TRANSCANADA HYDRO NORTHEAST INC.

ILP Study 33
Traditional Cultural Properties Study

Study Report

In support of Federal Energy Regulatory Commission Relicensing of:

Wilder Hydroelectric Project (FERC Project No. 1892-026)
Bellows Falls Hydroelectric Project (FERC Project No. 1855-045)
Vernon Hydroelectric Project (FERC Project No. 1904-073)

Prepared for

TransCanada Hydro Northeast Inc.
4 Park Street, Suite 402
Concord, NH 03301

Prepared by

Willamette Cultural Resources Associates, LTD.
2827 NE MLK Blvd
Portland, OR 97212

and

Normandeau Associates, Inc.
25 Nashua Road
Bedford, NH 03110

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ACHP	Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
APE	Area of Potential Effects
FERC	Federal Energy Regulatory Commission
ILP	Integrated Licensing Process
NITHPO	Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office
PAD	Pre-Application Document
RSP	Revised Study Plan
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
TCP	Traditional Cultural Property
THPO	Tribal Historic Preservation Office
TransCanada	TransCanada Hydro Northeast Inc.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Willamette Cultural Resources Associates. Ltd. (WillametteCRA) has prepared this report as part of ILP Study 33 – Cultural and Historic Resources Study to assist TransCanada Hydro Northeast Inc. (TransCanada) in identifying possible Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) for the Wilder, Bellow Falls, and Vernon Hydroelectric Projects (Projects) along the Connecticut River (Figure 1).

TransCanada is presently in the process of relicensing these projects with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) and this research is being undertaken to address FERC requirements. In their comments on the project Pre-Application Documents (PADs), FERC, the Vermont and New Hampshire State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs), and The Nolumbeka Project requested additional information about cultural resource studies that have been or will be conducted at the Vernon, Bellows Falls, and Wilder projects as part of the overall FERC relicensing process.

A meeting was held on June 7, 2013, with those and other interested parties to discuss the proposed cultural resources study plan, and yielded clarification and additional information about those requests. Further clarification was provided through additional meetings and/or conference calls with stakeholders, including the Narragansett Indian Tribal Preservation Office (NITHPO), SHPOs; and comments provided by the Vermont SHPO and Nolumbeka Project to FERC by July 15, 2013 on the revised proposed study plan. The final revised study plan filed August 14, 2013 included applicable modifications based on those comments and clarifications.

The Area of Potential Effect (APE) for the Wilder, Bellows Falls, and Vernon projects (Figure 1) is within the traditional homelands of numerous Native American Tribal groups. The APE is defined as the area within the FERC Project Boundary owned in fee simple by TransCanada and 10 meters, or about 33 feet of land inland from the top of bank in areas along the Connecticut River and affected portions of tributaries where TransCanada holds flowage rights.

The following groups have been notified of the undertaking: Abenaki Nation of Missisquoi, Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook (Abenaki People), Koasek Traditional Band of the Sovereign Abenaki Nation, the Koasek Traditional Abenaki of the KOAS, the Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island, and the Nolumbeka Project of Massachusetts. The Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island was a participant in the initial consultation efforts, as they today represent the descendants of Tribal members whose homeland included "tribal boundaries encompassed all of what is now Rhode Island…[and]…parts of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and a small area of southeastern Maine." (Herndon and Sekatu 1997:435). The objective of this report was to review existing literature and provide baseline information that could be used in consultation and coordination with tribes to identify TCPs and Historic Properties of Cultural and Religious Significance to Indian Tribes. As part of the initial study plan, in coordination with Tribal representatives, interviews with Tribal members were to have been carried

out. Based on these interviews, field visits could have been coordinated. However, none of the Tribes and stakeholders contacted chose to participate at the time this report was completed, so no interviews or site visits occurred.

2.0 HISTORIC PROPERTIES OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE TO INDIAN TRIBES

The implementing regulations of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act "require[s] the agency official to consult with any Indian Tribe…that attaches religious and cultural significance to historic properties that may be affected by the undertaking" (36CFR800.2.c.2.ii) and to identify these properties. For this undertaking, the lead federal agency is the FERC. Historic properties should meet one or more of the criteria set forth in National Register Bulletin 38 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Parker and King, 1998). National Register Bulletin 38 guidelines are "meant to supplement, not substitute for, more specific guidelines, such as those used by…Indian Tribes with respect to their own lands and programs" (Parker and King 1998:3).

Additionally, the effects of ethnocentrism must be avoided: "It is vital to evaluate properties thought to have traditional cultural significance from the standpoint of those who may ascribe such significance to them, whatever one's own perception of them, based on one's own cultural values, may be" (Parker and King 1998:4). Only the affected community has the heritage to establish how, why, and what constitutes such a property, because the "traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices" (Parker and King 1998:1). The tribes are entitled by law and supporting guidelines to provide their own definition of what constitutes a TCP (following guidance from documents such as National Register Bulletin 38).

The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) acknowledges the importance of historic properties of religious and cultural significance to Indian Tribes, and on November 23, 2011, issued the "Native American Traditional Cultural Landscapes Action Plan." The ACHP is working with Tribes, Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (THPOs), SHPOs, and others to develop guidance for the "recognition and protection of Native American traditional cultural landscapes."

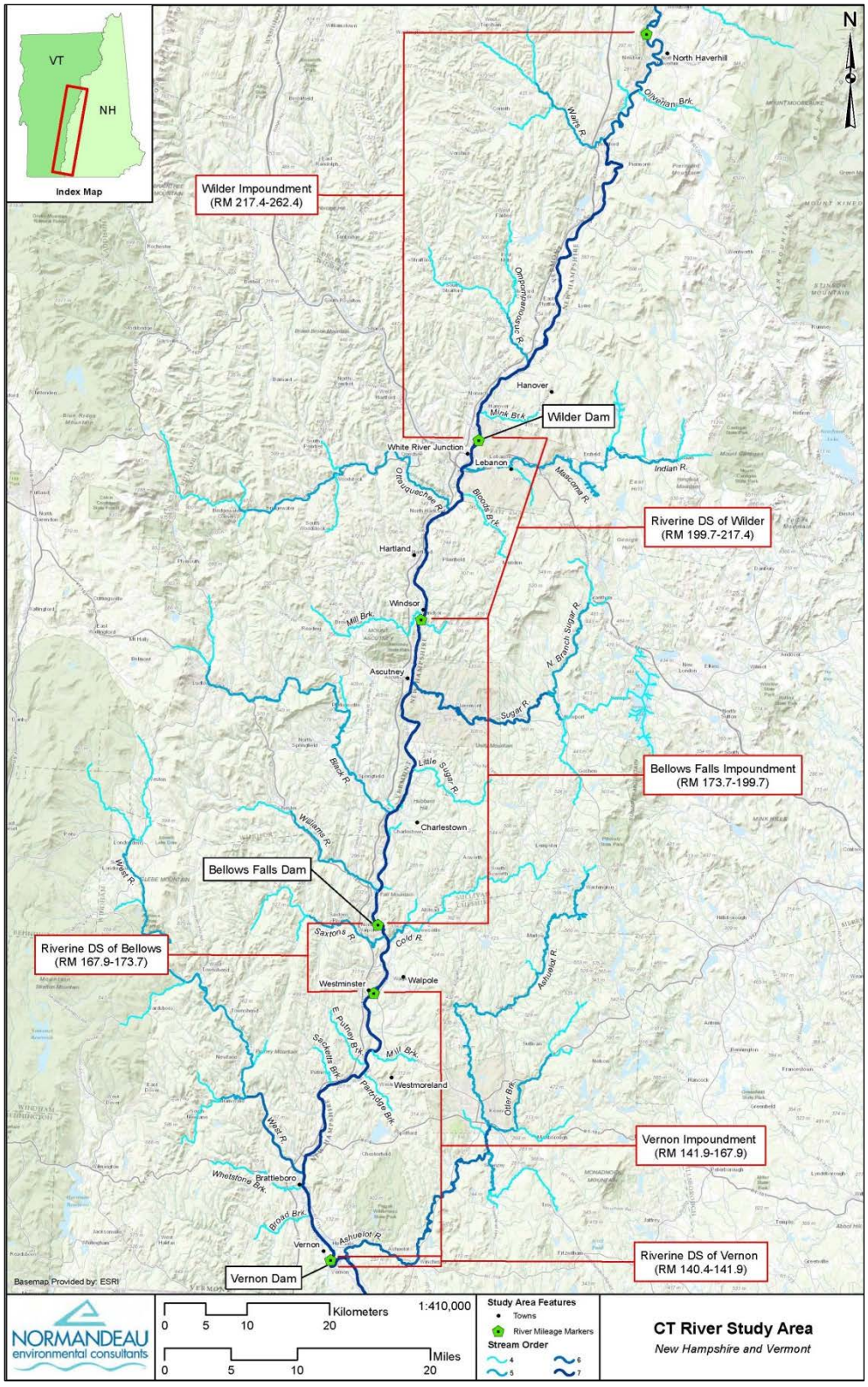

Figure 1. Project location map.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research

The existing literature was reviewed for information pertaining to the study area and to provide cultural context. This report required review of literature and archival information, including but not limited to dozens of maps of the project areas and APE (defined as thirty feet from the slope of the shoreline); peer-reviewed academic texts; archaeological site forms; historical records; journal entries of early explorers and colonists; and documents at historical societies in the project region. This was done to identify historical, ethnographic, and cultural properties as they relate to the affected tribes and their ties to the APE of the three projects. TCP studies often extend well outside the APE in order to provide context for activities that took place within the APE. For many traditional communities, activities within a limited area can only be understood within a broader cultural context. Archaeological surveys also typically provide a regional context.

The research and review were thorough, but not exhaustive, and made an effort to maximize the potential of primary sources and provide samples of data available. The identification of potentially significant TCPs within and adjacent to the APE requires consultation with the appropriate cultural resource representatives from the affected tribes, and should the Tribes choose, could then coordinate interviews and field visits by individual Tribal members and traditional practitioners.

The background research and literature review should not be construed as a substitute for consultation with affected tribes and solicitation of their input. Tribal members may perceive the entire landscape as one interconnected entity and seamlessly incorporate oral history with natural features with resource use and spirituality. The table in this report focuses on examples of the place names and traditional use areas of the tribes in and downstream of the project area that are available in the literature. These represent those available in published literature, while the Tribal communities are best positioned to identify these places in greater detail, should they so choose.

It is important to emphasize that there are no known ethnographic works related to the tribes of the Connecticut Valley, and that most of the existing literature is historic in nature and does not predate the eighteenth century (Conkey et al. 1978:177; Day 1978:159). Furthermore, “There are apparently no records in existence which discuss the day-to-day relationships between the Northfield inhabitants and the local Indians” (Thomas 1973:30), and “less than ten percent of the references for the 1978 *Northeast Handbook* have to do with ethnology” (Bourque 1989:257; Stewart-Smith 1998:6). The absence of ethnographic research makes identification of TCPs difficult, though there is substantial historical and archaeological material available from which ethnographic information may be abstracted to identify categories of historic properties that could be considered TCPs. Therefore, ethnography of the Connecticut River tribes and bands has been reconstructed primarily through contact-period writings of French and English sources. Some contributions have been made regarding TCPs in the context of compliance work, such as the Determination of Eligibility of Turner Falls (National

Park Service 2007), but this is exceptional. Ethnographic data are therefore derived from a limited number of sources because many groups were impacted by epidemics and wars prior to the advent of systematic ethnographic research.

3.2 Tribal Consultation

TransCanada and FERC have made numerous attempts since initiation of the relicensing process to encourage Tribes to participate in the TCP study and archaeological investigations, and consult with Tribes on the study. To date no Tribes or Tribal representatives have participated in development of this report or field investigations. A chronology and summary of Tribal communications is provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of Tribal communications.

Date	Source	Communication with:	Type of Communication
10/31/12	TransCanada (TC)	Abenaki Nation of Missisquoi; Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook Abenaki People; Koasek Traditional Abenaki of the KOAS; Koasek Tradtional Band of the Sovereign Abenaki Nation	Identification as potentially interested parties and/or state-recognized Tribes. Copy of Notices of Intent and notification of PAD availability.
11/08/12	FERC	Mashpee Wamponoag Tribe	Solicitation of interest letter to Tribe for TransCanada and FirstLight relicensings.
11/14/12	FERC	Wamponoag Tribe of Gay Head	Solicitation of interest letter to Tribe for TransCanada and FirstLight relicensings.
01/17/13	FERC	Mashpee Wamponoag Tribe	Memo to public files detailing FERC's attempts to engage the Tribe.
01/17/13	FERC	Wamponoag Tribe of Gay Head	Memo to public files detailing FERC's attempts to engage the Tribe.
02/05/13	FERC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Solicitation of interest letter to Tribe for TransCanada and FirstLight relicensings.
02/28/13	Nolumbeka Project	FERC	Letter to FERC expressing interest in participation and 5 study requests, 3 of which applied to FirstLight not TC.
05/01/13	FERC	n/a	Memo to public files describing May 1, 2013 meeting between FERC staff and the Tribe; and May 2, 2013 conference call with FERC, Tribe, TC, and FirstLight.
05/16/13	TC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Email accepting Tribe's invitation to Tribal meeting on June 19, 2013 to introduce TC and extending invitation to Tribe to participate in TCP process.
05/29/13	TC (PAL on behalf of)	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Transmittal of Phase IA Archaeological Surveys – Wilder and Bellows Falls
07/10/13	Nolumbeka Project	FERC	Letter to FERC reiterating study requests filed 02/28/13.
07/14/13	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	FERC	Letter to FERC with request for TC and FirstLight to fund Tribal and Nolumbeka Project field investigations and database development.

Date	Source	Communication with:	Type of Communication
07/14/13	Nolumbeka Project	FERC	Letter to FERC requesting TCP study. [TransCanada incorporated the study request into the RSP as part of ILP Study 33]
04/11/14	FERC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Letter to Tribe summarizing meetings and conference calls with the Tribe (05/03/13, 2/27/14, 3/11/14) and with TC and FirstLight (3/20/14) relative to engaging the Tribe in consultation.
05/14/14	TC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Letter to Tribe introducing the consulting firm selected and its qualifications to conduct the TCP study; and expressing TC's interest in tribal representative interviews, participation in the study and soliciting tribal interest in planned archaeological investigations.
05/14/14	TC	Nolumbeka Project	Letter to Tribe introducing the consulting firm selected and its qualifications to conduct the TCP study; and expressing TC's interest in tribal representative interviews, participation in the study and soliciting tribal interest in planned archaeological investigations.
07/11/14	TC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island and Nolumbeka Project	Email re-transmitting letters of 05/14/14, requesting a meeting to introduce the TCP study consultant, providing notification of upcoming field work, and soliciting tribal representative interest in participating in field work.
12/23/14	TC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Transmittal of Phase IA Archaeological Survey – Vernon
12/23/14	TC	Nolumbeka Project	Transmittal of Phase IA Archaeological Survey – Vernon
08/05/15	FERC	n/a	FERC telephone record summarizing conference call with FERC staff and Narragansett Indian Tribe and Nolumbeka on tribal participation and pertinent information that tribal representatives could provide.

Date	Source	Communication with:	Type of Communication
01/19/26	FERC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Letter to Narragansett Tribe requesting that the Tribe work with TransCanada and FirstLight to identify properties of religious and cultural significance that may lie within the projects' APE.
03/23/16	TC	Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island	Transmittal of Phase IB Archaeological Surveys – Wilder, Bellows Falls, and Vernon
03/23/16	TC	Nolumbeka Project	Transmittal of Phase IB Archaeological Surveys – Wilder, Bellows Falls, and Vernon

4.0 CATEGORIES OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

For this study, we used the guidelines of National Register Bulletin 38 in the review of published materials in or near the APE to identify places that could qualify as Traditional Cultural Properties (Parker and King 1998). Known archaeological sites may be considered TCPs under one or more of the four National Register criteria, should tribes choose to follow through with Determinations of Eligibility and the nomination process. Following National Register Bulletin #38 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Parker and King, 1998), the four criteria against which historic properties significance is judged are:

- Criteria A: associated with historical events and broad historical patterns;
- Criteria B: associated with significant historic or legendary persons;
- Criteria C: have distinctive design or physical characteristics;
- Criteria D: have yielded, or likely to yield, important cultural information.

The connection between the original occupants of the APE and their homeland may be maintained in spite of land expropriation. Deer hunting, fishing, and berry picking, among other activities, may still occur throughout the traditional homelands. Collection of traditional foods and hunting can sustain Tribal knowledge and interest in places of traditional importance and contributes to transmission of Tribal culture. Project operations and management are very likely to have direct and indirect effects on all cultural resources within the APE. Development and alterations do not necessarily diminish the importance of a TCP, nor lead to a loss of significance. The area in and outside of the APE could hold significance to the affected tribes, as a source and location of recreation, subsistence activities (hunting, fishing, and gathering of foods and raw materials), and spiritual and religious practices.

Culturally, great meaning can be placed by Tribal communities upon archaeological remains, which may also be considered TCPs. These cultural remains are evidence of the lives, beliefs, and customs of the people. Burial sites, pictograph sites, and sacred sites carry with them sensitive cultural beliefs. To living members of the Tribes whose homelands the projects may impact, the meaning and significance of the archaeological and cultural remains can run far deeper than the scientific and historic data that can be collected. These sites are tangible evidence of their culture, supporting oral traditions and teachings transmitted through the generations.

Sites of legendary importance remain significant in maintaining Tribal identity, as recounting stories that allow Tribal members to share common ideology and reaffirm their identity. The fact that the landscape is full of named places, some serving as traditional explanations for landforms, rooted in oral history going back to legendary times, confirms the connection between the people and the land.

These are important because they illustrate traditional interpretations of landforms, reflect resource use, and provide instruction related to interpersonal relationships.

Although many of the places identified in this report have been inundated, developed, or otherwise impacted since contact with Europeans, the sites may retain integrity to those who value them as TCPs. To the Tribal community, sites featured in traditional stories support the validity of the oral tradition, and represent knowledge transmitted from generation to generation until the present.

As a result these locales should be considered in evaluating the potential impacts to places of cultural importance. In addition, the tribes in the APE may consider all areas, discovered or not, that contain rock cairns/piles, pictographs, petroglyphs, graves, villages, gathering areas, prayer sites, and various other sites within and near the APE to be of cultural significance.

It is also important to note that in many tribal worldviews, culture and the natural environment are intertwined and cannot be separated. All natural features, including plant and animal communities, may have cultural significance to the tribes. The tribal worldview is one of interconnected entities and traditional use does not take place in discrete, unconnected areas. The traditional importance of the cultural plants, animals, fish, and properties are well rooted within the customs, beliefs, and practices of the tribes and evident through traditional patterns of land use. The individual places to which tribal people traveled to hunt, fish, gather, or engage in other cultural activities were and still are interdependent (Stoffle 1997:231). Sacred places are part of the system as a whole as understood by the tribal people who ascribe importance to the landscape, and to illustrate this, for the tribes in New Hampshire, “the center of their spiritual universe turned on these mountain tops or was born from these lakes and rivers, marking the ancestral homelands for many families” (Stewart-Smith 1998:39). While the traditions of going to some of these areas has been disrupted, modern Tribal communities may have oral histories of the events that occurred in these areas.

5.0 TRADITIONAL TRIBAL HOMELANDS AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Archaeological investigations carried out in the APE and surrounding lands document an American Indian presence dating to at least 11,000 years (Mulholland et al. 1988:29). Tribal use of the area therefore stretches back to time immemorial and extends across a much larger area than the defined APE and includes a variety of cultural practices. Research indicates that American Indians were successful in their traditional economy based on plant gathering, fishing, and hunting, as well as horticulture in river valleys such as the Connecticut. This economy led to complex social and political hierarchies described as ‘Confederacies’ (Johnson 2006:3), which were headed by leaders called ‘sachems’, which early English texts translated as ‘king’ or ‘queen’ (Brasser 1978:78, 85). One of these confederacies was the Pocumtuck, which “included people that inhabited the Connecticut River Valley from as far south as Hartford…and as far north as Brattleboro, Vermont” while the Squakheags lived in the area to the north on both sides of the Connecticut River,

with a primary village whose name means “a spearing place for salmon” (Crockett 1921:41; Johnson and Whitney 1987:22).

The study corridor is located at a crossroads for many groups and has been assigned to several different tribes (see Figures 2 through 5). Descendants of the people who live around the corridor are today enrolled as members of various State and Federally recognized tribes, though some groups lack Federal recognition due to treaties and relations with European nations that preceded the American Revolution (White 2008:370). These are, from north to south, the Western Abenaki, including the Nulhegan Band of the Coosuk; Pocumtuck-Nipmuck (whose traditional homeland included northern Massachussets); and Quiripi, as well as the Mohegan-Pequot and the Narragansett (Trigger 1978:ix). The groups indigenous to the APE and the surrounding area speak Algonquian languages, including Western Abenaki, which was spoken in the Connecticut Valley and had 22 speakers in 1970 (Goddard 1978:70-72; Salisbury 1982:7). It must be noted that among some scholars, the designation of “Western Abenaki” is a “blanket description” and could miss nuance of Tribal identity (Stewart Smith 1998:3), though the groups in the southern part of the study area have been described as sharing “with minor exceptions, a single cultural pattern” (Salwen 1978:160).

6.0 THE WESTERN ABENAKI

The *wqbanakii* people, known to English speakers as the “Western Abenaki,” traditionally lived in their homeland which encompasses both sides of the Connecticut River, as well as islands within it, in the northern part of the APE (Calloway 1994; Day 1978:148). The Western Abenaki “have always been something of an unknown quantity to historians and ethnographers” (Day 1978:149). They include the Sokoki, who were referred to as Squakeags by the English, lived in the “central Connecticut River Valley” (Carlson 1987:33; Thomas 1985:132), though some migrated to Quebec as a result of conflict in the historic period. They are now represented by various tribes recognized by the State of Vermont but not by the Federal government. These tribes have produced publicly available documentaries identifying them as Native American communities, including “The Abenaki of Vermont” (1987) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3BA5xYC3DLY) and “The Abenaki of Vermont: A Living Culture” (2002) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aBNadSGA86c). Published information regarding Abenaki culture is largely represented in the works of Peter Thompson (1973, 1990) and can be consulted for further detail.

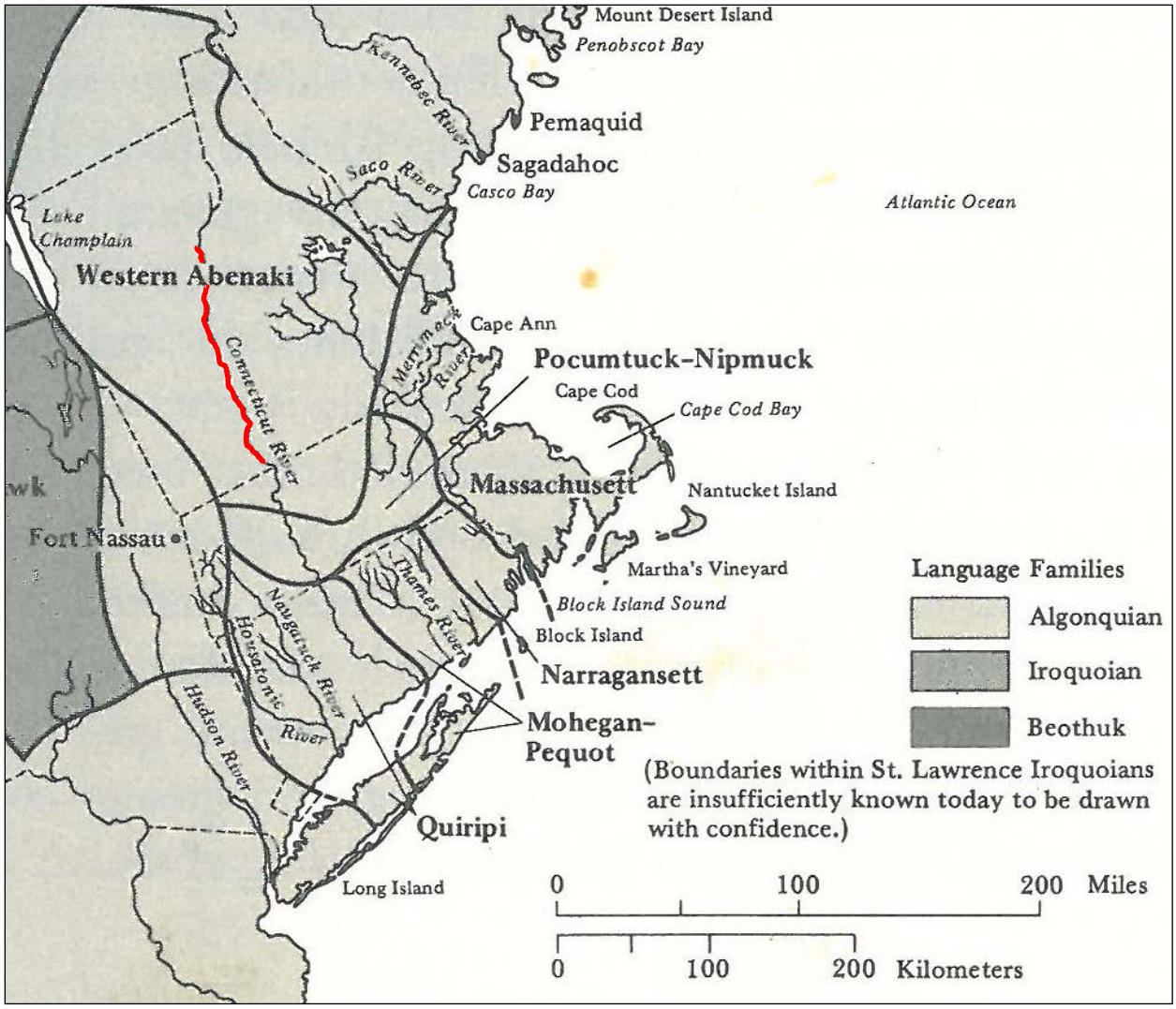

Figure 2. Indian ethnic-linguistic boundaries in New England and surrounding areas, ca. 1600 (Salisbury 1982:14) (Modified from Handbook of North American Indians, Northeast). Approximate APE in red.

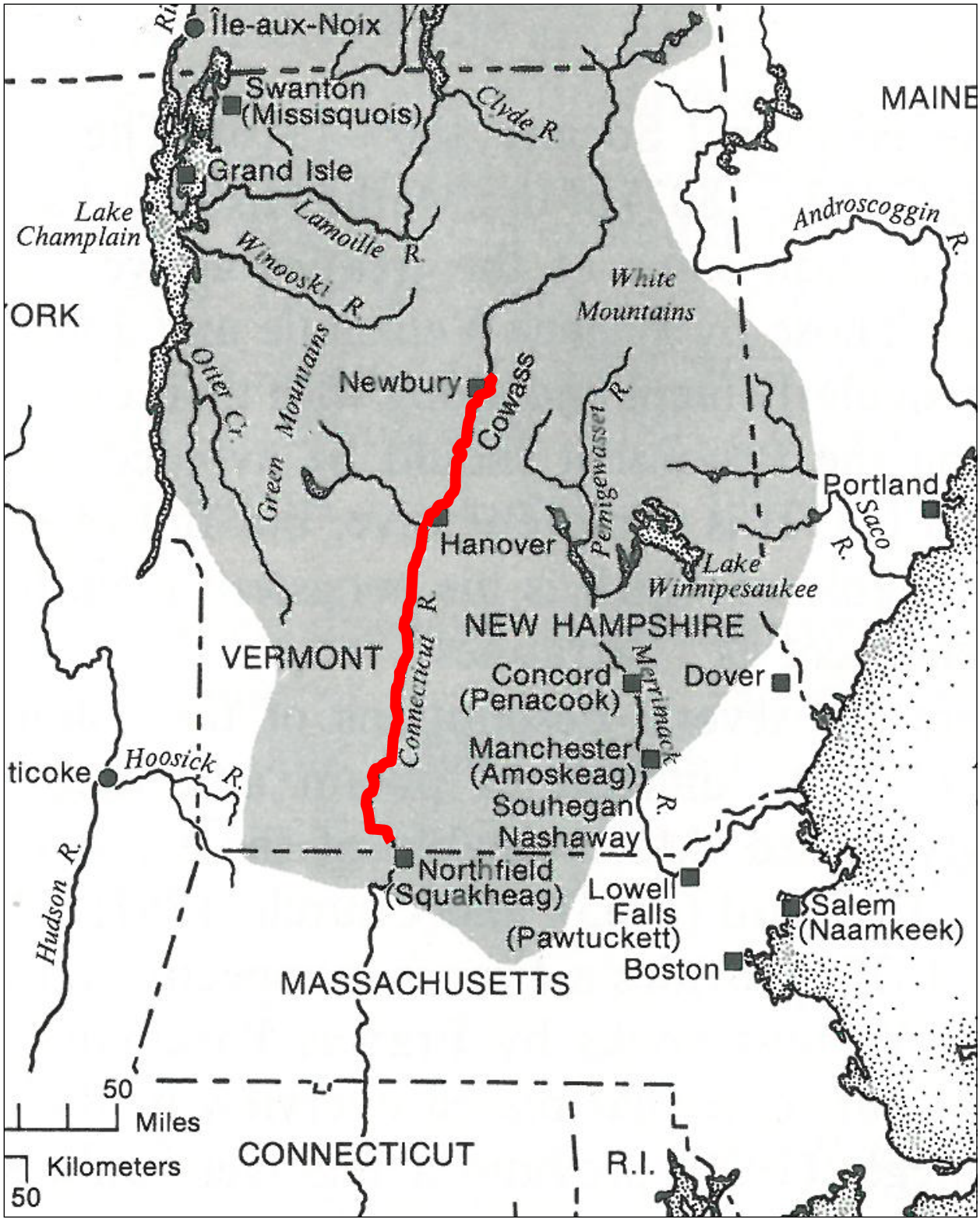

Figure 3. Western Abenaki Traditional homeland (Day 1978:148). Approximate APE in red.

Figure 4. Tribal territories about 1630 (Salwen 1978:161). Approximate APE in red.

Figure 5. Map of tribal territories at time of the Pequot War, 1637, showing groups on the lower Connecticut River.

It must be noted that there is intra-cultural and inter-cultural diversity between the tribes. One example is the Sokoki "people who separated," who are divided into the Pigwacket, Cowasuck, and Missisquoi (Johnson 2006:6). The groups living along the lower Connecticut River are known as the Quiripi, which included the Poduck. The area also lies within what has been referred to as the "sphere of influence" of the Pennacook (Stewart-Smith 1994:70). Other groups identified in historical texts and associated with the study area are the Squakheag (also known as the Sokoki, or Squaxheags), Pocumtuck, and "the River Indians," known as the Norwotucks (Temple and Sheldon 1875:83). Tribal people today are direct descendants of these peoples, and therefore have a connection to the study area via their ancestors. It is important to note that there is scholarship on the topic of Tribal identity that suggests that the notion of "Tribes" as distinct political entities can be problematic when discussing the indigenous people of New England (Thomas 1985:138).

While tribes and tribal members may recognize others' traditional homelands, the overlapping nature of and uses of the same area by differing groups is common, especially fisheries (Aguilar 2005; Hunn 1991). Intermarriage between bands and tribes may have been common among many Tribal groups, resulting in villages with diverse populations, and strict political boundaries for these groups may be difficult to determine with accuracy. Therefore, the concept of fixed tribal borders and strictly defined territories may not be consistent with traditional practice.

Permanent villages were occupied along the river when people were not engaged in seasonal hunting, fishing, and gathering activities. Numerous archaeological sites have been recorded along the Connecticut River corridor, many of these identified as villages and camps. These villages were the centers of social, economic, and political activities, particularly after the adoption of horticulture in approximately A.D. 1000. From that time until the advent of European American settlement, tribes lived their traditional lifeways—inhabiting permanent villages on the shores of the Connecticut River and tributary streams in the winter and inhabiting upland villages during spring and summer months. These gathering areas may continue to be important to the culture of the tribes whose traditional homeland the projects impact.

The APE may be culturally significant to the affected tribes, where there can be specific foods, medicinal plants, and game animals that together create a mosaic of habitats throughout the general area. While some resource gathering areas are not directly in the APE, there is no reason to think that the narrow strip impacted by the TransCanada projects, being a fertile river valley, would be excluded from some of the diverse activities described by non-American Indian chroniclers and tribal members. Geographic or resource areas not specifically mentioned in this report do not necessarily mean these resources do not have value.

7.0 THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

The traditional economy of the groups in the study area shifted through time, from a focus on megafauna to smaller game and to a mixed economy based on

horticulture, fishing, and hunting, to one integrated with the current national and global economy.

The seasonal cycle of agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild plant foods, and its high quality and varied diet allowed for substantial population density (Carlson et al. 1992:14; Mandell et al. 2011:14). At the time of historic contact, southern New England was densely populated by farming groups who cultivated "a variety of crops, including several types of maize, beans, and squash, as well as pumpkins, cucumbers, Jerusalem artichokes, and tobacco" in a specially adapted technique or "regularly spaced mounds," which maximized plant absorption of soil nutrients and created a self-fertilizing cycle (Salisbury 1982:30, 31). The fields were cleared by slash and burn, with clearings seasonally cleared by use of controlled burns (Starna 1990:34, 35; Wiseman 2005:222), which may have been enriched by seasonal floods. This not only facilitated growing of crops, but also provided increased habitat for deer. The harvest started in midsummer and continued through September, and the crops were "boiled, dried, placed in woven sacks, and stored in underground pits, where it was available for use during the winter," and these crops constituted the majority of the diet. Harvested crops were kept in ceramic vessels (Wiseman 2005:229, 230) and "stored in pits beneath small houses" (Hepler et al. 2006:24, Mandell et al. 2011:14). The role of women in horticulture and the high proportion of the diet it represented is associated with a matrilineal kinship system, and political participation in the southern part of the study area.

This pattern of cultivation began "around A.D. 1000, [as] warmer climatic conditions prevailed" and evidence suggests that extensive settlements existed in all of Vermont's major river valleys (State of Vermont 1991: 11-12). Associated with the development of horticulture was the emergence of fortified villages and communal longhouses occupied year round (State of Vermont 1991: 11-13). The ability to cultivate corn, a primary food staple, was viewed as a gift from the Creator and celebrated during a Green Corn Festival in late August, which continued to be held by Mohegan people in Connecticut at least until 1938 (Johnson 2006: 36).

In addition to cultivation, the tribes collected a wide variety of berries, nuts, medicinal plants, roots, and other flora. Species hunted by the Tribes as a food source, and also as valued materials for ceremonial or decorative purposes, include but are not limited to deer, black bear, elk, and moose. Smaller game included rabbits, squirrels, and turkeys, while animals procured or trapped for fur included beaver, squirrel, and muskrat (Salwen 1978:160-163).

Fish were harvested by many tribal people at major falls along the Connecticut River each spring during the fish runs (Thomas 1986:27) and at other fishing places along the river. The primary fish were salmon, shad, and alewives during their migrations upstream in March to spawn (Thomas 1973:34; 1986:27), as well as pike, bass, eels, and various mollusks. This harvest is reflected in place names, "the name Squakheag may have derived from the Algonkian phrase – "Namaus-squan-aug-khige"- a spearing place for salmon." (Thomas 1973:34). The Great

Falls of the Connecticut River were a documented native fishery for salmon and shad until the construction of the Turner Falls dam in 1798 (Duffy and Feeney 2000:23; Hayes 1929:170-175).

Winter subsistence was based on stored plants, dried fish, and dried meat. This may have been supplemented by some fresh game. One such site is on the Connecticut River, known as Skitchewaug and dating to AD 1100, where several pit houses and storage pits were excavated. Another site was identified at Fort Hill, near Hinsdale, across the Connecticut from Vernon, where a variety of animal and fish remains were identified along with crops that had been stored through the winter (State of Vermont 1991:11-12). The seasonal subsistence and settlement systems depended on the topography and availability of resources within an area. Horticulture was more important in the lower Connecticut River valley, and generally less relied upon by groups the farther north up the river one travelled where growing conditions were less favorable (Thomas 1986:27). The people wintered in their villages along the Connecticut and its tributaries at favorable fishing sites, including those within the study area (Thomas 1985:137).

The annual subsistence rounds encompassed a large and geographically diverse environment and overlapped with other tribes, particularly at large fisheries. Winter villages and major summer and fall fisheries were adjacent to major rivers and fields. Winter villages were located along the lower Connecticut and its tributaries, most usually near fields where crops were grown, and settlement became less concentrated farther upstream, consisting of "a number of hamlets which were widely spaced along the river, each house or group of houses being occupied by one or two extended families" (Haviland and Power 1994).

7.1 Fishing Place and Riverine Resources

Fishing was an important activity that occurred near the traditional villages along the Connecticut River, and therefore fishing sites may be of cultural significance. Traditional fishing sites lined both sides of Connecticut and its confluences, as well as at the waterfalls. Bellows Falls was one of many such locations to harvest resident and anadromous fish (Mulholland et al. 1988). Tribal people from throughout the region gathered at a number of prominent fisheries along the Connecticut River and in other regional rivers (Hunter et al. 2014:713).

7.2 Plant Resources

In addition to food, plants and plant products were used for a variety of other uses, including but not limited to dyes, cordage, containers, glues, weaving materials, and other uses. Other plants used by the tribes could include those for medicinal purposes. Many other species were utilized for manufacture of baskets, tools, and structures. Plant harvesting was an important activity that took place in the APE and surrounding region. Spring and early summer is the time of year that many plant resources are available in the APE where harvesting and processing took place, and therefore plant habitat could be considered as likely places of cultural importance.

7.3 Housing

The Connecticut River tribes occupied several types of dwellings, ranging from single residences (Wiseman 2005:210, 211) to collections of dwellings described as villages, with varying ranges of permanence of construction. These were covered with birch, elm, spruce, and hemlock (Wiseman 2005:211), with women often being responsible for construction. People traditionally lived in villages of up to 200 people, in longhouses covered with bark, and leadership was by 'chiefs', who were often hereditary. Rectangular bark-covered houses with arched roofs typically housed several related family groups (Day 1998:212; Hepler et al. 2006:24), while some traditional homes inhabited for extended periods along the Connecticut River included semi-subterranean rectangular and elliptical structures, with central hearths (State of Vermont 1991:11-15). Besides the residential dwellings, various structures for sweat lodge ceremonies and storage could also be found. These sweathouses existed and were utilized for a variety of purposes such as purification and health (both spiritual and physical).

7.4 Kinship and Social Organization

The Connecticut River valley tribes were loosely organized in autonomous villages and were politically flexible. In general, the Western Abenaki north of Northfield, Massachusetts were patrilineal and patrilocal, organized in lineages associated with turtle, bear, beaver, otter, and partridge (Day 1978:156), while the groups to the south were matrilineal (Day 1978:153). Many of the communities were found along the Connecticut River, often at the confluence of streams with the river, and also near floodplains where crops were planted. The traditional kinship system consisted of what has been characterized by anthropologists as "segmentary tribes," with villages along the Connecticut River numbering as many as 500, "with an approximate total population of 5,000 Native people in the middle valley" (Bruchac 2011:37). Men and women were equally capable of political power (Salwen 1978:167). To illustrate the egalitarian nature of political organization:

> In 1648, English fur trader William Pynchon astutely observed that that "no one Sachim doth Rule all." The terms sachem (male clan or kin leader) and sunksqua (female clan or kin leader) designated individuals who were not singular tribal chiefs, but heads of family bands; each tribal nation had multiple sachems. (Bruchac 2011:37)

8.0 CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN AMERICANS

8.1 Early Contacts with Fishermen from Europe

European contact with tribes is well known through the historical record, beginning with French fishermen in the 1530s (Thomas 1985:141). Prior to their arrival as colonists, however, the presence of Europeans in the 'New World' and along the Connecticut River valley had already made an imprint on the lives of native

populations, first by commercial fishing and introduction of disease (Carlson et al. 1992:141), followed by fur trading, then colonization.

8.2 Epidemics

Epidemics severely impacted Native people in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the devastation they caused affected tribal people throughout the northeast (Brasser 1978:83). This includes an "infectious fever" that appeared in the southern Connecticut River valley at the Windsor, CT trading post in 1633, killing not only Natives but also colonists (Carlson et al. 1992:148). There was also an epidemic that affected Tribes upstream in 1633-34 (Thomas 1985:135, 151) and progressed up the Connecticut River by 1635 (Day 1978:152). The impact of epidemics also resulted in Tribes "requiring major realignments in the political, economic, and religious realms of culture" (Dincauze 1990:32).

8.3 Fur Trade and Colonists

The Connecticut River and its tributaries in the 1600s "were for several decades one of the highest fur yielding territories in New England" (Thomas 1973:27), with John Pynchon, based in Springfield, Massachusetts, being a noted fur broker with tribal trappers (Duffy and Feeney 2000:21; Thomas 1985). This led to an economic relationship between Native people and Europeans, including use of currencies such as *sewant*, beads made from seashells. These were produced by tribes at the mouth of the Connecticut River and along Long Island Sound, namely the "Coastal Algonquian societies such as the Narragansett, Massachusetts, and especially…the Shinnecock and Montauk" (Schmidt 2015:197). In the 1600s, the fur trade impacted Native cultures in the study area by disrupting male-female relations, due to the added workload on women of processing the hides of fur bearing animals, in addition to tending gardens, and also by making tribes more protective of territory (Brasser 1978:84). Related to the general study area and in a regional context, "In Coastal Algonquian societies, sewant was used as a payment for religious specialists, deposited in graves, and exchanged in regular transactions with Europeans" and came to be used as currency by Europeans themselves for a time (Schmidt 2015:197-198). The fur trade ended with the collapse of beaver populations by 1670 (Thomas 1985:155).

8.4 Wars with Europeans

In the 1630s, the English moved west from the Massachusetts Colony and established a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, called Saybrook (Johnson 2006:12), to curtail the influence of the Dutch. This fort was an important place related to the war between the English and the Pequot, where the Narragansett initially allied with the English but were "appalled by the ruthless nature of the English assault and their killing and enslaving of all surviving Pequots, even some who had surrendered voluntarily to the Narragansetts and whom the latter wished to integrate into their tribe" (Washburn 1978: 90). In 1675, King Philip's War reached the Connecticut River valley and involved Potumcucks, Squakheags, and Nonotucks. Just south of the study area, a battle in 1675 between tribal members and English colonists came to be known as Bloody Brook near Deerfield,

Massachusetts (Johnson 2006:16). This led to over 1,000 Englishmen being sent to clear the Connecticut River Valley of Native Americans, an expedition that was unsuccessful and led to further tension between tribal people and the English (Johnson 2006:16). Near the mouth of the Connecticut River, the Narragansett built fortifications modelled on the English, one being a wooden fort destroyed in the "Great Swamp Fight" of December 1675 and one a stone fort west of Wickford, Rhode Island, built for Queen Quaiapen's Narragansett band. Both were probably constructed by Stonewall John, a Narragansett trained as a mason (Washburn 1978:99).

King William's War (1688-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), the French and Indian War (1755-1762), and the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) all had negative impacts on the Native populations. These were due to mortality from conflict and the displacement of populations from the Connecticut River valley after the English victory in the French and Indian War, and American expansion following the Revolutionary War. For a summary of the chronology of wars and their impacts on the Western Abenaki, see the historical work of Robert S. Grumet (1995). South of the study area, on May 19, 1676, over 300 Native people were killed by soldiers led by a man named Turner at the fishing camp of Peskeompskut, the place now known as Turner's Falls (Bruchac 2011: 47). This camp "had been established by Canonchet, the Narragansett's chief sachem, as a refuge for the Native American families who had been displaced by conflicts with the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut colonies and their militias" (NPS 2007:8). Throughout the Connecticut River valley by 1694, a "scalp bounty" was paid for Native men, women, and children, which was doubled in 1704, and essentially cleared the valley of Native people, who fled for their lives (Bruchac 2011:48, 49) and ended at least one millennia of year-round occupation of the study area by its original inhabitants.

9.0 CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL CONTINUITY AMONG GROUPS IN SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND

There is a substantial body of literature discussing the cultural continuity of Native American tribes in southern New England (Wiseman 2005:xv) and adjacent areas (*Cultural Survival Quarterly* 2014: 38-2; Ghere 1996), including the Connecticut River valley (Bruchac 2007, 2011:67-68). Stewart-Smith (1998:2-4) has discussed the amalgamation of Abenaki tribal groups as a result of warfare and displacement resulting from expansion of English settlements, and the newly created identities of these tribal groups that are characteristic to the region. Some of this research points out the dynamism and adaptive nature of the culture, highlighting the presence of European material in Narragansett burials beginning in the seventeenth century , as well as European goods in residence sites into the nineteenth century (Silliman 2009:216, 219-221). Recent research with census records shows that at the end of the Revolutionary War, there were thousands of Native people living in southern New England (Mancini 2015). Their presence is documented in towns established by the English, particularly in Connecticut (Mancini 2015:75). The Wanguk people lived on their private and collective land holdings along the Connecticut River at Middletown, CT and then dispersed to other Native

communities such as the Mohegan and Tunxis by the end of the eighteenth century (Mancini 2015:77, 78). Yet others discuss the continuity displayed by tribes such as the Mohegan, who "reasserted their identity and territory in the late twentieth century, it seemed as though the tribe had appeared out of nowhere" (Thrush 2014:611). Generally related to the study area, Elizabeth Sadoques, who was the great-granddaughter of a Abenaki man named Louis Watso, also known as Louis Degonzague Otondosonne, visited Deerfield, MA in 1922 to speak to community members about her parents' connection to their homeland of the Connecticut River valley (Bruchac 2011:61, 62).

"Although war and dispersal dominated the Native American world from A.D. 1600-1800, Vermont's Native culture, including the western Abenaki, adapted and persists to the present" (Mandell et al. 2011:14). A number of the groups, described as tribes, integrated with each other following population decreases after contact with Europeans and a reduction in the tribal population due to epidemics and warfare, but tribes and tribal members along the Connecticut River have retained cultural continuity and identity, as shown by State and Federal recognition (Bee 1990:194-212; see also Conkey et al. [1978:184] for integration with English communities). In spite of the extreme loss of life during multiple epidemics, wars, and colonization, Tribal cultures are still present and adapting, illustrating cultural continuity (http://www.cowasuck.org).

10.0 TRADITIONAL STORIES AND AMERICAN INDIAN STORYSCAPES IN OR NEAR THE STUDY AREA

There could be numerous traditional stories in the APE and surrounding region; however the majority of these remain unpublished. There are references to "the link between water and fecundity in the fertility beliefs of some New England native peoples" (Plane 1991:40-41). The tale of "The Faithful Hunter," presented by Joseph Bruchac (Carlson 1987:37), could be associated with the Connecticut River valley (Bruchac, personal communication 2015), though no place names are mentioned in the story. Traditional stories depicting rivers and describing the creation of waterfalls, which are notable geographic markers along rivers, are documented in other parts of Native North America (Clark 1953:81-124), both large and small, such as Willamette Falls (Clark 1953:99; Hajda and Ellis 2002:13), Multnomah Falls (Clark 1953: 102), Palouse Falls (Clark 1953:117), and Kettle Falls (Colville Tribes 2007:153). Other natural features such as mountain peaks also have stories (Clark 1953:7-47), and there is no reason to think that peaks in the Connecticut River valley do not have traditional stories associated with them.

These stories may be considered sacred and sensitive to the Tribal community. Traditional creation stories provide not only an explanation of creation itself, but also reasons for the placement and appearance of features within the landscape. In many cases, traditional stories explain natural features, a fact that could make these features eligible for consideration as historic properties. These traditional stories often take place from a time before there were people, when animals had human characteristics. Such stories often explain why certain resources are found in certain places but not others, the way fish travel in the water, why certain plants

grow where they grow, and others, as well as how people themselves relate to each other. While people primarily resided in permanent villages along the Connecticut River and its tributaries during the winter months, they may have dispersed far and wide to fish, hunt, and gather during the summer seasons. Traditional stories support this; in the landmark features, place names, and the events which Tribal members transmitted through the generations.

11.0 CATEGORIES OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED TCPS: NATIVE LANGUAGE PLACE NAMES IN THE STUDY AREA

Places with American Indian language names demonstrate Tribal presence, as testaments to Tribal history and culture and show the connection between the Tribal community and their homelands. The retention of place names in Native languages can be associated with family oral histories (Duffy and Feeney 2000:31) and Tribal legends. Place names can describe resources in the area, relationships with the land, and the experiences of the people with the land. Many place names in the Native languages have been identified in or near the APE and the broader surrounding area, conveying a zone of familiarity that contributes to the cultural significance of the landscape to the affected tribes. Place names have special meaning to the people that live in the vicinity of these traditional use sites (Hanes and Hansis 1995:3). A place name contains a wealth of historical and ecological information and illustrates the dependence on the land and the resources contained on the land by Native peoples (Hunn 1990). Named places may be historic properties of religious and cultural significance to the Tribal communities. Following is a sample of American Indian language place names readily available through literature review and archival research (Table 2, Figures 6a-6b), and is intended as a sample and by no means to be exhaustive.

11.1 Travel corridors- Indian Trails

Trails were well established by the people whose homelands include the study area, including many following waterways (Price 1967), such that “New Hampshire’s highways follow, in many places, the route of the ancient Indian trails” (Price 1967:2). The travel corridors, many of which are now roads, can still be utilized to return to the Connecticut River for fishing or the uplands for food gathering and hunting.

The Connecticut Trail

The current spelling and pronunciation of ‘Connecticut” is an Anglicization of the Native word “quanna-teg-ok,” or, “at the place of the long river.” This is also the name of a trail that began at the mouth of the Connecticut and extended along its banks to the Connecticut Lakes. There is a place name along this trail called “msquamkik,” or, “the salmon place,” now known as East Northfield, Massachusetts, upstream of Turner Falls, which itself is known as Peskeompskut (Bruchac 2011:46). The trail continued north to what is now known as the West River, its Native name “wanaskwtegek,” broken down into “askw,” “at the end,”

"teg"/"tegu" for "river," "ek" meaning "from the place," and "wan," "many little falls" (Price 1967:9-11). Farther upstream the trail crossed "tibeksek" now known as Cold River. Farther upstream was "kchipontegu," or "Great River Falls," "a famous fishing place opposite Walpole" (Price 1967:10). At the site of present day Newbury (VT) was an Indian village called "coosuk," "people of the pine mountains," and the people shared their name with the village (Price 1967:9-11).

The Ammonoosuc Trail

This trail began near the head of the Saco River, used by the Sokoki people, and eventually led to the Connecticut River (Price 1967:14).

The Mascoma-Aquadoctan Trail

This trail's name comes from "mas kam ok" and "agua dak gan," or, "from the place of great trees" to "the landing place," and led from the Connecticut River to the Mascoma River at the modern location of West Lebanon, New Hampshire . This trail was the main thoroughfare for the harvest of shad on the Connecticut River (Price 1967:22).

Table 2. Sample of place names in or near the project area (north to south).

Name (number corresponds to location on Figure 6a and 6b)	Meaning (if available)	Source	Notes
Vermont and New Hampshire			
1. Nulhegan	Not Available	Hepler et al. 2006:24	Upstream of the Wilder Project area.
2. Passumpsic River	Not Available	Not Available	Upstream of the Wilder Project area.
3. Ammonoosuc River, also Omanosek	a. narrow fishing river b. Abnaki for "small, narrow fishing place"	a. Price 1989:4 b. Huden 1962	Upstream of the Wilder Project area.
4. Kowasék (Cowasuck), Cowass	Place of the white pines	Hepler et al. 2006:24; Stewart-Smith 1994:9	Village near Newbury, VT, marked on early French maps as an ancient village. Newbury is in the Wilder Project area.
5. Ompompanoosuc	Not Available	Thompson 1824:202, in Thomas 1986:17	VT tributary to the CT River in the Wilder Project area. Indian burial ground found 350 m from mouth of river.
6. Mascoma River, also Mas Kam Ok	Place of the Great Trees	Price 1967:22	NH tributary to the CT River in the Wilder Project area.
7. Ottauquechee, also Anglicized as 'Waterqueechy'	Not Available	Blanchard et al. 1761	VT tributary to the CT River in the Wilder Project area.

Name (number corresponds to location on Figure 6a and 6b)	Meaning (if available)	Source	Notes
Vermont and New Hampshire			
8. Ascutney/Askutegnik (Sugar River)	a. From the Abenaki word *Ascutegnik*, which was the name of a settlement near where the Sugar River meets the Connecticut River. The Abenaki name for the mountain is *Cas-Cad-Nac*, which means "mountain of the rocky summit." b. "at the end of the river fork" is the translation of *Ascutegnik*	a. Lindemann 2003:74 b. Price 1967:29, 1989:5	The Sugar River is a VT tributary to the CT River in the Wilder Project area.
9. Skitchewaug	Not Available	State of Vermont 1991:11-7	Village site dating to A.D. 1100. Mountain near Bellows Falls, VT, a town in the Bellows Falls Project area.
10. Bellows Falls Petroglyphs	Not Available	n/a	n/a
11. Wantastiquet	Abenaki for "river which leads to the west."	DeLorme 1996	Mountain in West Chesterfield, NH, in the Vernon Project area.
12. Coasset	Not Available	a. Temple and Sheldon 1875:83 b. Holmes et al. 1991:100	This area is also the vicinity of an archaeological site (Vermont site VT-WD-11) consisting of "a large village near the old railroad station at South Vernon… with 30 prehistoric "granaries."
13. Ashuelot River and Pisgah mountains	"To the good fishing place" "to the place of the beautiful mountains"	Price 1989:4	NH tributary to the CT River just south of the Vernon Project area.

Name (number corresponds to location on Figure 6a and 6b)	**Meaning (if available)**	**Source**	**Notes**
Massachusetts (The following are downstream of, and not directly impacted by the projects, but included to provide cultural context).			
14. Pauchaug Brook	Not Available	n/a	n/a
15. Msquamkik	Salmon Place	Bruchac 2011:46	East Northfield
16. Squakheag	Not Available	a. Carlson 1987:33 b. Grumet 1995:96	Northfield. Primary village of the Sokoki people.
17. King Philips Hill	Named for Native leader.		Hill below mouth of Pauchaug Brook.
18. Ashuela Brook	Not Available	n/a	n/a
19. Peskeompskut	Fishing place	a. National Park Service 2007 b. Bruchac 2011:46	Turner's Falls
20. Wissatinnewag	Place of Shining or Slippery Rocks	NPS 2007:6	Greenfield
21. Pocumtuck	a. Place beside "a narrow swift river" or "short shallow sandy river" b. Also known as Pemawatchuwatunck, "winding hills"	a. Grumet 1995:96 b. Bruchac 2011:36	Deerfield
22. Pocumtuck Range, including East Mountain	Not Available	Bruchac 2011:36	Deerfield
23. Norwottock, Nonotock Mountain	Not Available	a. Grumet 1995:96 b. Bruchac 2011:36	In the Holyoke Mountain Range.
24. Chicopee River	Chickee, chickeyen "it rages," "is violent," pee "water" Chicopee "raging water"	Jendrysik 2005:64	Tributary to the CT River.
25. Agawam	Not Available	Grumet 1995: 96	Springfield
26. Pecousic Brook	Not Available		Tributary to the CT River.

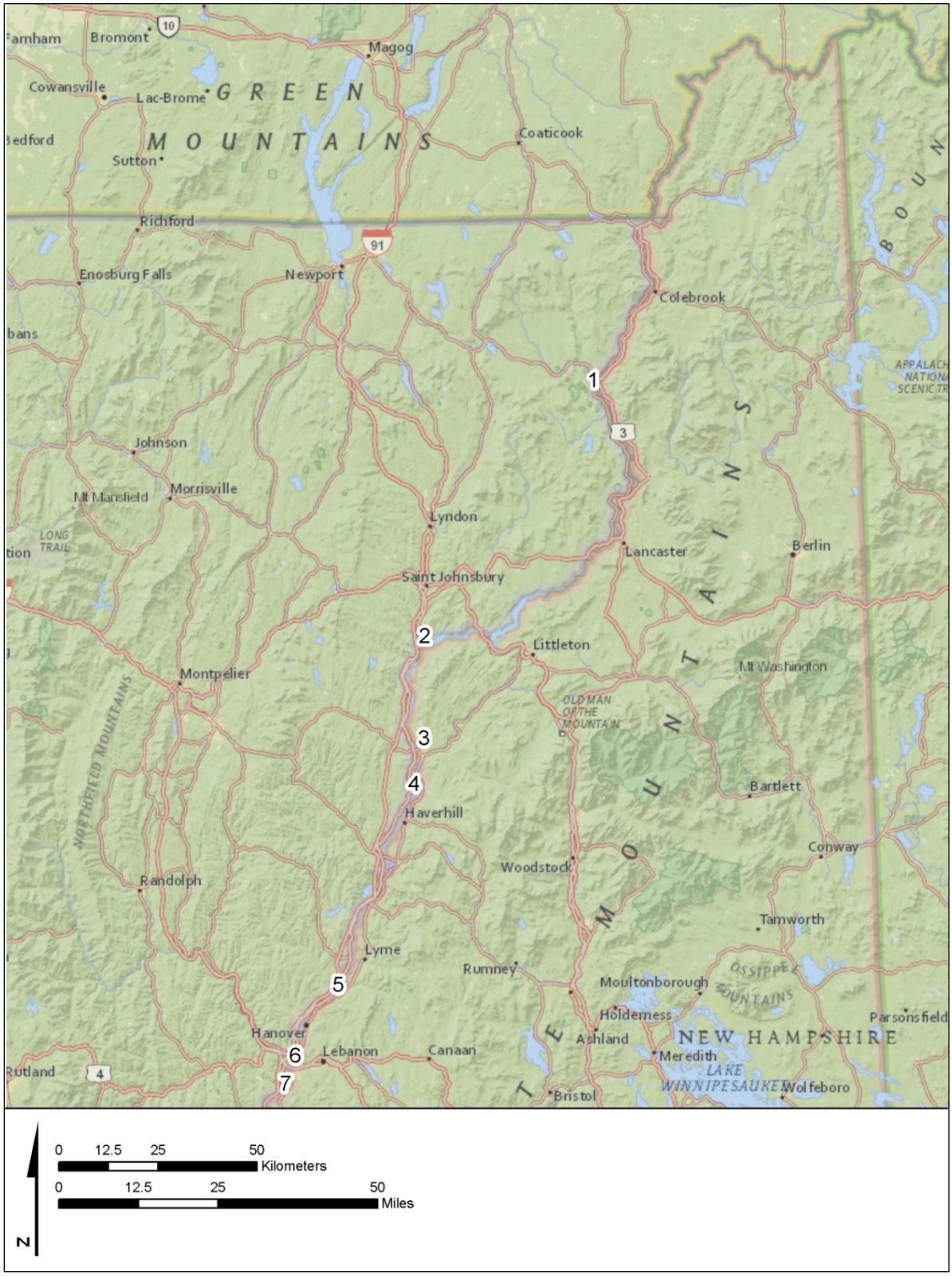

Figure 6a. Location of place names in Table 2, from north of the Wilder Project to near the Wilder dam.

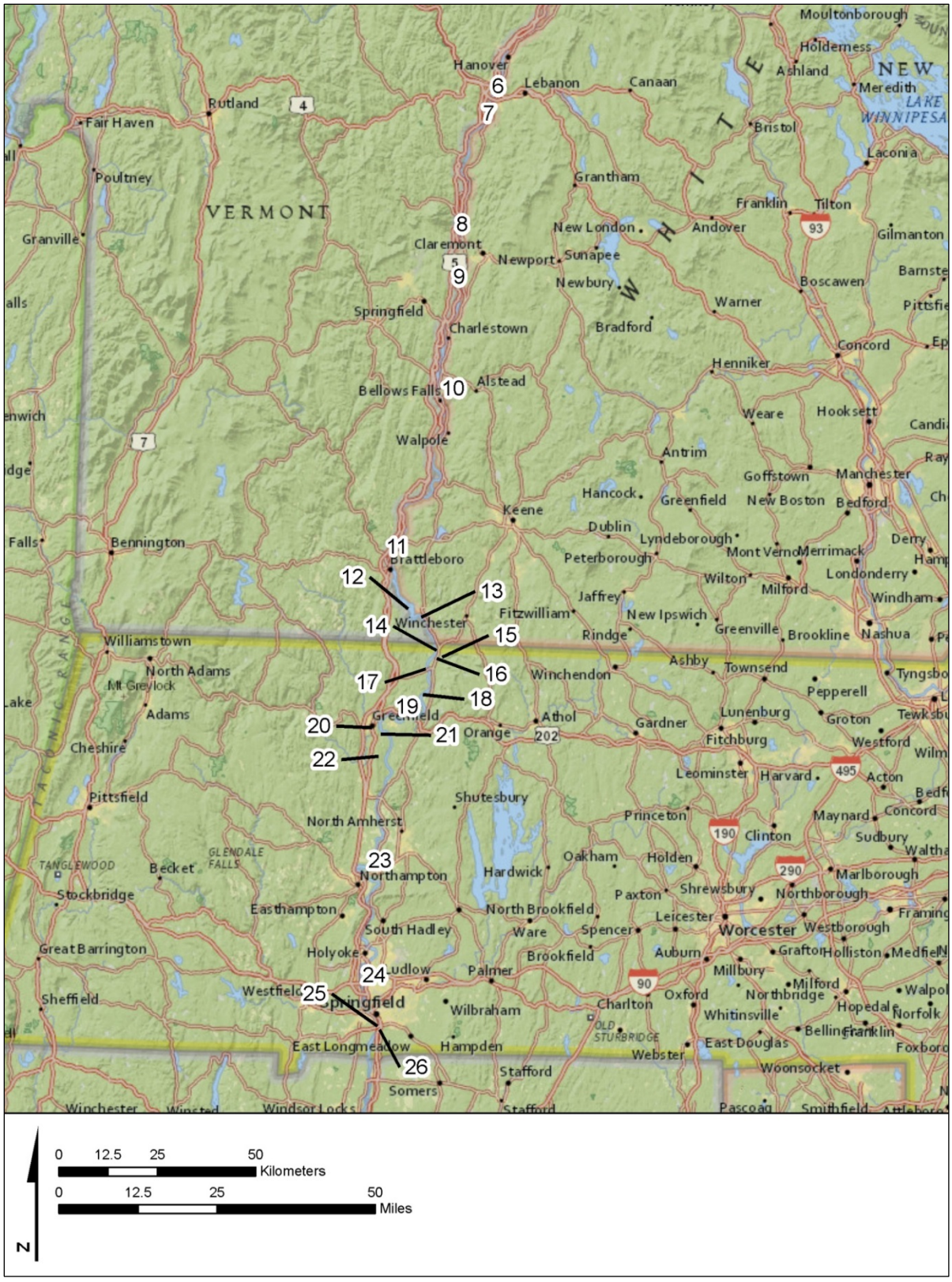

Figure 6b. Location of place names in Table 2, from near the Wilder dam to below the Vernon Project area.

The Connecticut River

The river corridor had fishing and village sites, and was a travel route to other resources (Price 1967:4). The Connecticut (Quanni-teg-ok) was and could still be an important resource utilized by Tribal members for traditional purposes including hunting, fishing, and gathering of foods and medicines. As a major river, it is a source of fresh water, fish habitat, and habitat for game and fowl. This could remain significant to living members of the affected tribes as a ceremonial site and traditional use area.

11.2 Previously Recorded Places

Great Oxbow Sites, Newbury VT and Haverhill NH

This area is associated with the Kowasek (Hubbard et al. 2013: 131) (see Table 1, #4). There are a cluster of archaeological sites in this area, including sites VT-OR-18, VT-OR-19, and VT-OR-22. These represent "chipping debris, fire-cracked rock (FCR), charred botanical remains, pottery, several modified lithic tools, and four projectile points" as well as "eight cultural features" which confirm occupation "spanning the Early to Late Woodland periods" (Hubbard et al. 2013: 91, 92). As a whole, this bend in the Connecticut River represents a significant and intensively occupied pre-contact Native American focal point spanning several millennia (VDHP site files).

Skitchewaug Site (VT-WN-41), Springfield VT

The Skitchewaug Site (VT-WN-41), at Springfield, VT, is a Late Archaic to Late Woodland stratified village and one of Vermont's oldest agricultural and residential sites (AD 1100). The site contains evidence of ceremonial burial patterns, sedentary residence (including semi-subterranean structures, hearths, and storage pits), a variety of tools, and complex agriculture. This section of the river is well known to Abenaki and other tribes in New England.

The Bellows Falls Petroglyphs site (VT-WD-8)

This site is on the Connecticut River at the base of the Great Falls in the town of Bellows Falls (Mulholland et al. 1988), between the Bellows Falls Project tailrace and the original riverbed (now the bypassed reach). Two sets of petroglyphs are located 35 and 55 feet south of the Vilas Bridge on a massive outcrop of bedrock and have a long history of documentation and are noteworthy for their unique stylization (Bowen 1958:508; Mulholland et al. 1988; Schoolcraft 1857:606-607, Hubbard et al. 2013: 102-103). In the beginning of the twentieth century, riprap was placed near the petroglyphs. The precise age of these petroglyphs remains unknown. The features are unique in the northeastern United States and little is known about them other than their spatial proximity to numerous archaeological sites, including burials (VT-WD-79) (Mulholland et al. 1988). The petroglyphs were "retouched by a stonecutter in the 1930s to "enhance" their visibility," by being deeply incised and outlined in yellow paint (Mulholland et al. 1988:35-36).

Brattleboro (West River Petroglyphs)

The West River Petroglyphs, VT-WD-07, are images engraved in rock, now submerged. These are well known to local and regional Tribes, as well as the general public. A draft nomination to the National Register has been completed for the petroglyphs (as cited in Mulholland et al. 1988:127, 179). Additionally, there were numerous burials exposed in the immediate vicinity at Island House (Mulholland et al. 1988:37), and many burials have been recorded at other waterfalls in the region as well as in the immediate project vicinity, such as the School Street burials at Bellows Falls village and Granger Block (Mulholland et al. 1988:37, 38). Furthermore, there could be additional burials throughout the area (Mulholland et al. 1988:71, 94).

Squakheag Fort, Hinsdale (NH)

The Ashuelot River flows into the Connecticut River below the Vernon Project area in Hinsdale, NH. This is the location of a Squakheag fort and village site (27-CH-85) now on fee owned land, this site was occupied from pre-contact times to the historic era, and included a palisade, hearths, storage pits, and a variety of artifacts. The site is near a known Squakheag fishery, and burials have been found nearby. It is a Late Woodland/Contact Period village well known to Abenaki and other tribes in New England.

Great Oxbow at South Vernon, VT, also known as Coopers Point

At the town of Vernon, Vermont, south of Vernon Project, is a site reported to contain burials (Vermont site VT-WD-1; State of Vermont 1991:11-16) and associated with King Philip, a noted Tribal member (Johnson and Whitney 1987:20). Also at Vernon is a pre-contact burial site (VT-WD-125) (Holmes et al. 1991:102). There is also a Squakheag village site (VT-WD-5) at the confluence of the Connecticut River and Broad Brook (Johnson and Whitney 1987:20). The area of Coopers Point is considered “as having high archaeological sensitivity for significant Native American resources” and was a well-known Squakheag fortified village and fishery (Cherau & O’Donnchadha 2008: 28, 91).

12.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report provides baseline information and was prepared to identify categories of historic properties within and/or near the APE of religious and cultural significance to Indian Tribes, per the Section 106 implementing regulations of the NHPA and using the “Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties” (Parker and King 1998), which may qualify as TCPs. This report is complete but not exhaustive, and there are limitations with the resource literature in that it is largely historic in nature, written by and for a non-tribal perspective, and much of it was generated to justify European conquest and settlement.

There are numerous areas identified during the course of this study that could qualify as TCPs in the Connecticut River Valley, within the APE and/or the surrounding area. Many are not directly in the narrowly defined APE but they are

acknowledged because they are interrelated to the people, land, and its resources. Based on the results of background and archival research, it is clear that the APE was culturally important in both pre-contact and more recent history to the Tribal communities and contains places with the potential to represent multiple meanings. These include but are not limited to: residence sites, animal habitat important for hunting, resource procurement areas (particularly berry picking and fishing), burial sites, rock image sites, named places in the Native languages, and the settings of traditional stories.

The following recommendations are provided for consideration:

- Consultation with Federally recognized Tribes on a government-to-government basis is necessary and critical to determine if areas we have identified are of cultural importance to the affected Tribes and if there are places not identified in this report that are of importance to the Tribes.
- Tribal consultation and participation is also important to determine if additional information through oral histories or other research should be gathered to supplement the research in this study. Research through oral histories from Tribal members may provide more information on ancestral, traditional, and current use of the study area. The memory of these places may live on through oral histories, which we can only know as a result of ethnographic interviews or site visits conducted with Tribal members and traditional practitioners.
- If Tribal consultation provides information on ancestral, traditional, and current use of places within the APE that indicates cultural importance and there is a direct impact on such due to project operations then the following actions are recommended:
    - If places are within the APE but privately owned by others, the Licensee should attempt to foster communication between the Tribe and the landowner in order to develop a mutual understanding of the cultural significance of the place and examine opportunities to preserve its heritage.
- If places are within the APE and on Project land held in fee by the Licensee, the Licensee should, through communication and cooperation by the Tribe, develop an understanding of the cultural significance of the place, examine opportunities to protect its heritage and to the extent possible, implement measure to do so.

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