic.
[36] Samuel Hopkins, Monument mountain.
[37] Webster, Noah. 1788. Letter to Ezra Stiles. In G. Hubert Smith, "Noah Webster, The Archaeologist," American

for the fame of the departed. "[38] Dr. James H. Trumbull confirmed that "Such memorial stone-heaps were common in New England."[39]

American academic, theologian, and Yale president Ezra Stiles wrote in his diary on September 19, 1794, "On the side of the stream & a few feet from the fountain I spied a carved or wro't stone, which I know to be one of the Indian Gods, of which I have found about or above twenty in different places from Boston to Hudson River, and particularly between New Milford on West and Medfield Mass on East. This place therefore was a place of Ind. Worship & Powawing in ancient & forgotten ages…I ranged by the Compass allow for Variation 5o W.& estimated the Distances…fr the Cave on Top W. [West] Rock to this Spring ranges near due NW and SE five miles."[40] Stiles description and drawing of the stone is of interest both because he identifies the stone as having ceremonial significance and also because it hints at a ceremonial landscape. By his drawing and description, a prominent stone "cave" on top of West Rock[41] would have been within the viewscape from the "wro't stone." The stone was reportedly removed by Stiles and donated to Yale College.[42]

In 1821, Timothy Dwight, another academic, theologian, and Yale president, wrote about the Tribal practice of erecting stone monuments, citing the mound at Monument Mountain in Stockbridge, Massachusetts as well Sacrifice Rock on Cape Cod and a site near New Milford, Connecticut. He noted that, "These monuments were plainly erected under the sanctions of Religion: for every Indian felt himself religiously obliged, when he passed by, to cast a stone upon them."[43]

Historical references to ceremonial use of stones also include the 1841 Dedication Bronze Plaque of the Miantonomo Monument in Norwalk, Connecticut, which reads, "For years, Narragansett's visiting the spot of Miantonomo's capture honored their sachem's memory by placing a small stone at this memorial site."

Anthropologist 33, No. 4, (Oct. – Dec., 1931).

[38] Cothren, William. 1854. *Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut, From the First Indian Deed in 1659 to 1854, Including the present towns of Washington, Southbury, Bethlem, Roxbury, and a part of Oxford and Middlebury. Volume 1*. Waterbury, CT: Bronson Brothers. p.88

[39] Trumbull, Dr. James H. 1881. *Indian Names of Places, etc., in and on the borders of Connecticut*: *With Interpretations of Some of them.* Hartford, CT: The Case, Lockwood, & Brainard Co. p. 53

[40] The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, 9/19/1794, p. 539.

[41] West Rock or West Rock Ridge was and is a 7 mile long mountain ridge in New Haven, CT, today considered part of the Metacomet Ridge.

[42] Squier, E.G. 1851. *Antiquities of the State of New York*. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. II, pp. 170-2.

[43] Dwight, Timothy. 1821. *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. 3, p.408.

In 1849, Smithsonian Institute archeologist and surveyor Ephraim Squier published a description and sketch said to be of a Penacook fort in Sanbornton, New Hampshire. The sketch was drawn in 1822 by Jacob ll. Moore, Esq., one time Librarian of the Historical Society of New York. Moore's drawing (see Figure 50) depicts an elaborate assemblage including two semi-circular and three relatively straight earthen walls.[44] A local man who had lived in the area for more than fifty years said that the walls had once been two to three feet high, with stones on the outside, and filled with clay, shells, and gravel from the joining river. "Within the enclosure, and in the mound and vicinity, were found innumerable Indian ornaments, such as crystals cut in the shape of diamonds, squares, arrow-heads, hatchets of stone…"[45] Moore wrote that local tradition held that the site was the work of the Penacooks. He also wrote that, "The small island in the bay appears to have been a burial-place, from the quantity of bones and other remains disclosed by the plough" but before cultivation, "there were several large excavations, resembling cellars or walls."

Despite many historical mentions of Tribal ceremonial stone features, there was a lack of Euro-American respect for the significance of ceremonial stone landscapes. The European-American concept of land ownership was completely foreign to Tribal tradition[46] and Tribal customs "of travel and long-term visiting clashed with colonists' concepts of 'belonging' to a particular place."[47] Political establishments of the 17th century pursued officially sanctioned policies specifically designed to separate Indigenous people from their social and cultural systems and replace them with English theocracy.[48] Great pains were taken to obliterate traditions and prevent the Tribal People from visiting and observing ceremonial events in sacred places.[49]

In the 17th and 18th centuries, government officials passed laws that prohibited traditional ceremonies.[50] "We were not allowed to go to these places. There were prohibitions written on the

[44] Squier, E.G. *Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York*, Appendix Ancient Works in Pennsylvania and New Hampshire. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, No. 21849: 87. <www.sciencenews.com/squier/aboriginalmonumentsA-1.html>
[45] *Ibid*, p. 88.
[46] Herndon and Sekatau, 1997. *Op. cit.*
[47] Herndon and Sekatau, 1997. *Op. cit.* p. 449.
[48] Woodward, Walter William. 2010. *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606-1676*. UNC Press Books.
[49] Leonard, K.C. Personal communication with Cheryl Andrews-Maltias, THPO, Wampanoag Tribe of Gayhead-Aquinnah.
[50] Early colonial laws in Massachusetts prevented Tribal people from practicing traditional ceremony, for example, a 1646 law was proposed which read "And it is farther ordered and decreed by this Court; that no Indian shall at any time powaw, or performe outward worship of their false gods…"[51] In 1693, the Massachusetts

books (laws) to stop us from going to these places. Additionally, if the people would not adopt and accept Christianity and still continued the practices, those practitioners were usually taken away. And if they kept going to the site, even without the leadership or practitioners or the holy people or the spiritual leaders, then the places were destroyed… to eradicate them from current day memory."[56]

These sacred places and the ceremonies held there were nearly always concealed from the English, but their significance has recently been revealed by USET's declarations. Despite suppression and development, some ceremonial stone landscapes remain. Some remain due to the efforts of respectful Tribal and non-Tribal stewards of these landscapes. Others have remained because their locations in remote areas were found undesirable for development by past post-Colonial generations.

Bay Colony passed an act "for the government of the Indians as persons distinct from other citizens," calling for the appointment of guardians to manage Tribal land, people, and property.[52] Guardianship laws prevented Tribal people from visiting certain places, for example, in a 1758 "Act in addition to the several acts for the better regulating the Indians," which appointed "guardians to the said Indians in their respective plantations, who are hereby empowered… to take into their hands the said Indians' lands."[53] This was followed by a 1789 "Act for the better regulating of the Indian, Mulatto, and Negro proprietors and inhabitants of the Plantation called Marshpee…" which stated that "overseers are hereby vested with full power and authority to regulate the police of the said plantation… as well with respect to the improvement and leasing out of their lands and tenements, regulating their streams, ponds, and fisheries."[54] It was not until the passage of the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act that the United States government recognized the limitations imposed by earlier laws and policies by stating, "such laws and policies often deny American Indians access to sacred sites required in their religions, including cemeteries;" and "traditional American Indian ceremonies have been intruded upon, interfered with, and in a few instances banned."[55]

[51] Farrand, Max (intro.) 1929. The Laws and Libertyes of Massachusetts, Reprinted from the copy of the 1648 edition in The Henry E. Huntington Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. p. 29

[52] Benjamin Franklin Hallett. 1835. Rights of the Marshpee Indians argument of Benjamin F. Hallett, counsel for the Memorialists of the Marshpee tribes, before a Joint Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts. Boston, MA. p. 7.

[53] Thompson and Homans. 1832. Laws of the Colonial and State Governments, Relating to Indians and Indian Affairs, from 1633 to 1831, Inclusive: With an Appendix Containing the Proceedings of the Congress of the Confederation ; and the Laws of Congress, from 1800 to 1830, on the Same Subject. Washington D.C.: Way and Gideon. p.16

[54] *Ibid*. p.17

[55] American Indian Religious Freedom Act, Public Law No. 95-341, 92 Stat. 469

[56] Andrews-Maltais, Cheryl, Tribal Historical Preservation Officer of the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah). 2008. As quoted in: National Register of Historic Places/National Historic Landmarks Program. Determination of Eligibility. December 11, 2008. The Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site. Franklin County, MA. Town of Montague. p. 4. On file at the National Register of Historic Places.

There is evidence that Tribal people preserved some of these places by deeding them to other Tribal people and registering the deeds in the English system. This proved to be successful until their Tribal owners were forced to sell. For example, in 1668, Tuspaquin, the "Black Sachem" of Assawampsett MA, deeded the most important burial ground on Assawampsett Neck to a trusted aide apparently for safekeeping.[57] A part of that parcel now appears on the National Register as "The Royal Wampanoag Cemetery."

While it is believed that our Tribal cultural traditions reserved ceremonial stone landscapes exclusively for ceremonial purposes, Kenneth Leonard's recent primary-source research using deeds and vital records shows that beginning shortly after the armed conflict involving the Indigenous people and the English colonists, historically known as King Philip's War, in 1675-1676 and extending through the colonial period, some Tribal people appear to have acted to preserve their sacred heritage sites by buying the land in the European tradition and occupying the ceremonial areas themselves.[58] Vital records show that during the 18th century, certain persons bought back ceremonial stone landscapes to establish homestead sites on lands that had been previously acquired by the English, three examples of which are reflected in the deeds cited above. When conducting property research on a ceremonial landscape site, there are indications that may suggest site stewardship. Use of the term "dwelling house" in the deed of a parcel where a foundation is now found within a ceremonial stone landscape is one indication of stewardship. Deeds that also cite the name of a person known to have Tribal ancestry or known to have married into Tribally-connected families indicate that these new Tribally-connected owners, and often their children after them, may have become secret stewards of these landscapes.

These unusual ceremonial sites with colonial homesteads may be found in particularly remote places. Their now-abandoned homesteads are usually found on a private cart path leading far into the woods away from a public way or navigable water course. The homesteads may be in places with very poor agricultural prospects and not where any English settler would have chosen to live. These dwellings' existence apparently remained little known to the general public since they tended not to appear on early maps.[59] Occasionally, these foundations in the woods may be found on unpublished, hand-drawn maps among personal papers archived in local libraries and historical museums. However,

[57] Shurtleff , Nathaniel B. and David Pulsifer (eds.), Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Boston, Massachusetts, William White, 12 Vols. 1855- 1861. *Indian Deeds, Land Transactions in Plymouth Colony, 1620-1691.* Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts, 2002.

[58] Leonard, Kenneth C. Private deed research. (PCD [58, 295; 73, 12; 85, 17]; [73, 7; 82, 113]; [73, 57]). These Plymouth County deeds reflect these activities in conjunction with three known ceremonial sites.

[59] For example, the 1857-1858 Walling maps and the 1870s Beers Atlases.

they are frequently attributed to a relatively contemporary owner of the land, and not to its original residents.

One example of this stewardship involves the Douglas family, the most complete record found so far by Leonard. The Douglas case provides convincing evidence that suggests a clear intent to preserve traditional sites while, at the same time, attempting to blend into colonial society. In about 1719, John Douglas,[60] of Jamestown, RI, married Eunice Rattleleaf,[61] reportedly a descendent of Osamequin.[62] They soon moved to Swansey, MA, a then-center of Quakers and Baptists, where they joined the latter sect. A year or so later they moved to the Watuppa Indian Reservation established by Benjamin Church near now-Fall River, where they dwelled until the early 1730's when they bought a lot in then-Middleboro (now Lakeville, MA).[63] [64] The rear of their Middleboro property features a massive exposed granite ledge with an unusual vein-like quartz inclusion over 20 feet in length, near the base of which lies a 40-foot-long stone serpent effigy. Neighboring properties have ceremonial stone groupings that include other effigies. Douglas's oldest son, John, purchased a homestead about two miles distant that lay immediately adjacent to a 500-acre ceremonial landscape site. Douglas's grandson, also named John, a popular school teacher, built his home in the middle of the ceremonial landscape, where he lived for several years.[65] The foundation still exists within the ledged and rocky landscape amidst the ceremonial features. While, as mentioned above, it is unusual according to cultural tradition to inhabit a ceremonial landscape, in instances like the Douglas family, their selected locations may have been important to

[60] All local genealogies indicate that John Douglas was a Scotsman from a well respected family and a so-called "black Douglas." The exact origin of the term in not known, with some postulating that it resulted from his dark deeds while another explanation is that the family was known for dark complexions. In any event, family records reveal that John Douglas, after running away to London at age 13 or 14, got shanghaied onto a ship bound to Boston. Boston records indicate he was cared for by a local family until he reached the age of majority. He next appears in the vital records of Rhode Island when he married, as mentioned above. The well-known and respected southeastern Massachusetts genealogist Robert Bierly postulated that due to their dark complexions, this Douglas family were locally treated as minorities which may have contributed to their choices in marriage.

[61] *Newport County RI Vital Records*, Marriages.

[62] Steinway, Ruth Gardener. 1976. *Plymouth's Ninth Great Lot and the Six Ponds, 1710-1967: A Chronicle*. Kingston, MA: Pilgrim Publishers. p. 10

[63] *Ibid*. Steinway mentions extensive research done by Bernard Douglas on which she relies for her brief work. Kenneth C. Leonard, through personal communication with a Douglas family member, has obtained and is in possession of a complete copy of B. Douglas's work which documents the forgoing.

[64] PCD (30, 60)

[65] This homestead was originally settled about 1745. Its immediate vicinity hosts a dense concentration of the most remarkable ceremonial features in the entire 500 acre tract. The site had been originally selected by an individual whose mother was a Quaker and widow whose second marriage was to the family handyman, a person very likely to have been of Tribal descent. *Ibid.*, p. 75

protect the sites from encroachment. When moving from this ceremonial landscape site, this John moved to Plymouth to land that was adjacent to Tribal land. Research in the vital records of Middleborough, Freetown, Rochester, and Plymouth indicates that all three generations married women whose ancestry strongly suggests some Tribal connection. It is also significant that others of John and Eunice's children married Tribal people.[66]

It is to be emphasized that the foregoing presents a well-documented example of what appears to be a pattern in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Historical research in vital records, land records, and church records has consistently found ostensibly Quaker and/or Baptist families once resided upon or nearby many ceremonial stone landscapes. And, upon looking further into their accomplishments and reputations, these were often well-to-do and highly respected families with some connection to or with a sympathetic attitude toward Tribal people. When house foundations, pits, and other remains of habitation like abandoned wells or scattered bricks are found in ceremonial stone landscapes sites, the presence of previous caretakers is suggested, especially when well-preserved features are present.[67]

The unusually complete Records of Plymouth Colony (1620-1686) and subsequent land records of Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable Counties (after 1686) provide insight into this largely unreported pattern where Tribal people were adapting to the colonial society, while at the same time attempting to preserve as much of their traditional beliefs and practices as possible. These land records indicate that certain, now-recognized ceremonial places were known, but never explicitly identified as ceremonial stone landscapes. Nonetheless, Tribal sources indicate that Tribal people were prohibited from visiting these places, often under threat of death.[68] Christian churches and graveyards regularly subsumed these traditional places of ceremony and burial. However, Tribal people honoring ancient traditions continued to resist these efforts, and association with the highly tolerant Quakers and Baptists afforded them considerable freedom to do so.

Early European colonists certainly noticed the ceremonial stone landscapes of New England, and

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[66] Research continues into the other children of John and later generations of the family as well into their immediate neighbors as they lived in or adjacent to the ceremonial landscapes. Preliminary results point to a closely knit alliance of families that persisted for several generations seemingly built around their association with the special places.

[67] Recent work in MA, CT, and RI by the Technology Integration Group, Inc. (TIG) under the cultural guidance of the Mashantucket Pequot, Mohegan, Narragansett, and Wampanoag of Gay Head (Aquinnah), four federally recognized tribes in southern New England, see especially the historical research performed.

[68] Andrews-Maltais, 2008. *Op. cit.*

observed that Tribal people continued to add stones at certain locations. However, it seems that Tribal people did not wish to share the reasons for the practice or the locations of ceremonial landscapes with Europeans. Ezra Stiles noted that the custom of adding a stone to a large memorial on the road from Sandwich to Plymouth was continued, unless an English person was accompanying Tribal people, in which case, "they have made a path round at a quarter Mile's Distance to avoid it."[69] Gideon Hawley, an 18th century missionary and interpreter, questioned his Mohawk guide about the significance of stone groupings, but got so little information he assumed his guide "did not like to talk on the subject."[70] Eva Butler, in her survey of colonial documentation of stone groupings, concluded that Tribal people were perhaps reluctant to discuss "things that were too sacred or intimate."[71]

It appears the 18th-century-English were largely successful in suppressing general knowledge about these sites, for 19th century references to them are rare to absent. There were frequent references in the late Victorian era and early 20th century to "the last surviving Indian" in town after town, and that statement conveniently ends discussion of all things Tribal.[72] The discoveries of anomalous looking, or unusually placed stones, if not found in archaeological digs, are rarely described in context and generally dismissed. Commonly, such items are attributed to European activity. In the case of archaeological features (not artifacts) discovered in digs, the archaeologists of the period (as is still often the case), did not evaluate their findings in a possible context of Tribal ceremonial practices.

Antiquarians in New England in the mid-1900s gathered in a group called the Early Sites Research Society, members of which later organized into the New England Antiquity Research Association (NEARA), which was founded as a non-profit organization in 1964. Exploration and documentation of various stone and earth sites occurred with some reference to Native American origin. NEARA's past, current, and ongoing cataloging of ceremonial stone features throughout the subject area is now archived and available at the NEARA library in Concord, NH.

More recently, archeologists began to attribute stone features to Tribal people, but due to persistent cultural biases, there remains little expressed recognition that any of these features were a part of, or related in any way to, a larger ceremonial whole. In the 1973 Bulletin of the Archaeological

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[69] Butler, Eva L. 1946. The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England. Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut 19:3-12. p. 4.
[70] *Ibid*. p. 8.
[71] *Ibid*. p. 9.
[72] See discussion in: O'Brien, Jean M. 2010. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*. University of Minnesota Press.

Society of Connecticut,[73] Frank Glynn discusses stone groupings he excavated between 1952 and 1954. Glynn opened two "stone heaps" in Connecticut just west of the Connecticut River. Based on the depth of the foundation, Glynn concluded that the structures were Tribal and pre-contact. That these stone groupings may have been part of a ceremonial landscape was not explored. While Glynn's work forwarded knowledge of the Tribal origins of ceremonial features, some stone features were dismantled during field research, a methodology opposed by Tribal representatives.

In the early 1970s naval architect James Mavor and optical system designer Byron Dix began exploring the stone structures in New England that they felt were of ritual significance. Over the course of fifteen years of work together, they came to believe that these were Tribal ceremonial landscapes. Mavor and Dix discussed various stone features, including stone rows, stone mounds, standing stones, stone chambers, and perched boulders, as well as stone enclosures that were called "Indian forts" by English colonists. They documented twenty such enclosures, all of which had ceremonial features, including stone rows, perched boulders, and standing stones. They found that "Most chambers are also aligned to observe celestial horizon events from within."[74] They also noted that throughout New England, unusual rocky places were called places of the devil, which were often terms used by colonists for Tribal gathering places (*môwáwikamuq*), such as Devil's Tower, Purgatory Chasm, and Devil's Triangle. The 1989 publication of their book *Manitou: The Sacred Landscape of New England's Native Civilization*[75] began the process of redressing past historical bias. This was a landmark book, indicating a new paradigm for interpreting the many stone sites present in the landscape, and included an awareness of the site's interaction with the sky. This volume remains a valuable tool in the identification and evaluation of these sites.

Edwin C. Ballard, in his 1999 article "For Want of a Nail: An Analysis of the Function of Some Horseshoe or "U"-shaped Stone Structures" suggests that these structures are, "artifacts that are remnants of a sky-based socio-ritual structure applicable to at least Late Woodland and Contact Period New England Native American society."[76] He has identified most as relating to equinox and solstice alignments, while others relate to the constellation known as the *Mosk* (Bear) or *Paukunnawaw* (Medicine Person's Ladle or Spoon) or Big Dipper constellation. The latter is oriented somewhat east of north where the tail/ladle handle is perpendicular to the Earth.

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[73] Glynn, Frank. 1973. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut*. Vol. 38.
[74] Mavor Jr., J.W, and Byron E. Dix. 1989. *Manitou: The Sacred Landscape of New England's Native Civilization*. Inner Traditions/Bear. p.261
[75] *Ibid*.
[76] Ballard, Edwin C. 1999. For Want of a Nail: An Analysis of the Function of Some Horseshoe or "U"-shaped

On December 11, 2008, the National Register of Historic Places gave The Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site its determination of eligibility. This site became the first ceremonial landscape in New England eligible for the National Register of Historical Places. The National Register determination identified the place as "one of an undetermined number of traditional cultural places in the middle of the Connecticut Valley that can be documented through oral history, historical record, archeological data, and ongoing research to be associated with the sacred practices and beliefs of various Native American tribes."[77] "In addition, the ceremonial hill may be one of a group of cultural places forming a rural landscape made up of natural features important in cultural beliefs and origin stories and sites related to sacred ceremonial rituals, including but not limited to astronomical observations, gathering of medicinal herbs, and funerary practices."[78] What had once been considered by archaeologists and SHPOs as the cast off from colonial farm clearing and therefore eligible only for destruction by the developer's bulldozer is now recognized by the National Register of Historic Places under the National Historic Preservation Act as a place of cultural and religious significance. The hard work and prayers of the Aquinnah, the Mashpee, the Narragansett and our research friends had yielded success. This, for the first time in the eastern United States, gave federal legitimacy to Tribal ancestral ceremonial stone landscapes and their ceremonial stone groupings. Based on that information, the Register's determination indicated that the Turners Falls site was the center of a ceremonial "medicine" district.[79] While the bounds of this district are yet to be determined, the radius includes ceremonial features at Burnt Hill/Mount Pocumtuck in Heath, MA, 16 miles away.

In 2010, the *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*[80] dedicated an entire issue to three papers treating different examples of then recognized ceremonial landscapes. A number of individual feature types were described. These authors included discussions of their likely cultural contexts, sundry assembly details, and the astronomical connections of the various designs and orientations.

With Tribal preservation persistence and the continued assistance of our many friends who seek to work with Tribes in our stewardship of the stone landscapes, these *manitouhassunash* (spirit stones) will continue their ancient and honorable work. The ancestral words and intent spoken into the stones of these groupings by our ancients are still living prayers calling to our Mother Earth and her celestial

Stone Structures. *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* Vol. 60(2):38-54.
[77] National Register of Historic Places/National Historic Landmarks Program, 2008. *Op. cit*. p. 5.
[78] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[79] National Register of Historic Places/National Historic Landmarks Program, Determination of Eligibility: The Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site, 2008.
[80] Vol. 72(1). Special Issue: Sacred Landscapes and Skyscapes.

relatives for balance and harmony. Let us continue to protect and be good stewards of the places of our ancestors' spoken intent.

F. Associated Property Types

Introduction

Ancient use of stones in ceremonies is an acknowledgement of their *manitou* or Spirit capacity. Tribal ancestral use and placement of ceremonial stone groupings into landscapes were ways of acknowledging, honoring, and attempting to gain harmony with our Creator and especially our Mother Earth, she that brings forth, and all her topographic spirit emanations (hills, valleys, springs, swamps, ponds, streams, falls, and oceans), all her children of the nations of stone, plant, crawling, flying, walking and swimming beings, and her celestial relatives (sun, moon, stars, star groups, planets and meteors). Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote that "The vast majority of Indian tribal religions… have a sacred center at a particular place, be it a river, a mountain, a plateau, valley, or other natural feature. This center enables the people to look out along the four dimensions and locate their lands, to relate all historical events within the confines of this particular land, and to accept responsibility for it."[81]

Ceremonial landscape sites are characterized by unusually complex stone groupings or rows that have standing, shaped, and/or propped stones, incorporated in their assembly, or placed so close by as to suggest a direct association. Tribal tradition throughout the southern and eastern states used ceremonial stone landscapes and celestial alignments as the foundation of ancient spiritual communication with our Mother Earth.

While in other parts of the United States ceremonial stone features have been understood and acknowledged more consistently in the historical record, in the Northeast this recognition has been denied. Historically, a great deal of information was lost or hidden due to the disruption of Tribal cultural and ceremonial practices. Prior to colonization, knowledge was lost with the drastic Tribal population decline culminating in the early 1600s as a result of exposure to unknown diseases brought by European fishermen and traders. With the spread of colonization, Tribal access to traditional landscapes was diminished as thousands of colonists moved into traditional lands. Further social upheaval followed the conflict historically known as King Philip's War, when many Tribal people were sold into slavery, endured lengthy indentured servitude or became refugees in distant places. After the war, legislation made it a crime to visit these ceremonial landscape sites and knowledge was lost or intentionally hidden in order to protect the sites. Throughout the years, however, some knowledge has remained in Tribal oral histories and these prayers in stone have often remained hidden in the landscapes.

[81] Deloria, Vine, Jr. 2003. *God is red: A native view of religion.* Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing. p. 66.

Through the right to Tribal consultation relative to matters of Tribal culture and heritage set out in National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, Tribes have begun to see the NHPA as a tool for preservation of these ceremonial stone landscapes and we are coming forward now with public acknowledgement of sites. With our increased access that has come about through NHPA, Tribal people in the Northeast are in the process of re-connecting our oral histories and stories with these ceremonial landscape sites. At the same time, in order to protect our cultural heritage, we are often reticent to share the nature of our ceremonies or the specific ceremonial functions or uses of ceremonial landscape sites and districts.

In the work at the Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site in 2006 and 2007, the Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office was advised by Hereditary Elder Tribal Medicine Man Lloyd "Running Wolf" Wilcox as follows: "In putting this place in front of the public and government for judgment, do not rely on Tribal oral history and lore alone, that, they always find a way to ridicule and devalue. Instead, allow the landscape to speak for itself and allow the oral history and lore to stand as its witness." Today, the basic questions that are asked and answered by the collaborating Tribes are the following:

1) What are the bounds of the landscape that are the evidence of our ancestors' ceremonies?
2) Inside or outside those bounds, what natural features (springs, swamps, streams, hills, horizon lines, etc.) are the stone features in conversation with?
3) What in the sky, night or day, are the stones aligned to watch, honor, and be in conversation with?
4) What connects the landscape that we may be studying to other, possibly distant landscapes (trails on the ground, trails [celestial events] in the sky), trails within the ground (water, ledge)?

In allowing the landscape to "speak for itself," we have developed the following descriptions of ceremonial landscape components.

Property Types

There are two property types within the Ceremonial Stone Landscapes of the Northeast Multiple Property Listing: Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites, and Ceremonial Stone Landscape Districts. A Ceremonial Stone Landscape Site is a location of ceremonial activity within which there is a variety of individual, constructed and placed features in conversation with the natural landscape. A Ceremonial Stone Landscape District includes a concentration of Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites within a larger geographic area. Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites and Districts were used by Tribal ancestors to

sustain the people's reliance on Mother Earth and the spirit energies of balance and harmony.

The Ceremonial Stone Landscape Site

Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites in the Northeast are locations of ceremonial activity that are characterized by stone assemblages of many types, some earthworks, and usually incorporate a number of natural landscape features into their design. Ceremonial stone landscape sites are found in a variety of settings, on hilltops (*kusáhkôy*) and on hillsides, as well as in close proximity to water, e.g. streams and rivers, wetlands, and springs. It is common, for example, to find stone rows and groupings near streams, especially where they converge. New England's topography is strewn with boulders and stones which are described by geologists to have been deposited by glaciations. Ceremonial stone landscape sites were crafted with available stones and boulders to create stone groupings, rows, perched boulders, intentionally split boulders, propped rocks, animal effigies, like serpents and turtles, U-shaped structures, and other structures. Quartz was often quarried for inclusion in features, and well-placed naturally occurring quartz veins or outcrops were incorporated into the landscape design. Boulders or exposed ledge were incised to create petroglyphs, although these are rarely found in this age. In other instances, small, mortar-like cavities were created to hold small pools of water for purposes of ceremony (see Figure 56) to be used as a reflecting medium or for medicinal purposes.

A ceremonial stone landscape site is generally comprised of multiple features, often in "conversation" with each other and with the natural landscape in the immediate area. Typically, there are one or more areas where there is a high concentration of features and as one moves away from the concentration(s), fewer features are found. In some circumstances, a single ceremonial stone feature can qualify as a site. When identified by Tribal authority, stone groupings directly associated with persons of special Tribal significance (historically called "donation piles") may constitute a ceremonial stone landscape site in the absence of a relationship between one or more other ceremonial features. However, when any apparently isolated ceremonial feature is discovered, the possibility of its isolated appearance being due to insufficient current research or because of presently unrecovered knowledge of cultural traditions should be considered. In order to protect such isolated features deemed significant by Tribal authorities, they shall be considered eligible for nomination as ceremonial stone landscape sites under this listing. For example, a large perched boulder on the edge of a prominent ledge or outcropping may have been understood to have Spirit and been addressed ceremonially, and can therefore qualify as a site even in the absence of other features. It is also possible that an individual feature is the sole remaining structure in what might have been a larger ceremonial stone landscape site.

Within the ceremonial stone landscape site there are often ceremonial enhancements of various

natural landscape features. Cited by geologists as the result of glaciation, remarkable geologic structures like kames, eskers, and drumlins, as well as rock outcroppings, including cliffs (*káhtôpsk*á*w*) and exposed ledges, appear to have been especially favored. Kames, sandy flat-topped platforms, geologically described as glacially deposited sand, have been found to have had a number of individual stones carefully placed atop them. These stones denote both places to stand to watch sunrises or sunsets at particular times of the year, as well as to where the sun will be seen on the horizon, hence forming a celestial calendar to honor times of ceremony. Eskers are geologically described as elongated deposits of glacial sand. On occasion, some eskers have been excavated to form a recessed chamber into which the rising or setting sun shines but two or three days a year. For example, a sinuous esker has been further enhanced with stones at one end to suggest a serpent effigy. Drumlins, geologically described as oval-shaped hills of glacial sand, appear to have been favored as lookout areas to observe sunrises and sunsets.

The features that make up the ceremonial stone landscape site are frequently found to align with other stone features. Features that are astronomically aligned are a strong indicator that a place has ceremonial significance. Aligned structures typically include stone rows, a series of stone groupings, shaped pointer stones, or particularly, effigy figures that have been oriented to look toward a culturally significant direction. Often row structures lie perpendicular to an important direction and have one or more embrasures or niches, which may serve as observation stations and/or have other spiritual significance.

Site examinations reveal that astronomical observation and alignments were very important components of ceremonial stone landscape sites. Hence, finding that features align astronomically is a strong indicator that a place has ceremonial significance. Presently, reforestation has rendered real-time confirmation of many of these existing alignments difficult, and, in addition, prevents the present-day observer from experiencing the spaciousness that a re-clearing of the site would evoke. However, there is strong evidence that the Tribes kept these ceremonial sites generally clear of trees, and thereby maintained unobstructed views of the sky. It has been concluded that before European contact, much of New England was park-like, full of open meadows created by a pattern of seasonal burning, especially of hilltops. Scientific studies of pollen samples excavated at a Hassanamesit habitation site in Grafton, MA show that by the time Europeans arrived, “broad meadows existed in many areas and the underbrush was kept cleared out by regular burning.”[82] The resulting open landscapes would have, in addition, facilitated

[82] Wood 1977 p. 38, cited in: Tritsch, Electa Kane. 2006. *Documenting Hassanamesit Woods: Its History and Cultural Resources*. Prepared for the Town of Grafton Hassanamesit Woods Management Committee. Oakfield Research.

clear lines-of-sight between ceremonial stone landscapes and from a landscape to distant natural features. Therefore, ceremonial visibility should be considered based on land devoid of trees when evaluating astronomical alignments among features within a site.

Individual features can have multiple functions and relationships. For example, a structure may be a component of a short range alignment such as a Sky Watcher's Seat that positions an individual to view one or more astronomical events. When alignments involve horizon features, e.g. hills or notches observed in the distance (see Figure 51), the observation places are typically designated with ceremonial stones, e.g. quartz boulders, that mark the location. At the same time, the feature's location may also provide an alignment link from one landscape site to another to form a district.

The Ceremonial Stone Landscape District

Ceremonial stone landscape districts are discontiguous. A ceremonial stone landscape district includes a concentration of ceremonial stone landscape sites within a larger geographic area that are linked through their associated sacred ceremonial practices and beliefs. Ceremonial stone landscape districts include two or more ceremonial stone landscape sites, often connected by lines of sight that have ceremonial astronomical significance. Ceremonial stone landscape districts contain sites that may be geographically separate, may be interconnected by natural features, or may have been separated by intervening development. In some circumstances, the link between parts of a district may be a ceremonial stone landscape site consisting of just one significant feature, such as a very prominent boulder on an outcropping that can be seen from miles away. Ceremonial stone landscape districts, with the interrelationships among features, landscape sites, and celestial events, are examples of the ways Tribal ancestors sought harmony with our Creator, Mother Earth, and her celestial relatives.

The area surrounding and including the Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site in western Massachusetts is an example of a Ceremonial District that includes numerous other ceremonial landscape sites within a 20 mile radius. Within a ceremonial stone row on the Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site there is an arrangement of stones from which one's attention is directed to the western horizon and Pocumtuck Mountain, approximately 16 miles away, where the sun sets in a notch on August 13. The Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site, a ceremonial landscape site at the Bear's Den (New Salem, MA), and a ceremonial landscape site on Pocumtuck Mountain (Heath, MA) are linked through the sunset alignment which marks the traditional August 13th Tribal ceremonies.

Ceremonial stone landscape districts may be associated with one another across long distances. The most frequently seen association between districts is through significant astronomical alignments,

although other ceremonial associations may be revealed through ongoing research. An example of related ceremonial stone landscape districts is that of the three districts along the Winter Solstice Sunrise/Summer Solstice Sunset line that extends approximately 300 miles from Assawampsett Neck in Lakeville, MA through Bear's Den in New Salem, MA to the district at Fort Drum in upstate New York.

Features within Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites and Districts

The features within ceremonial stone landscape sites contain a broad range of human assemblages, complemented by prominent topographic elements. These include: (1) single, isolated stones, often of unique natural appearance or worked into some recognizable shape; (2) a number of purposefully placed stones; and, (3) earthworks that create elevated mounds or excavations that take the form of ditches or pits. In some cases multiple structures are seen in a feature; for example, a ceremonial stone row might have one or more *manitou* (spirit) stones leaning against it or a split boulder may also have stones placed in a grouping on one side. In the majority of cases, such features will be found in harmony or alignment with one or more natural landscape features in their vicinity, with prominent topographic elements visible in the distance, and/or with astronomical events. Both human-altered and natural configurations of ceremonial stones may emanate recognizable *manitou* (spirit) energy that the ancients would have acknowledged and interacted with in ceremony at this and other ceremonial landscapes. "Ceremonially significant stone groupings," "naturally occurring features," and "those (altered) by recent human activity" can all be manifestations of *manitou*.[83] [84] [85]

Some have dismissed ceremonial stone landscape site features as the remnants of farm clearing.[86] Settlers and early European farmers tended to move stones only when necessary and used them in functional ways, such as building stone walls that delineated boundaries of properties or of different field usages. When fields needed to be cleared for farming and the stones were not needed for utilitarian purposes, the stones were typically removed and dumped into large piles in a ravine or other out of the way place using large wooden "stone boats" which were typically pulled by oxen. Within the prevailing dismissal of the existence of ceremonial stone landscape sites, ceremonial features have often been misidentified as farm clearings.

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[83] In a broad sense, *manitou* is the Algonquian concept of spirit.
[84] Roger Williams first documented the use of the word *manitou* among the Narragansett, equating it to "a God" in the 17th century. Williams, 1643. *Op. cit.* p. 191.
[85] Neil Salisbury later described *manitou* as "the manifestation of spiritual power, a manifestation that could occur in almost any form." Salisbury, Neil. 1984. *Manitou And Providence: Indians, Europeans, And The Making Of New England, 1500-1643.*
[86] Public Archaeology Lab, 2014. *Op cit.*

On the other hand, the presence of ceremonial stone structures that are not easily understood within the context of settlers and farmers in New England often provides the first indication of a ceremonial landscape. For example, some stone groupings can have vertical sides, some three to five or more feet in height, requiring considerable planning and careful placement of the stones. Ceremonial stone features demonstrate a pattern of organization rather than random placement seen in a farmer's field clearing.

Stone feature types (*manitou hassunash* or Spirit Stones) investigated in the field, recognized at this time, include:

- *káhtôquwuk* (stone groupings);
- *qusuqaniyutôk* (stone rows);
- *kamuq* (enclosures);
- *shwiwáhkuwi* (U-shaped structures);
- stone arrangements;
- *nunokôtôkansh* (effigies);
- *sunshnipámu* (marker/pointer stones);
- *manitou* (spirit stones);
- *sun catcapinumut* (split boulders);
- *kesuk askuhwheteaen appuonk* (sky watcher's seat);
- *cipusq* (propped boulders);
- perched boulders;
- *tattahassun* (drum rocks);
- *hassunnegk* (stone caves/chambers);
- *sunqákash* (sun daggers);
- *ŏkátôpsk* (shadow casting stones);
- *áhkiyayhkôsuwôkansh* (earthworks); and
- other.[87]

Káhtôquwuk (Stone Groupings)

Stone groupings, often referred to as stone mounds, stone piles, stone cairns, or platforms, come in many shapes and sizes. Some are tall structures, as much as six feet high or more (see Figure 1), sometimes with clearly delineated sides that resemble pillars, while others are low structures (see Figure 2), not always easily noticeable, and some are nearly covered by years of organics and debris. Often they are on top of, or associated with considerably larger boulders (see Figure 3). Some are built on or next to boulders (see Figure 4), others on ledge outcroppings, and yet others directly on the ground (see Figure

[87]Algonquian terminology provided by Tribal linguists Ella Sekatau (Narragansett) and Stephanie Fielding (Mohegan).

5). Some areas may include a considerable number of groupings, while in other places the groupings are singular or in small groups. Stone groupings can appear at first to be merely piles of stones from colonial field clearing, but they often have subtle features, such as the placement of a quartz stone or shaped stone in one or more places. Some groupings served to memorialize people, locations, or events.

Qusuqaniyutôk (Stone Rows)

Stone rows take many forms (see Figures 6 and 7). In some cases they are relatively short and do not enclose an area or connect to other stone rows, while in other cases they join to form enclosures, often with no entryway. Some are serpentine-shaped (irregular), while others are C-shaped. Stone rows are typically directional, often aligning with important sunrise and sunset points. Stone rows that form enclosures are often found on hilltops or with other ceremonial feature types creating astronomical alignments. Other ceremonial features may be present within the stone rows, including propped stones, Manitou stones, embrasures (a shallow U-shaped indentation in a stone row), and nests (a bowl-shaped depression). In some cases, ceremonial stone rows may have been colonially adapted to become utilitarian stone walls.

Kamuq (Enclosures)

Enclosures may be linear or curvilinear features, either with or without openings, which define a specific area, which may range in size from a few square feet (see Figure 8) to multiple acres. Usually enclosures are made of stones, but earthen mounds or ditches and natural features, such as water or a cliff, may also be boundaries. Stones that form the enclosures may vary in size, height, and spacing. Stone enclosures may have stones that are widely spaced apart, but which still define an area. An enclosure may contain multiple ceremonial stone groupings, single stones, or other significant features (see Figure 9).

Shwiwáhkuwi (U-Shaped Structures)

U-shaped structures, sometimes referred to as “prayer seats,” C-shaped or, horseshoe-shaped structures, have been identified as astronomical observation seats (see Figures 10, 11, and 12). Structure heights vary from one stone to multiple stones high. The width of the structure varies from two to four feet. These features are frequently located on hillsides or high spots that would have afforded good visibility of the sky in a cleared landscape. Some have sighting features, such as a notch, marker stone or prominent geographic feature, which direct an observer’s line-of-sight to a particular azimuth. Others are placed on a hillside facing up, so that the upward sloping hill creates an artificial horizon. In a number of areas multiple U-shaped structures are found within a quarter-mile radius. In others, they appear to be solitary, although this could be due to development encroachment or inadvertent destruction from logging.

Stone Arrangements

Occasionally, stones are found placed in a purposeful stone arrangement (see Figures 13, 14, and 15). Often these arrangements may be associated or aligned with some other ceremonial features.

Nunokôtôkansh (Effigies)

Effigies can have a great variety of forms, sizes, and placements. Effigies typically assume the shape of turtles, whales, bears, wolves, felines, frogs, birds, serpents, or other zoomorphic forms, including human. They may consist of a single-stone (see Figure 16), boulder(s), or of multiple stones whose natural shape suggests some zoomorphic being, which may have eyes, a mouth, nostrils, a tail, or, rarely, scales, fins or wings added by pecking or judicious flaking.

Turtle effigies, a recurrent form, are configured in multiple ways, for example, as large platform stone groupings (see Figure 17), as a combination of stone groupings and earthen mounds, as a petroform (an outline of the shape) and as large fragments of ledge that may have been restructured into an effigy feature by the Tribal Ancients (see Figure 18). Bird effigies are also represented in multiple ways. Sometimes, boulders or other prominent rocks represent effigy forms while others are made of multiple stones. Some wingspans can measure up to 40 feet. Serpentine rows, another recurrent form, initially presenting as stone rows, often have one end at a wetlands area, typically springs or streams, with a large stone representing a head at the other end, usually uphill from the water (see Figures 19-21).

There are also numerous instances of boulders, standing stones, or prominent bedrock protrusions which represent various faces. A few appear unmistakably human, while others may be avian, feline, canine, ursine (bear), or serpentine, among other animal forms.

There are also instances of effigies having been subtly enhanced. These enhancements have been placed so as to cast shadows on the surface of the effigy. The shadows cast may depict additional zoomorphic forms or detail (e.g. eyes) of the larger effigy figure. This occurs only at specific times when the sun or moon is at a particular position in the sky from which its rays strike the enhanced surface at an oblique angle. These shadows relate to time of day at a particular time of year. Effigy stones may be strong in Manitou.

Sunshnipámu (Marker Stones/Pointer Stones)

Marker or pointer stones indicate an astronomical direction or the direction of another ceremonial feature. They may be standing or lying on the ground. The shape and placement of a stone often indicates a desired viewing direction. Sometimes a contrasting inclusion, such as milky quartz, indicates a desired viewing direction as well. Marker or pointer stones may be found within other structures (see

Figure 22), such as in stone rows, while others stand alone (see Figure 23), but those with ceremonial function are nearly always found in conjunction with other ceremonial features (see Figure 24).

Manitou (Spirit) Stones

Everything is imbued with *manitou* (spirit). In some instances the presence of *manitou* can be sensed. Commonly today, low or modest height thin standing stones with single or double peaks are often referred to as *manitou* stones. These stones may have a stylized or simple human like effigy form (See Figures 25-27). Some stones are free standing, set in the ground. Some may have been overturned, while others may appear set on edge against, or in front of stone groupings or rows. Most often these stones will be positioned to honor the Spirit direction from which balance and harmony was or is being sought by the ceremony that placed them. Significant among the many directions are: *Sowwanánd* (south/warmth, happiness); *Kautantowwit's* house & fields (southwest/preferred direction within the afterlife); *Chekesuwánd (*west/ancestral realm); *Wunnanamèanit* (north/cold, hardship); and *Wompanánd* (east/dawn, enlightenment). Roger Williams' *A Key into the Language of America* refers to these directions as "Gods" or "deities." Culturally, they are often also referred to as "spirit winds." In Mohegan, the southwest "is indeed a sacred direction of origin for our people, it's where corn first came from, and the belief that this is the direction the spirit travels once it passes into the spirit world. This completes the circle of life."[88] These five directions may also be represented in other stone feature types (see Figure 28).

Sun catcapinumut (Split Boulders)

Split boulders are common in the New England landscape, being formed through natural causes or as a result of human intervention (see Figure 29). However, where the split has been filled with one or multiple stones, an alignment in a ceremonial area is suggested (see Figure 30).

Kesuk askuhwheteaen appuonk (Sky Watcher's Seat)

A sky watcher's seat is a place for observing celestial events. Some provide a vantage point for viewing the horizon, while others direct one's attention to the celestial sphere above. They may be boulders that have been contoured to the human body (see Figures 31-33), shaped simply (see Figure 34) or stone arrangements with a particular orientation (see Figure 35). All provide a place to sit or recline for observing the events of the sky.

[88] Thomas, Elaine. 2014. *Gift of Stones on the Ceremonial Stone Landscape.* Unpublished manuscript.

Cipusq (Propped Boulders)

Propped boulders have one side in contact with the ground and another propped away from the ground by one or more stones (see Figure 36). Propped boulders are often elevated at an angle away from the ground. Propped rocks vary considerably in size.

Perched Boulders

Perched boulders, also known as "balanced rocks," may be balanced on bedrock (see Figures 37 and 38) or may be supported by one or more smaller stones. Unlike propped boulders, a perched boulder is balanced on a localized point of contact near its center with the bedrock or smaller stones. Some perched boulders are stationary, having three or more points of contact that limit movement. Whether perched boulders were placed by human hand or as a result of natural forces, they are prominent and have thus become associated with ceremonial activities.

Tattahassun (Drum Rocks)

Some large perched stones may be pushed or rocked (see Figures 39 and 40). Others have worked footholds (see Figure 41). Some of these moveable stones are found on a fulcrum consisting of the bedrock beneath them, while others have been propped by smaller stones or worked protuberances of the bedrock. Some rocking boulders have been placed so that when relatively small forces are applied to them they will rock in such a way as to strike an outcropping of underlying bedrock. These rocking boulders, or drum rocks, add an element of sound to a ceremonial area, often audible through the bedrock, for a considerable distance.

Hassunnegk (Stone Caves/Chambers)

A *hassunnegk* is a ceremonial structure, often translated into American English as a "stone chamber" or "stone cave." There are hundreds of *hassunnegk* throughout New England. *Hassunnegk* are often found near a stream or pond, and have a variety of shapes and sizes. In some regions they are more often rectangular, while in others they are typically round. They may be below ground or above ground (see Figure 42). Most, but not all, are earth covered and appear cave-like from a distance (see Figures 43 and 44). Some have an entrance tunnel leading into the *hassunnegk*. Often, the entrance faces an astronomically important direction, and at certain times of year at sunrise or sunset light will stream directly into the entrance, illuminating aspects within the interior.

The domed *hassunnegk* is akin in shape to the basic non-stone *wetu* or *wigwam/wiqam* dwelling (*wicuw*) structure of most Algonquian Peoples. Construction of a sapling *wetu* is achieved when a circle of twelve or more saplings are embedded in the ground. They are then bent toward each other and the paired saplings across from each other are tied together. The arched and bound saplings create a domed

frame upon which is placed a cover of animal hide, tree bark, or woven grass mat which serves as the surrounding wall and ceiling. The domed shape of the ceiling in the domed stone *hassunnegk* is similar in appearance to Tribal Inuit snow block *igloos*. Some *hassunnegk* may be built like igloos, and in other *hassunnegk*, the stones may be layered progressively inward until a rounded/dome ceiling is achieved or the closure is sufficient to be capped with a flat stone (see Figure 45).

As with a traditional sapling built longhouse (*qunikamuq*), some *hassunnegk* are assembled with an elongated rectangular base. These *hassunnegk* with rectangular stone bases may have flat stone and/or earth ceilings.

Pesuponck is the name given a domed ceremonial sweat lodge. A *pesuponck* was either a free standing sapling structure that was hide covered, or as a *hassunnegk*, it was a stone structure that was embedded and fully soil covered in an earthen slope with its opening facing eastward and usually toward a water source.

The Mohegan of Connecticut referred to their *hassunnegk* as a *mucq* hole or wolf's den. *Mucq* is the shortened version of the Algonquian word *muckquashim* or wolf. Mohegans are known as the "Wolf People." Their oral history refers to the *makiawisug* or "little people" as the builders of these structures.

Sunqákash (Sun Daggers)

In some ceremonial landscapes, enclosed natural stone features have been enhanced to selectively block the sunlight, often forming a dagger of light that is then projected onto an interior stone surface (see Figure 46).

Ôkátôpsk (Shadow Casting Stones)

Stones were set in some ceremonial places to cast a shadow that marked important ceremonial times (see Figure 47). Often such shadow casting stones are found in conjunction with other features such as chambers or effigy figures (see Figure 48) suggesting that there was an important temporal component of the ceremonies associated with those features. The ceremonial shadows cast by these stones are seen only at specific times of the day or the year.

Áhkiyayhkôsuwôkansh (Earthworks)

Ceremonial stone landscapes sometimes include earthworks which may create elevated mounds or berms, or excavations that may take the form of ditches or pits (see Figures 49 and 50 [Moore's drawing described on page E6]). Earthworks may take the form of various ceremonial features, for example, effigies.

Other

This category is to accommodate features that do not fall within previously identified categories but which may be associated with ceremonial stone landscapes.

Description of Astronomical Features

It was through ceremonial stone landscape sites and the various features within them that the Ancients acknowledged the spirit of the Earth Mother and sought to gain harmony and balance with Her. Their recognition of the dialogue between Earth Mother and Her celestial relatives (sun, moon, stars, constellations, comets, meteors, etc.), which we contemporarily refer to as astronomical alignments, can be perceived through the Ancients' placement of additional stone features to join and enhance various natural features within these landscapes. When we acknowledge that the landscape speaks, we may identify these astronomical alignments.

Astronomical alignments investigated in the field include:

- Summer Harvest/Peak of Perseid Meteor Shower down to Kautantawit's House (Aug. 13)/New Year (May 1) Sunrise or Sunset;
- Oct. 31/Feb. 12 Sunrise or Sunset;
- *Mosk* (Bear) or *Paukunnawaw* (Medicine Person's Ladle or Spoon) (late summer/fall pre-dawn alignment);
- Summer Solstice Sunrise to Winter Solstice Sunset and Winter Solstice Sunrise to Summer Solstice Sunset;
- Summer Milky Way Path including its Celestial Otter with the Paths to Kautantawit's House;
- Winter Milky Way Path; and
- Other.

In addition to these individual astronomical alignments there are also a number of instances where some combinations of some sky-related features and complementary landscape features have been purposefully arranged so as to create a calendric system that can be used to identify widely separated parts of the year. The most frequently found examples involve the two solstices as observed from a single observation point. These extreme excursions of the rising and setting sun are very often separated by an equinox marker midway between them. In some places these nearly quarterly intervals are further divided by markers that denote May 1/August 13 and October 31/February 12, which apportion the year into eight intervals of roughly equal duration.[89] Occasionally, even finer intervals of just a few days

[89] Leonard, K. C. 2010. "Identification and analysis of a Late Woodland Ceremonial Site in Southeastern Massachusetts." *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society,* Vol. 71 (1). Also personal communication with Edwin C. Ballard.

duration that lead up to an important ceremony, e.g. August 13, are found that suggest an annual observance of the beginning and/or completion of specific preparations for the primary event.

Summer Harvest/Peak of Perseid Meteor Shower down to Kautantawit's House (Aug. 13)/ New Year (May 1) Sunrise or Sunset

In some ceremonial landscapes, the rising and/or setting Sun on August 13th[90] and May 1[91] are designated by ceremonial features and alignments with natural features. Both traditional ceremonial dates continue to be remembered, if not celebrated by Tribes of modern day New England. Colonial historical records document the celebration of these ancient ceremonies since the 17th century, according to the colonial calendar.

At the Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site, there is a configuration of three stones that point one's attention to a notch in the ridgeline of Pocumtuck Mountain/Burnt Hill on the distant horizon where the sun sets during what is presently the highest concentration of the Perseid meteor showers on August 13 (see Figure 51). The passage of the meteors from northeast to southwest at this time follows the path to Kautantawit's house in the southwest, where departed souls travel into the afterlife.

Oct. 31/Feb. 12 Sunrise or Sunset

In some ceremonial landscapes, the rising and/or setting Sun on October 31 and February 12[92] are designated by ceremonial features and alignments with natural features. Fieldwork in eastern Connecticut by Technology Integration Group, Inc. for four THPOs in consultation with the Army Corps of Engineers has pointed to the ceremonial significance of sunrise and sunset, which occurs on October 31 and February 12.

Mosk (Bear) or *Paukunnawaw* (Medicine Person's Ladle or Spoon) (late summer/fall pre-dawn alignment)

Within numerous ceremonial stone landscapes there are features that appear to be in conversation

[90] LaFantasie, 1988. *Op.cit.* p. 110, 113. Letters dated August 12, 1637 and August 20, 1637 detail preparations, celebration, and feasting by the Narragansett during two weeks in August during the season of the maize harvest.
[91] Pynchon established in around 1650 that the New Year began on or about May 1, (Gregorian). This was reported in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* Vol. X (1856), p. 166. The Pynchons had close contact with the Nipmucs, Agawams, and Pocumtucs on the central Connecticut River and it appears some of their papers fell into the hands of a Jesuit missionary at some point, including this referenced material. More recently, *The New England Native American Calendar* published for 15 years by the Algonquin Indian Arts and Culture Center in RI also started each year with May 1. Some of the calendars are still available at <www.nativeamericancalendar.com/past calendars.htm>.
[92] Leonard 2010. *Op cit.*

with the *Mosk* (Bear) or *Paukunnawaw* (Medicine Person's Ladle or Spoon) constellation, known more commonly now as the Big Dipper. Typically, there is a stone feature that acts as a seat that orients to another feature that acts as a foresight, creating an alignment at approximately 15 degrees on the compass. It is in this position that as the stars of the tail/handle sweep upward from the horizon they become perpendicular to it in the pre-dawn sky. Some 1000-1500 years ago these same events were being seen directly above the foresight stone features at 15 degrees. This event currently appears near the fall Equinox, but has advanced with precession.

At the Narragansett Reservation, these events can be viewed over two sets of stone groupings that draw one's attention to a placed stone, creating a line (artificial horizon) between two larger boulders. This arrangement delineates the viewscape for the events, with the end stars of Mosk/Paukunnawaw appearing perpendicular to the horizon (see Figure 52 simulation).

Summer Solstice Sunrise to Winter Solstice Sunset; Winter Solstice Sunrise to Summer Solstice Sunset

From the vantage point of a human being viewing the rising and setting of the Sun throughout the year, the Sun appears to move north and south along the eastern and western horizons. Today the Solstice refers to an event that occurs twice a year when the noonday Sun has reached its highest or lowest point. At the time we contemporarily refer to as Summer Solstice, the Sun rises and sets at its northern extreme visible to the naked eye. At this time, the Sun appears to rise and set at the same place for a number of days, appearing to 'stand still' on the horizon. Likewise, at Winter Solstice, the Sun appears to rise and set at its southern extreme on the eastern and western horizons. Within these Solstice periods, the Sun is visible for the longest time (Summer Solstice) and the shortest time (Winter Solstice). After reaching these two extremes, the Sun appears to begin its slow return to the opposite extreme. With a level horizon, the points of the Summer Solstice Sunrise and the Winter Solstice Sunset are in direct opposition. A ceremonial boulder may often mark these positions. Likewise, Winter Solstice Sunrise and Summer Solstice Sunset are opposite each other. With a non-level horizon, these alignments would change somewhat, depending upon the height of the horizon.

Summer Milky Way Path including its Celestial Otter with the Paths to Kautantawit's House

What is contemporarily referred to as the Milky Way was a prominent feature in the skies of the past, before light pollution limited its viewing. Our research has found that many ceremonial areas commemorate the two complementary aspects of the Milky Way as it passes directly overhead through the zenith[93] northeast to southwest in the summer and running northwest to southeast on winter nights (discussed next).

[93] The zenith is the point in the sky that is directly above the observer.

For our ancestors, during the summer, the Milky Way appeared directly overhead at some point during the night running northeast to southwest, horizon to horizon. This is a recurring event during summer nights and occurs earlier as fall approaches. In August this happens around midnight, and, in the current era, coincides with the highest concentration of the annual Perseid meteor shower. The majority of the meteors emerge from what is now known as the Perseus constellation in the northeast and appear to travel down the Milky Way to the southwest, the location of Kautantawit's House.

In the lore of many Tribes, the Otter is a dark cloud constellation in the middle of the Milky Way (see Figure 53). On a daily basis, the very center of the Celestial Otter follows the same path as the equinox sun through the sky. Rising due east, it reaches its highest point in the sky (see Figure 54), and then begins its descent to set due west. On its journey to set in the west, the Otter is referred to in Tribal lore as the Sunsetting Otter (*Wayont-nkeke, wayont* meaning sun setting, and *nkeke* meaning otter). The point in the sky where the Otter is at its highest point is significant and unique because all celestial objects observed passing through it rise at the point due east of the observer and set at the point that is due west. This is the only place in the sky where this is true. The colonial English corruption of a Rhode Island hill where this event was observed and honored in ancient times leaves us with the contemporary name Wionkheige (*Wayont-nkeke)* Hill.

Winter Milky Way Path

The winter Milky Way crosses the sky in a direction that is roughly perpendicular to the position of the summer Milky Way at the latitude of New England when it is seen crossing the zenith in summer. This complementary event occurs around midnight in December and coincides with the winter solstice period in the current era. The celestial cross pattern is frequently replicated in ceremonial features on boulders, often represented by the four opposing horizon positions (see Figure 55).

At the Narragansett Reservation this crossing is represented by two straight lines, delineated by series of several stone groupings that cross on a prominent hilltop near the Perry Cemetery. One terminates with a large, prominent boulder, perched on a hillside that slopes up to the southeast. As an observer at the base of the hill, the boulder is silhouetted against the Milky Way.

Other

There may be relationships of stone features that appear significant but that do not fit the astronomical categories listed above. There may also be features whose relationship is not yet known but may become known in the future. This category is to accommodate features that do not fall within the previously identified alignments but which may be associated with celestial phenomena or topographical features.

Bounds of the Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites

Commercial and residential development as well as the limitations of access to private lands impacts the ability to determine the bounds of ceremonial landscape sites. Through continued research, documentation, including mapping, and preservation of extant features and landscape sites may provide data from which a better understanding of the nature and characteristics of its original bounds can be developed. At this time, the bounds are determined when mapping reveals no further features are within sight of each other.

Property Type Significance

For the purposes of this document, the terms "sacred sites," "traditional cultural places," "traditional cultural properties"[94] and properties "of cultural and religious significance"[95] to Tribes are used synonymously. The ceremonial stone landscape sites and districts of the Northeast are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places through their association with traditional Tribal culture. To be eligible these sites shall retain their integrity of location, setting, feeling and association. They may exhibit eligibilities variously under the **Criteria A, B, C, and D** as established by the National Register.

These sites and districts are eligible under **Criterion A** because of their association with the broad overarching pattern of the Tribal system of beliefs, practices, and traditions regarding our relationship with spiritual forces. These beliefs and practices became a primary concern and source of contention with the early English colonists. A continuing conflict over these issues negatively influenced a broad pattern of social attitudes and their development among the Tribal people and the English since the time of European contact. Even in face of this conflict, Tribal people retained ties to these places.

Certain sites are eligible under **Criterion B** because they contain stone groupings, historically called "donation piles," that can be directly associated with persons of Tribal significance and may be recognized as such in colonial historical records. In the Tribal tradition, the place where the spirit of a person was last connected to the body may be honored by a prayer spoken into a stone, which is placed upon a commemorative stone grouping. The prayer spoken into the stone is to call forth balance and harmony between the deceased individual and the Earth Mother. Other sites under Criterion B may mark a place where a person performed significant ceremonial activity, for example, Reverend Mayhew's

[94] Parker, P. L. (editor). 1993. *Traditional Cultural Properties: What You Do and How We Think*, CRM Special Issue. Washington DC: National Park Service.
[95] National Historic Preservation Act 16 U.S.C. 470 (1966) (36 CFR 80.4 (b))

Memorial on Martha's Vineyard,[96] which marks "the place by the wayside" where he shared a sermon for the last time before leaving Martha's Vineyard.

Ceremonial sites are eligible under **Criterion C** because the Ceremonial Stone Landscape Site is a significant and distinguishable entity. Extant stone groupings and other features present within these landscapes not only embody examples across a broad spectrum of traditional types of stonework, but remain in place, harmonized with the elemental essence of the Tribal cosmos, the earth, sky and waters. Further, a number of these sites have features that are crafted to resemble a wide variety of zoomorphic forms, both animal and human. Some of these features may represent a significant level of artistic achievement to a contemporary audience, despite the fact that the ancient people who created these features intended a ceremonial, rather than artistic value.

They are eligible under **Criterion D** because analyses of these sites and districts have already yielded previously unknown and/or lost information regarding the nature of the Tribal people's perceived relationship to the cosmos. Subsequent discovery of additional sites and the use of enhanced analytic techniques at known sites are likely to yield new information about the ancient culture of this region, and more particularly about its development through time as methods of dating these features are refined.

Integrity/Loss of Context

Since these ceremonial stone landscape sites and districts normally consist of some number of ceremonial stone features arranged in harmony with certain natural landscape features and/or astronomical events, a site or district may retain its integrity even though one or more of its components have been damaged. For example, while an effigy figure may have lost its original likeness to a specific animal type and now appears only vaguely zoomorphic, its original placement remains fixed, and the effigy's deterioration may not alter the site's overall integrity. Another frequently encountered and potentially more serious issue is when a highway, power or pipe line is found to have been cut directly through a site. Minor to considerable damage including loss of features is often the result. Destruction of features is most often encountered in suburban or urban areas, although some instances are found where farmsteads have nearly obliterated sites. However, a few remaining features, properly arranged, may be sufficient to establish a site. By definition, sufficient context must have been present for the site

[96] Banks, Charles Edward. 1911. "The History of Martha's Vineyard." Vol. 1, 227-230. Published Boston, MA. Mayhew's memorial is described as a hallowed spot where Mayhew was last seen, and Tribal people created a *Káhtôquwuk* (Stone Grouping) to honor his memory. The Martha's Vineyard Chapter, DAR, of Edgartown, added a bronze plaque to this *Káhtôquwuk* in 1901.

to have been first identified. While the final determination of integrity shall be made by Tribal authority, in most cases, the non-impacted portions of compromised sites would remain eligible for nomination.

Property Type Registration Process and Requirements

For Ceremonial Stone Landscape Sites and Ceremonial Stone Landscape Districts with their associated components to be eligible for nomination under this cover they shall be certified by the participating Tribal Historic Preservation Officer(s) or Authorized Tribal Authority/authorities (ATA) through the following process:

1) Tribal guidance is imperative throughout the process of identifying and nominating sites or districts for the National Register under this Multiple Properties Listing: Ceremonial Stone Landscapes of the Northeast. If non-Tribal researchers/landholders are involved, a formal, signed collaborative relationship shall be established with the participating federally recognized Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) or authorized Tribal authorities (ATAs).

2) With one or more THPOs or ATAs, and with landowner permission, arrange for initial walkover(s) of the potential ceremonial stone landscape. The purpose of initial walkover(s) is to determine whether a Tribal ceremonial stone landscape site exists.

3) If ceremonial landscape features are identified upon initial walkover(s), indicating the need for in-depth recording of a ceremonial landscape site, the THPOs or ATAs shall require a written agreement with any other non-Tribal researchers/landholders. This agreement shall pertain to information exchange as well as details of the projected research necessary to nominate the site.

4) In consultation with one or more THPOs or ATAs, initiate, arrange, or conduct a survey to document the ceremonial stone landscape site's features. Ceremonial landscape researchers/National Register of Historic Places applicants will identify the feature types through Tribal consultation and by referring to the feature type descriptions and the worksheet as presented in this document (see page F21). The worksheet enables an at-a-glance summary of the type and number of ceremonial landscape features located at a site.

As part of the survey process, abutters and area landholders should be contacted and access to their properties be requested in order to evaluate and establish the bounds, pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, of the ceremonial stone landscape site and when such permission is granted, the surveys should include these properties. Detailed records are to be kept of accurate GPS points, photographs, compass readings, field note descriptions, and

drawings.

5) After ceremonial features have been identified and mapped, any ceremonial astronomical alignments should be identified by referring to astronomical alignment descriptions as presented in this document and be verified through Tribal consultation. This step may require returning to the site or district to ground-truth and sky-truth the alignment events.

6) Historical research into land use is an essential step in the nomination process. Much of the land in the Northeast was farmed at one time and old deeds and surveys can provide valuable information that can assist in determining if certain stone structures were recently created as property bounds, if they have no correspondence to any known historical property bound, or if they likely existed prior to the land's original division and were subsequently used by a surveyor as a convenient, preexisting bound. Further, Tribal oral history often provides information that precedes European written documentation, and as much understanding as can be developed of the time period before European occupation is essential.

7) Potential ceremonial stone landscapes that lie in close proximity to, or contain historic cellar holes require careful examination in order to verify their nature. In some cases farmsteads were built on, or immediately adjacent to ceremonial stone landscapes and colonists/farmers took advantage of what was in place. For example, we find a number of ceremonial stone rows that were subsequently used as colonial stone walls and sometimes used as property boundaries. Such areas need to be assessed from both perspectives. In special cases, as discussed above, historical records may point to people of Tribal descent living as stewards within the ceremonial stone landscape site.

8) Through comprehensive mapping of the surrounding area, the bounds of the ceremonial stone landscape site are determined. Based on the survey, analysis of alignments is conducted relative to any other known ceremonial stone landscape sites in the area in order to determine whether the site is part of a ceremonial stone landscape district.

9) Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, Tribes have the right to determine what is of cultural and/or religious significance to them. Analysis and synthesis integrates information from Tribal oral history, deed research, archaeological information, and information gained from the mapping of the site, including astronomical alignments. Based on the results of the survey, historical documentation, and evaluation of the features that comprise the site and possible district(s), a letter of certification from the participating THPOs or ATAs is

required to verify the ceremonial stone landscape prior to submission for consideration by the National Register of Historic Places under this multiple property listing.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Indigenous American Ceremonial Stone Landscapes of the Northeast
Name of multiple listing

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number F Page 22

Orientation

Feature Type / Total Orientation Count	Total Feature Type Count	Celestial Otter/ True North-South	North	South	Equinox Sunrise & Sunset/True East-West	Equinox Sunrise (East)	Equinox Sunset (West)	Summer Solstice Sunrise/ Winter Solstice Sunset	Summer Solstice Sunrise	Winter Solstice Sunset	Winter Solstice Sunrise/ Summer Solstice Sunset	Winter Solstice Sunrise	Summer Solstice Sunset	Mosk/Paukunnawaw (fall pre-dawn alignment)	Aug. 13/May 1 Sunrise	Aug. 13/May 1 Sunset	Oct. 31/Feb. 12 Sunrise	Oct. 31/Feb. 12 Sunset	Summer Milky Way Path	Winter Milky Way Path	Other/None
Káhtôquwuk (Stone Groupings)																					
Qusuqaniyutôk (Stone Rows)																					
Kamuq (Enclosures)																					
Shwiwáhkuwi (U-Shaped Structures)																					
Stone Arrangements																					
Nunokôtôkansh (Effigies)																					
Sun catcapinumut (Split Boulders)																					
Kesuk askuhwheteaen appuonk (Sky Watcher's Seat)																					
Cipusq (Propped Boulders)																					
Perched Boulders																					
Tattahassun (Drum Rocks)																					
Sunshnipámu (Marker Stones)																					
manitou (Spirit) Stones																					
Hassunnegk (Stone Caves/Chambers)																					
Ôkátôpsk (Shadow Casting Stones)																					
Sunqákash (Sun Daggers)																					
Áhkiyayhkôsuwôkansh (Earthworks)																					
Other																					

Geographical Data

The geography of the ceremonial stone landscape tradition is identifiable in North America from coast to coast, where ceremonial stone landscape sites have been a cultural component of Tribal life. This document focuses on the Northeast, where Tribal representatives have come together with shared knowledge about the historical and present importance of these ceremonial stone landscapes to Tribal peoples. This submission applies to the area contemporarily known as the Northeastern United States, including Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont, and submerged off shore sites. This submission may be useful in other states where properties of religious and cultural significance to Tribes include ceremonial stone landscapes.

Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This Multiple Properties Listing is the product of many years of research, collaboration, and field work under the guidance of Tribal Historic Preservation Offices in southern New England. It is under section 101(c) of the National Historic Preservation Act which states that programs and methods for the preservation of Tribal historic properties "shall be developed in such a manner as to ensure that tribal values are taken into account," and these programs "may vary in scope, as determined by each tribe's chief governing authority" and traditions.

One ceremonial stone landscape site has previously been determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places: the Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Site. The Tribal Historic Preservation Offices of the Narragansett Indian Tribe, the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah), and the Mashpee Wampanoag, three federally recognized tribes of southeastern New England offered evidence and testimony in 2007 that prompted the National Register of Historic Places to expand the previously existing definitions of Traditional Cultural Properties to include "Traditional Cultural Place" and culminated in a Determination of Eligibility for the Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site. The landscape had spoken and yielded identification of more than 80 other ceremonial landscapes in the area surrounding and including the Turners Falls Sacred Ceremonial Hill Site.

The FCC followed with a determination of eligibility of a Discontiguous Historic District in Upton, MA, in 2011, which included the ceremonial stone landscape at Pratt Hill and the Upton Chamber, based on the FCC requested GPS mapping work of archaeologist Eric Metzger of the archaeological firm John Milner Associates. This was completed with the advice and guidance of the three federally recognized tribes. This documentation made clear that the ceremonial stones on Pratt Hill were a cultural landscape that was important to the religious and cultural practices of the three Tribes.

In 2011-2012, an extensive ancient Tribal ceremonial complex known as Nipsachuck[97] in northern Rhode Island was surveyed as part of the National Park Service funded Battlefield Mapping

[97] The Nipsachuck region, partially because of its predictability for the presence of Tribal people at certain ceremonial times of the year, was the place of historic assaults against Tribal people by Colonial militia in 1675 and 1676. August 1-2, 1675 by the Julian calendar (August 12-13 by today's Gregorian calendar)[98] was and is the time of the annual highest concentration of the Perseid Meteor Shower. It was and is a time of ceremonies for many New England Tribes. Colonial records indicate that on August 1, 1675, leading a band of refugees from the Pocassett Swamp Fight, Weetamoo, Saunk Squaw (Woman Chief) of the Pocassett, and Metacom (King Philip), Sachem of the Pokanoket, were travelling with a small band of defenders to Nipsachuck. As women and children picked peas in the early morning light, they were assaulted by a Massachusetts Bay Colonial militia. Metacom's defenders returned fire. Although many escaped, some Tribal people died that day. A year later, in

Project in partnership with the RI State Historic Preservation Office, NITHPO, and the Blackstone Valley Historical Society. The preliminary report acknowledged certain elements of a ceremonial stone landscape and recommended further investigation of the greater landscape before submitting the final report.

In 2013 a number of Tribal ceremonial stone landscapes were identified for protection and preservation by Technology Integration Group, Inc. (TIG) under the cultural guidance of the Mashantucket Pequot, Mohegan, Wampanoag of Gay Head (Aquinnah), and Narragansett, four federally recognized tribes in southern New England. Under Army Corps permits, ceremonial stone landscapes with multiple feature types were identified in the Connecticut towns of Brooklyn, Thompson, and Putnam through work contracted by Connecticut Light and Power,[99] under the New England East-West Solution Interstate Reliability Project. In North Smithfield, Rhode Island, north of the Nipsachuck Battlefield Mapping area, an expansive ceremonial stone landscape that may represent a discontiguous historic ceremonial landscape was identified. Under THPO guidance, contracts with National Grid,[100] on the same New England East-West Solution Interstate Reliability Project, and the Rhode Island Air National Guard, resulted in the mapping of a ceremonial landscape in the Black Plain Hill area. Also under THPO guidance, TIG was contracted by the Town of Wayland, Massachusetts to map two ceremonial stone landscapes. Several former TIG consultants founded the research collective Ceremonial Landscapes Research, (CLR) LLC, in 2014, dedicated to continuing this work. CLR identified a ceremonial stone landscape in Hampden, MA under National Grid[101] contracts with the guidance of the four federally recognized tribes.

This recent work has begun to establish the collaborative methodology for identification of ceremonial landscapes, as outlined in Section F. The lists of feature type descriptions and astronomical alignments defined in this listing have been developed through this recent, ongoing collaborative

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1676, a Connecticut militia ambushed an estimated 300 encamped Narragansett refugees who were led by Elder Niantic-Narragansett Saunk Squaw Quaiapin. More than 170 were massacred at the base of Cat Hill and in the Mattity Swamp. On the opposite shore, along the base of Black Plain Hill, there is a dense array of ceremonial stone features and effigies. This place of ancient ceremony, devoted to assisting spirit passage into the afterlife, was now and would increasingly become a place of tragedy.

[98] The Gregorian calendar was adopted in Continental Europe in 1582, modifying the Julian calendar's scheme of leap years so that each calendar year is 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes 12 seconds. In the Gregorian calendar, every four years is a Leap Year, except for evenly numbered centuries. Evenly numbered centuries divisible by 400 are Leap Years.

[99] Now known as Eversource.

[100] Now known as Eversource.

[101] Now known as Eversource.

ceremonial stone landscape identification, with input from Tribal elders and Tribal linguistic experts. This Multiple Property Listing intends to institute these methods for the identification and evaluation of these valuable and highly endangered cultural resources.

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J. Photographs and Images



Figure 1: Stone Grouping Example A



Figure 2: Stone Grouping Example B



Figure 3: Stone Grouping Example C



Figure 4: Stone Grouping Example D



Figure 5: Stone Grouping Example E



Figure 6: Stone Row Example A



Figure 7: Stone Row Example B



Figure 8: Enclosure Example A

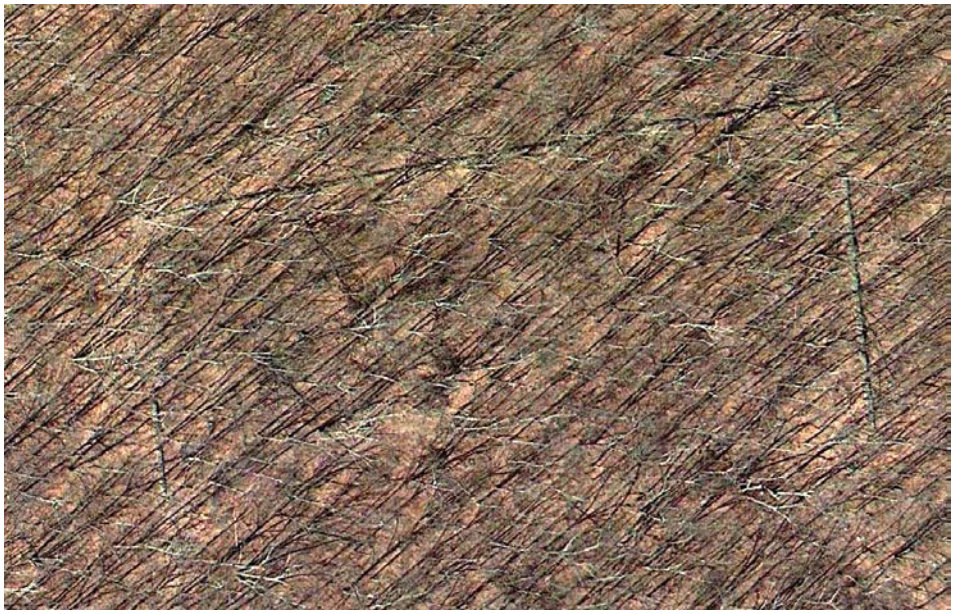


Figure 9: Enclosure Example B (encloses over 200 stone features)



Figure 10: U-Shaped Structure Example A



Figure 11: U-Shaped Structure Example B



Figure 12: U-Shaped Structure Example C



Figure 13: Stone Arrangement Example A



Figure 14: Stone Arrangement Example B



Figure 15: Stone Arrangement Example C



Figure 16: Effigy Example A



Figure 17: Effigy Example B (Turtle Effigy)



Figure 18: Effigy Example C (Turtle Effigy)



Figure 19: Effigy Example D (Serpentine Row)



Figure 20: Effigy Example E (Serpentine Row)



Figure 21: Effigy Example F (Serpentine Row)



Figure 22: Marker Stone Example A



Figure 23: Marker Stone Example B



Figure 24: Marker Stone Example C


Figure 25: *manitou* Stone Example A


Figure 26: *manitou* Stone Example B


Figure 27: *manitou* Stone Example C



Figure 28: Stone Feature representing 5 directions



Figure 29: Split Boulder Example A



Figure 30: Split Boulder Example B



Figure 31: Sky Watcher's Seat Example A View 1



Figure 32: Sky Watcher's Seat Example A View 2



Figure 33: Sky Watcher's Seat Example B



Figure 34: Sky Watcher's Seat Example C (relates to the shadow casting stone in Figure 46)



Figure 35: Sky Watcher’s Seat Example D



Figure 36: Propped Boulder Example



Figure 37: Perched Boulder Example A



Figure 38: Perched Boulder Example B

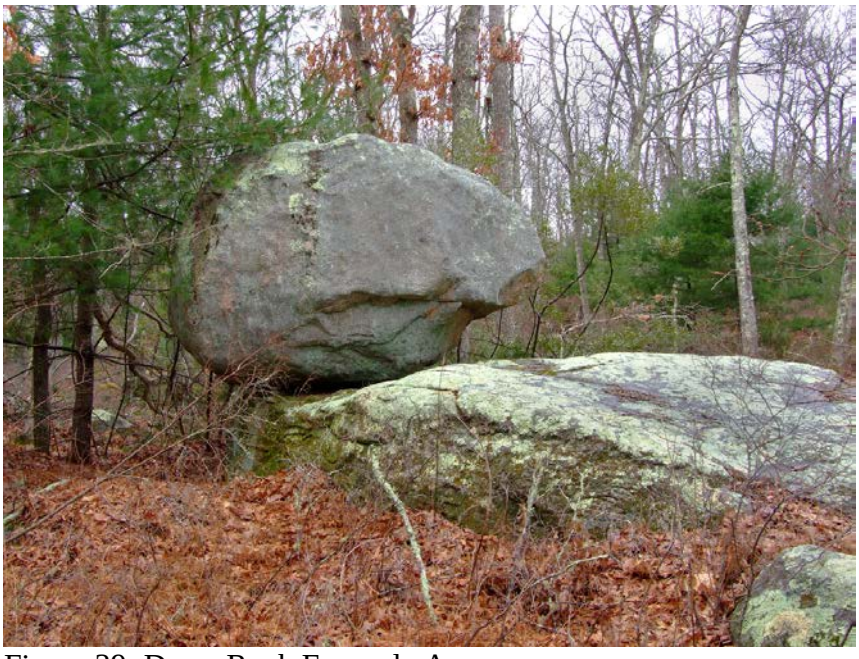


Figure 39: Drum Rock Example A



Figure 40: Drum Rock Example B



Figure 41: Drum Rock Example C



Figure 42: *Hassunnegk* Example A



Figure 43: *Hassunnegk* Example B



Figure 44: *Hassunnegk* Example C



Figure 45: *Hassunnegk* Example D (interior view)

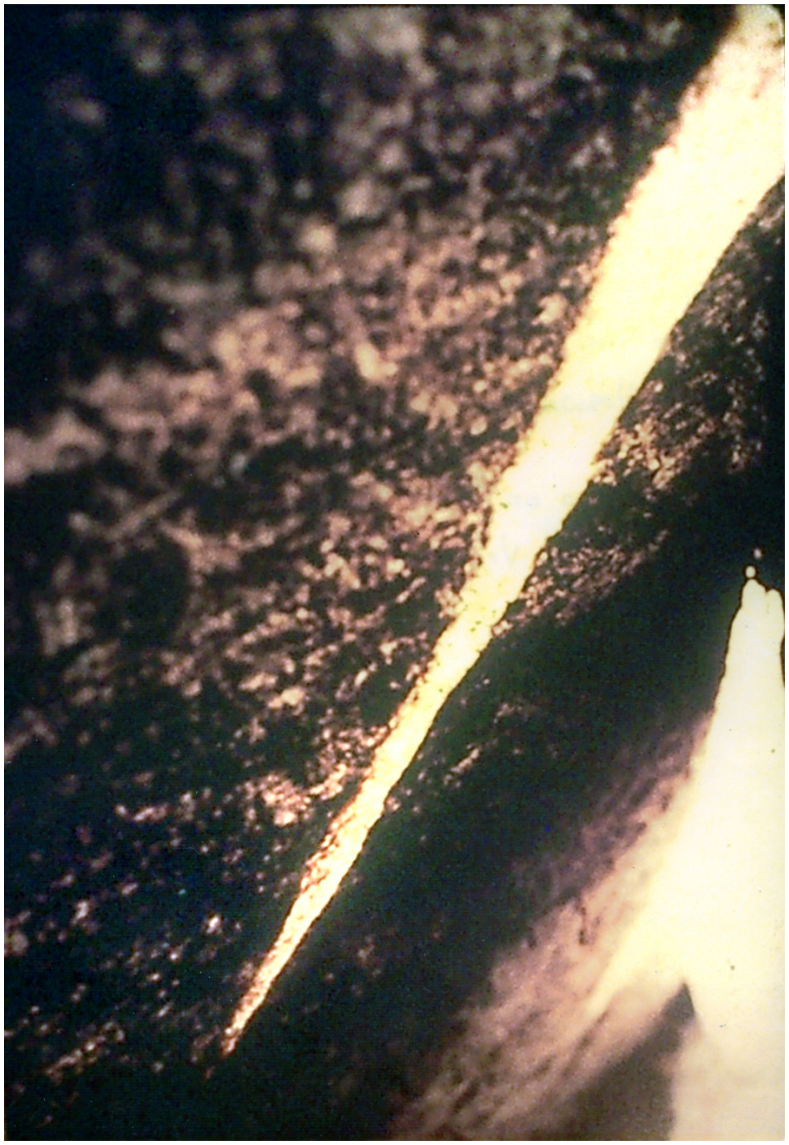


Figure 46: Sun Dagger Example



Figure 47: Shadow Casting Stone Example A



Figure 48: Shadow Casting Stone Example B



Figure 49: Earthworks Example A

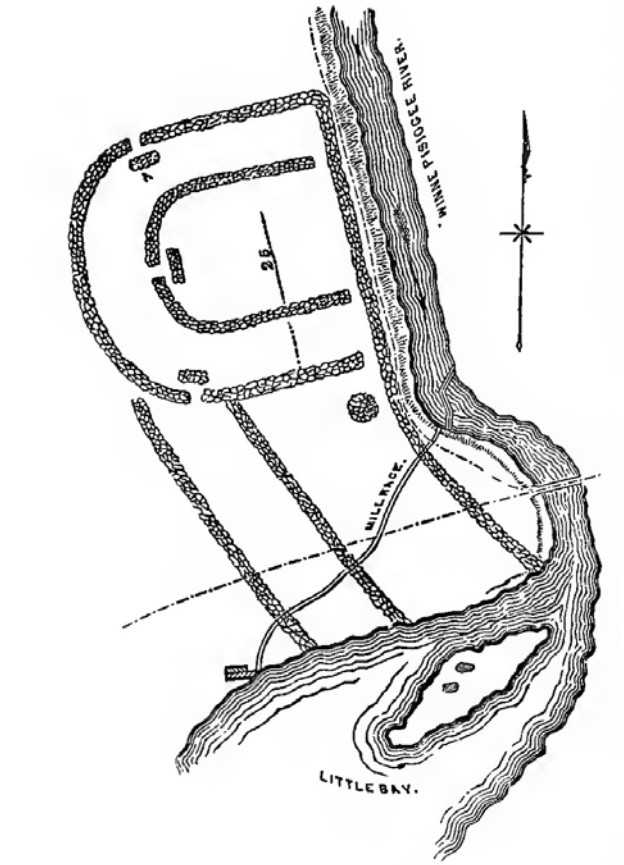


Figure 50: Earthworks Example B



Figure 51: Aug. 13 sunset in the ridgeline of Pocumtuck Mountain

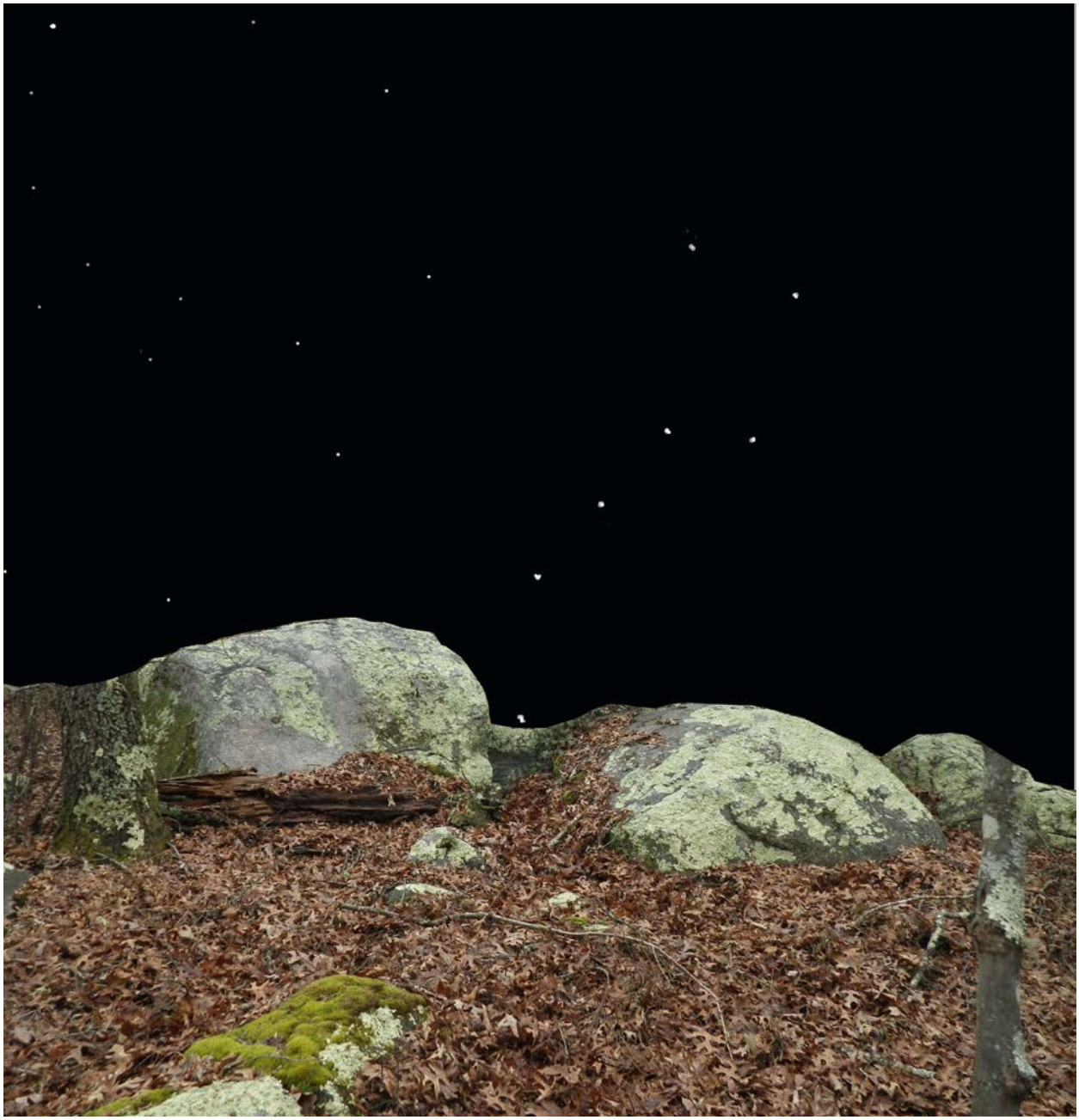


Figure 52: Simulation of the *Mosk* (Bear) or *Paukunnawaw* (Medicine Person's Ladle or Spoon) alignment in late summer/fall

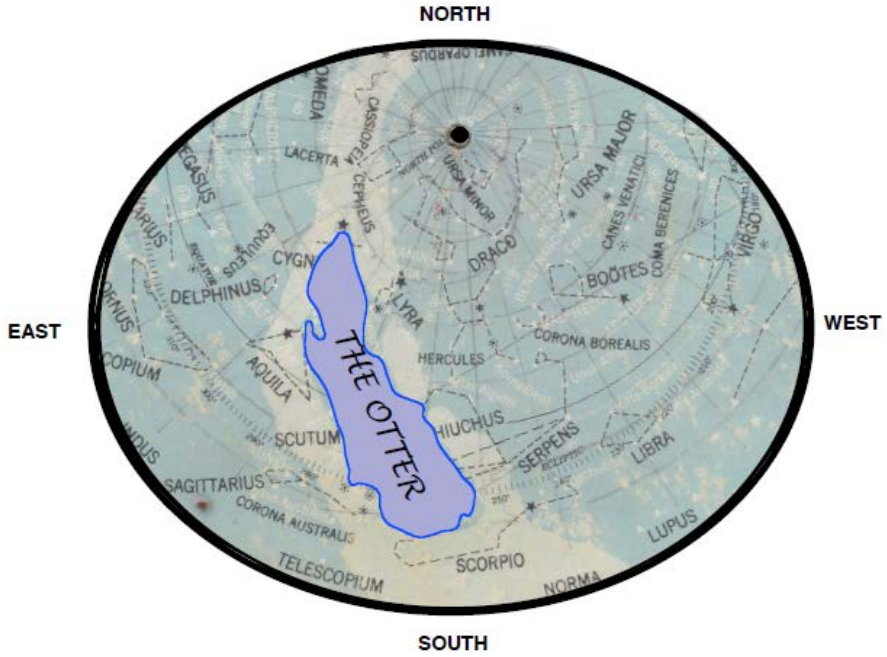


Figure 53: The Otter cloud constellation in the Milky Way

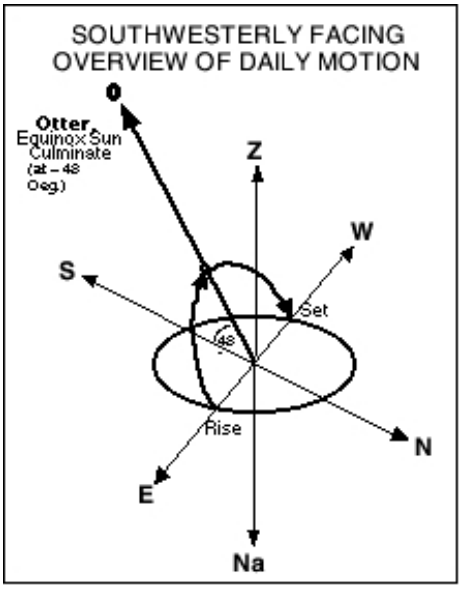


Figure 54: The Otter at its highest point in the sky



Figure 55: Representation of celestial cross pattern

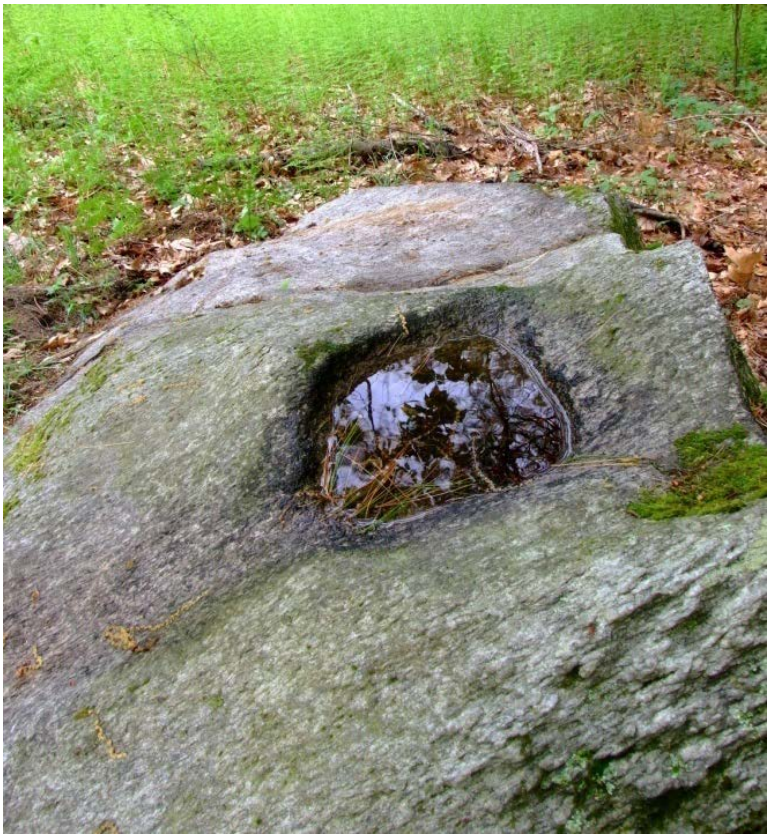


Figure 56: Example of a feature including a ceremonial cavity for holding water