Mt Greylock: The Years Before Protection
1760-1900

Susan Ann Denault
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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MT. GREYLOCK: THE YEARS
BEFORE PROTECTION
1760-1900

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Susan Denault
1990
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

[Signature]

SUSAN ANN DENAULT

Approved, December 1990

[Signature]

Dr. Norman F. Barka

[Signature]

Dr. Theodore R. Reinhart

[Signature]

Dr. Marley R. Brown III
To My Parents, William & Dorothy Denault

To Eliot Donlon
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the settlement location of historic farmsteads on Mt. Greylock from the 1760's to 1900 when the mountain range came under the protection of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Various historical documents were used to inventory, document and locate historic sites. The significance of each type of document and its contribution toward historical interpretation of the sites was examined and its use explained.

Historical research revealed that farmers selected certain areas for settlement based on previous knowledge of land utilization. As the townships grew these same farmers weighed the local and regional economic conditions that effected agricultural and husbandry practices.

This information was compared with an existing historic farmstead settlement model in Vermont. This study infers that specific environmental variables that influenced settlement decisions temporally and spatially. The settlement locations in Vermont were compared temporally and spatially to those on Mt. Greylock.

The findings in this study have increased the knowledge and data base for eighteenth and nineteenth century sites on Mt. Greylock. Particularly it has revealed that a significant number of eighteenth century farmsteads existed at that time and has provided some insights to their development through the years of this study.

All the data accumulated is pertinent and valuable to the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management in their efforts to inventory, protect and manage archaeological resources within the state park system.

SUSAN ANN DENAULT
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA
INTRODUCTION

Historians, writers and academicians have depicted the New England landscape with a "symbolic" image similar to Currier & Ives lithographs reflecting the physical environment during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This image reflects wide open spaces with beautiful white washed homes surrounded by white picket fences. Village scenes show white steeples towering above mountain peaks in the distance. This however does not accurately portray all aspects of the New England farm and the rural community during this time period. Conclusions about rural farm life can be correctly made by thorough and accurate documentary and archaeological reporting.

Brown (1977) argues that in the past historical archaeologists have excavated sites in New England primarily according to historical significance and research of those sites focused on specific problems of interpretation. Brown labels this type of research context as a "hand-maiden stigma" in which archaeological research is used to fill in the gaps and clarify ambiguities of the documentary record as it pertains to those specific historic sites (1977:13).
During the 1970's, advocates of documentary research such as Deetz (1977) have successfully demonstrated that historical documents and archaeological evidence can elucidate patterns of behavior during colonial and pre-industrial periods. In this context, essential facts can be extrapolated and used in reconstructing past historical landscapes.

In the 1980's, archaeologists conducting upland farm studies have taken on a more regional approach in archaeological investigation (Paynter 1982; Rubertone 1986; Waldbauer 1986). These studies and others have examined the importance of documentary sources to gather information about all aspects of a community or region, that is, the social, political and economical forces and how they would effect what is found in the archaeological record.

Knowledge about former landscapes in Berkshire County in Massachusetts is limited because no significant archaeological investigations or research projects have been conducted in the area making it difficult to re-construct and dispel previously held myths about those landscapes. However, considerable historical documentation is available to the perserving researcher for examination which will provide accurate information about the landscape and
cultural/historical resources contained within it. It is possible to recover this data through the location and examination of historic sites, settlement patterns and land use strategies.

The process of surveying for cultural resources entails several basic procedures that are generally followed in most archaeological investigations. Dincauze (1978) describes the survey process as involving three essential steps: 1- identification of cultural resources in a given project area (if possible by type, function etc.); 2- explanation of their distribution (on a local and regional level) and 3- defining research potential of the cultural resources identified.

Dincauze states that it is inadvisable to go into the field with a research strategy unless the researcher has conducted extensive preliminary research to support the archaeological field work. To resolve issues in the field, a research strategy is first designed and then scientific procedures (which can include examination of historical documents), are implemented to collect data about known and potential cultural resources in the selected project area. The development of an appropriate research design enables the archaeologist to accumulate sufficient facts to be used in the three step procedure of surveying cultural resources.
Chapter I of this paper will address the three investigative steps that Dincauze states are inherent to surveying for cultural resources. This section will also discuss how this process was conducted and what kinds of research documents are pertinent for extrapolating the most information to locate the maximum number of sites. The research strategy for this study involves the use of extensive historical research and intensive above ground archaeological reconnaissance to identify and document cultural resources in the chosen project area. An end result of this paper will be to increase the data base and knowledge of cultural resources for the northern Berkshire area and more specifically for the Mt. Greylock State Reservation.

Chapter II will discuss the historical development of the surrounding communities and what economic, social, and political changes and trends influenced local farmers. It will also reveal the farmer's contributions to local industries and markets. Examination of the changes in the local and regional economies will be made to determine which ones dictated what agricultural products would be grown and what ancillary activities were necessary to sustain a level of self-sufficiency or "competency". The relationship of
how these influences directly or indirectly effected the development of the landscape will be addressed to examine changes in land uses and property boundaries of farmlands through time and space.

Data gathered in the field and obtained from documentary sources can be used to test hypotheses about the location of eighteenth and nineteenth century sites. Chapter III will examine site location and analyze their distribution on a local and regional level. One aspect of spatial patterning examined is whether variables such as soil, water, elevation, aspect and exposure played a role in settlement location. Once sites have been located and these variables examined, inferences can be made about behavioral variability within a given society (House 1977).

Another objective within the scope of this research project is to analyze settlement data from this study with findings from Peter Mires' (1984) study of upland settlement in Vermont. His study of upland settlement in the extreme northern section of the Green Mountains of Vermont examines ecological factors and the relationship they played in effecting settlement location. With modification to his research design, it will be demonstrated that extensive historical documentation can substantiate and supplement
efforts to locate archaeological sites in addition to relying upon certain ecological variables to predict site location. The development of this type of predictive model would help in future efforts to locate additional historic archaeological sites within the Greylock area and can be used to assess its applications to other forested upland areas in Berkshire County.

Lastly, in Chapter IV results from this study will be assessed for its applicability to adjacent properties to the project area as well as for possible assistance to town and state agencies in the Berkshire area in their efforts to inventory cultural resources. The Massachusetts Historical Commission (MHC) concentrates its archaeological efforts primarily on urban areas and the larger cities in the state where the most cultural, industrial and social growth occurred during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The Berkshire County area has been continuously neglected and relegated by the MHC to the lower end of the inventory process because of its rural environment and slower developmental potential.

The Department of Environmental Management's (DEM) Division of Forests and Parks is burdened by both a lack of funding and a limited pool of qualified personnel to conduct
inventory processes. The DEM's inventory efforts are conducted on a minimal level but a general baseline management plan has been designed by administrative officials in an attempt to overcome these shortfalls. This research paper will present recommendations to compliment the DEM's long range management plan for identified cultural resources and can be added to the current Mt. Greylock State Reservation management policies on cultural and historical resources. It is intended that these recommendations will be made available to Mt. Greylock personnel and Department of Environmental Management staff to increase their information of where sites are located, to help them recognize potentially sensitive areas and to aid the decision making process regarding the protection and management of these resources. This knowledge would help avoid any complications between DEM officials, developers and archaeologists when planning is undertaken in or near archaeologically sensitive areas. Most importantly it will save the MHC and DEM time and money when these agencies are called upon to make decisions regarding sites that may be impacted by developmental pressures.
CHAPTER I

RESEARCH DESIGN

In this study the project location chosen for investigation is the Greylock mountain range in the northern part of Berkshire County in western Massachusetts (Fig. 1). It was selected because this region has been disregarded by professionals in the disciplines of Anthropology and Archaeology. A regional study was undertaken because data from a few collective sites in an area cannot form a basis for typifying the cultural behavior of a past society during a given interval in time (House 1977; Babits 1981). The approach used here examines sites as part of a whole or system and how they develop and interact within the environment in which they exist. A study of a past society requires reliable data on the totality of archaeological sites formed by that society which would lead to a more precise picture of the New England landscape.

In the preliminary stages of archaeological site reconnaissance archaeologists and historians have conventionally relied on historical maps as a key tool in locating
Figure 1. Geographic location of project area in western Massachusetts.
and surveying for archaeological sites. Maps, despite some limitations, are widely used because they are valued as a form of material culture. They capture not only the natural environment but more importantly man's influences on the physical landscape, (i.e. farmsteads, mills and roads). These altered landscapes can be regarded as artifacts or cultural documents of an era past or present because they exist as the result of cultural processes (Schlereth 1980).

Maps can reflect underlying components of these cultural processes which provide clues to man's behavior and the reasoning behind his actions. In this context, maps reflect some form of human activity which allows the researcher to interpret man's attempt to shape and change the landscape. They may reveal information about cultural and social geography which indicates efforts by local residents to associate a person (Jones' Nose, Rounds Rock) or natural event (Bellowspipe) with a geographical feature.

Maps can reflect evidence of general patterns: 1- systems of land division, land tenure and associated features, 2- functions of the economy, 3- house and building types, and 4- the agglomeration of houses into hamlets, villages, towns and cities (Hart 1975). They can provide details about specific site location which is useful in
overall settlement pattern assessment for a selected geographic area over a given period of time. By examining the location of historical sites on the landscape collectively, this information can be supplemented with historical document data to assess shifts in land use practices and provide clues on family distribution of land, demographic changes on a small or large scale and changes in economic trends involving shifts from agriculture to industrialization to commercialization. If any changes occurred, this data can be used to examine the impact these changes had on the landscape. Furthermore once a site is identified in a given location, geological, physiographical, and topographical conditions can then be examined to determine if they had any impact upon its historical development.

Even though maps can provide the researcher with many valuable clues for interpreting the landscape, the elements within it and any changes, there are limitations to the depth of data map reading can reveal. Maps are symbolic abstractions of spatial relationships and distortions of reality, thus reflecting certain biases of their creators, i.e. what the map-maker chooses to put in the center and what is prominently labeled. Also scale and proportion can
be falsified either by error or design. Maps neglect to show the space around a particular site (e.g., yards, fields and pastures) and in general this space has been treated as a backdrop rather than as an artifact (Rubertone 1986). These features are part of the landscape and make up the whole unit of settlement.

The exclusive use of historical maps in preliminary site reconnaissance has generated some questions about the validity of the data they provide. Questions usually asked about the use of historical maps entail: 1- What is their historical value? 2- How do they affect our knowledge of the past? 3- What does the map prove or establish beyond what is already accepted as historical truth? and 4- What historical evidence can the map be pressed to yield? Later this paper will evaluate some of the falsehoods and pitfalls involved in using historic maps as the principle method for identifying and surveying for cultural resources in upland forest regions.

Archaeologists, historians and geographers argue that maps should not be a sole source in the site recovery process because of their limitations, and that research efforts should be complemented with other primary and secondary sources to provide the necessary information
needed for a more complete approach to historical interpretation and analysis of settlement data. Baker (1979) contends that thorough analysis of primary documents can provide valuable information about site location, utilization and formation process of the various archaeological contexts and may minimize or eliminate biases in the preliminary site recovery process which would in turn circumvent biases in later archaeological sampling efforts.

The incomplete use of primary and secondary sources in site recovery research is usually due to cost factors set forth in the budget of a project. As a general practice, historical archaeologists have paid minimal attention to the importance of complete historical documentation in the development of a research design. A widely held belief is that it takes too much time to completely research a project area and the volume of data resulting from this process would be too unwieldy.

This study proposes that a multiple research approach is effective in the early stages of investigation which can reveal clues about settlement areas, specific site locations and land use practices. This data will help to explain the distribution of cultural resources and enabling a clearer definition of their research potential (Dincause 1978).
Foremost, maximum available knowledge will help the archaeologist determine the sampling strategies to employ in subsequent levels of surveying.

During the early stages of investigative research all historical resources available should be examined to determine which primary and secondary documents are valuable to the project. The types of historical documents considered in this project include deed and land transaction records, probate court records, Federal agricultural and industrial census schedules, population census records, local histories, newspapers and interviews with local residents.

One important source of documentation scrutinized in this study is a comprehensive deed study of land records for the project area. The value of deed research as a source of historical documentation has been neglected and should have greater emphasis placed upon it. Deed research enables the researcher to gather data about land sales which can be used to examine the development and changes in land use practices by family members and within a community over a period of time. The data can then be evaluated with social, political, and economical activities occurring throughout a period of time and within a given geographical area.
While deed research can reveal a great deal of information, there are problems in conducting this process. Babits (1981) points out that some archaeologists (Langhorn 1980; Wiley 1980; Neff 1980) have demonstrated that the traditional manner of tracing site ownership is not an efficient, nor a particularly useful way of providing temporal depth or other information within a survey area. In many instances during early land sales, deeds were lost or never recorded at the appropriate registry of deeds. The reasons for this may vary, but it creates a hole or gap in the chain of title. Another problem is incorrect property descriptions, making it more difficult to piece land parcels together. But, with conscientious investigative work, this gap in information can be filled.

One considerable drawback in this method is that it requires a degree of skill to conduct this type of intensive research. Patience is needed to pay attention to the smallest detail of information which enables the researcher to piece together all the land parcels in a given area. Experience comes from the repetition of specific procedures for following the parcels of land back from present times to the colonial period when the original land grants were established.
Deeds can be useful in determining a tentative period of occupation, usually designated by the mention of "buildings thereon". Note is taken when the first appearance of "buildings thereon" is mentioned and the last date referenced. Usually a period of five years plus or minus is allowed for the start and end of the occupation period. However, when deeds indicate "buildings thereon", this does not always indicate how long the land was occupied. For example, if a deed in 1810 makes reference to "buildings thereon" and is mentioned in successive deed transactions up until 1850 but not referred again until 1880 this could imply two possibilities. First, it may suggest that there could have been two separate occupation periods one from 1810-1850 and a separate occupation period starting in 1880. A second explanation would suggest that there is only one long term period of occupation from 1810-1880, and the mention of "buildings thereon" for the years between 1850-1880 could have been an oversight of the transcriber writing the description into the bound volumes stored at the registry of deeds. There is the possibility that the reference was never mentioned in the original deed. This is unlikely since the addition of buildings would increase the total value of a piece of land and would be reflected in the
total selling price of that property. If there was a noticeable increase in the value of the land over a short period of time, the possibility exists that improvements were made to that property.

However, deeds can not always be relied on to indicate references to "buildings thereon" or specific types of land uses. Early land records may not reflect all the information on human/land relationships. The frontier provided an opportunity for transients or squatters to establish temporary shelters on their way to a more permanent residence. These ephemeral settlements and the associated activities with them may not have been established long enough to appear in the archaeological and historical record. These people may not have had the capital to purchase the land therefore no deed would have been created to reflect ownership. Also, other temporary structures such as log cabins built at the time of initial settlement may not be reflected in historic documents, especially in land deeds. When indicators of settlement are not referenced, other research materials such as census records, local histories, maps and probate inventories may fill in the missing data.
Despite these limitations, substantial emphasis has been placed on deed research in this study to locate historic sites for reasons unique to this work. The project began in 1980 as part of a college internship assignment and it was not possible to conduct sampling strategies due to the lack of funding; time was not a great factor; the area had not been previously inventoried for cultural resources and there was no immediate threat to the known or potential sites of the area. These circumstances allowed a comprehensive project to develop over a term of ten years in which extensive research and intensive field reconnaissance was conducted. The results of this work will save time and money if any of the various phases of surveying for cultural resources are carried out in the future.

As part of the initial research and inventory process, the overall data generated was used to identify potential cultural and archaeological zones. The information derived from this process allowed assessment in determining which areas may be more sensitive than others and what sites may be potentially more significant than others. By completing the identifying process beforehand, it created an opportunity to put the archaeological site(s) in a context that would give more meaning and significance to what may be
found in the field prior to digging a test pit in the woods during Phase I, II or III surveying. This allows the researcher to employ appropriate archaeological sampling strategies to locate additional sites in the project area during the various phases of surveying.
RESEARCH PROJECT

The project began, as noted above, in 1980 and 1981, as part of a non-funded student internship program at North Adams State College. At the same time, the writer was working as a part time employee at the Mt. Greylock State Reservation and was granted permission to conduct a historic archaeological inventory to determine the number of historic archaeological sites that could be located and identified in the over 11,000 acre Mt. Greylock State reservation tract.¹

The initial inventory process was conducted by using atlases for the years 1904, 1894, 1876, and 1858 to identify and locate all known sites in the towns of Adams, North Adams, Cheshire, Lanesboro, Williamstown and New Ashford included in the project area. These atlases disclosed major water sources and the location of roads which were used jointly to identify potential settlement areas. Additional maps displaying local and more topical information were available for some of the individual towns and information

¹ For Mt. Greylock State Reservation five historic archaeological sites were filed with the Massachusetts Historical Commission's State Register by James Parrish former historic preservation planner in 1980. This author filed thirteen sites with this agency in that same year.
from these maps that was applicable to the research project was collected and used.

Maps for the Berkshire area and for Mt. Greylock are very limited regarding the date they were printed and what the mapmaker intended to show. These maps generally represent individual residences and the larger industrial sites and complexes along the major water sources. A main concern was that settlement activity that occurred in the years from the time of initial settlement in the 1760's to 1858, the date of the first reliable atlas, would not be adequately represented in the site recovery process if these maps were the primary source.

The use of the aforementioned maps and in some cases with the assistance of park personnel from the Mt. Greylock State Reservation and local residents successfully yielded the location of numerous sites in the field during the recovery process in 1980 and 1981. The location of sites led to the identification of cultural zones and an initial evaluation of current and potential impact to these sites (Denault 1981). These zones were identified based upon their potential association as collective cultural units along road beds and river areas.
Evaluation of the impacts to these sites were made by examining current Department of Environmental Management (DEM) forestry and recreational uses in the areas where the archaeological sites were found. Sensitive areas were pinpointed when concentrations of archaeological resources fell into designated forestry and recreational use areas. These areas were evaluated with the use of the DEM's comprehensive management plan designed for the Mt. Greylock Reservation. This plan sets policies and goals to meet the DEM's request for state parks to implement a long term plan to inventory, protect, and manage natural and cultural resources within the State Park system. Sites that have been impacted or may be potentially threatened by forestry or recreational activities warrant documentation and notification made to the appropriate agencies so that continued or future impact may be avoided or minimized.

One important discovery made during the initial site reconnaissance stage of the 1980 internship was that additional sites were found in the field that were not represented on any of the historic maps. Curiosity and further research into deeds and other documents led to two unexpected findings. First, deed research revealed sites that were not previously known. For example, research
indicates that poor houses, small dairies, and mill sites existed during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Second, ancillary activities such as charcoal manufacturing, sheep herding and iron ore mining occurred at different times and locations. These examples indicate different types of site function, occupancy or use and differing cultural and socio-economic statuses that would not be evident or accurately represented in a traditional archaeological survey in upland areas.

These findings give credence to the opinion that historical maps are limited and often biased in providing the range of information needed to collect a representative sample of historic sites. This is especially valid for the time periods from initial settlement in the 1760's to the mid-nineteenth century when map availability is limited and often non-existent. These indications warn the researcher that maps have to be approached with caution when used in the site recovery process. Based on these indications it was decided to apply an investigative strategy involving principally deed research and the use of other primary historical documents to locate and document additional archaeological sites on Mt. Greylock State Reservation.
Another part of the initial phase of site reconnaissance (Denault 1980, 1981) was the recording of pertinent data about those sites located: past and present vegetation, water sources, visible archaeological features, topography, slope and elevation. This information is required by the Massachusetts Historical Commission (MHC) when agencies file historic archaeological sites for inclusion in the Massachusetts State Register of Cultural Resources. For each site located in the field, scaled and detailed drawings were made showing all visible features and its proximity to roads and water sources.

Also as part of the first stage of investigation in 1980 and 1981 after the known sites had been located and documented, a minimal amount of deed research was used to verify possible site function, information about land owners and possible periods of site occupation. Deed research data was recorded on 3x5 index cards for ease of storage and referral. All pertinent information noted included: grantor, grantee, occupation, residency of principals if out of the area or state, cost of the sale, deed book and page, date of the transaction, location of the property, description of the parcel(s) of land(s), acreage, information relating to site function, land usage and reference to buildings or improvements.
PROJECT LOCATION

The research project lies within and adjacent to the 11,000 acre (approximately covering 17 square miles) Mt. Greylock State Reservation located partially in the towns of Adams, North Adams, Williamstown, New Ashford, Lanesboro and Cheshire (Fig. 2). Mt. Greylock is the highest peak in the state with an elevation of 3,491 feet. Other significant peaks comprising the mountain range form a six-mile long north-south ridge consisting of Saddleball (3,238), Mount Fitch (3,110), Mt. Prospect (2,951), and Mt. Williams (2,882).
FIGURE 2.
GEOLOGY

The Greylock range was formed approximately 440 million years ago during the "Taconic Revolution", a period concurrent with the coming together of North America and Europe as described in the theory of continental drift. This mountain and its features exist from the active erosion of glacial ice sheets during the Pleistocene period which ended with the Wisconsin Age nearly 10,000 years ago.

The strata underlying Mt. Greylock are of four main types: a cap of Taconic schist, an indistinct layer of mixed Greylock schist and Bellowspipe limestone, and a layer of Stockbridge limestone, all reposing on a base of Vermont or Green Mountain Quartzite (Dale 1894; Cleland 1924). Soil depths on Mt. Greylock vary from less that six inches on the ridgetops to several feet on the lower slopes and valley bottoms (Clark and Carlozzi 1976). Similar to the common soil type throughout the Green Mountains in Vermont, the soils of Greylock Mt. are of very fine texture due to their schist origin, fertility is generally high, especially on the lower slopes where limestone outcroppings are more prevalent.

There are numerous soil types throughout the Greylock range but primarily three types cover this massif. Lyman-Tunbridge (LtE) found on the upper steep slopes;
Tunbridge-Lyman (TuC) and Berkshire-Marlow (BmE) are on the sides and tops of the hills and mountain peaks. Other soil associations distributed in the project area and vicinity consist of: Peru-Marlow (PmC), Amenia silt loam (AmC); Farmington loam (FaC); Fullam-Lanesboro (FwC); Hoosic (HoB); and Pittsfield loam (PsD) (Soil Survey of Berkshire County 1988) (Appendix 1).

The mountain range falls within the Hoosic River watershed and is drained through the Hoosic River and its main tributary, the Green River (Clark and Carozzi 1976). Major water sources or rivers include the Hopper, Roaring, Kitchen, Pecks and Notch Brooks which originate on Greylock's higher elevations and run down the slopes to meet with the Hoosac or Green Rivers. In addition, within close proximity to the project area there are three man-made water reservoirs lying on the lower slopes of the mountain. Two of them lie on the northern perimeters of the mountain, Notch Reservoir in North Adams and the Williamstown Reservoir lying in Williamstown and North Adams. The Kitchen Brook watershed lies in Cheshire at the southeastern end of the mountain range. These water sources were created to meet the demands of growing populations in the surrounding towns during the mid to late nineteenth century.
CLIMATE

The climate of western Massachusetts is continental, characterized by rigorous, cold winters and short, cool summers with considerable rain mixed with brief periods of warm, sultry weather. Large climatic differences can occur at different locations on the mountain. Precipitation amounts and form vary on certain sections of the mountain. Forty-five inches of rain fall in an average year and as much as 70 inches of snow in the highlands. One side of the mountain may receive a heavy snow squall while the opposite side receives none at all. It has been reported that snow has been found in the inner depths of the Hopper well into the months of June and July.

Temperatures vary with elevation. The valley is generally warmer than the summit areas. The warmest average temperature in July is 79 degrees, while on a few days in January and February the thermometer does not rise above zero. Frost-free days average 142 in the lowlands (Milham, undated; Clark and Carrozzi 1976) but are fewer at the higher elevations. During the winter months the prevailing winds are out of the northwest and from the southwest in the summer months.
Vegetation on Greylock primarily consists of the hardwood species of birch, beech and maple on the lower slopes, with conditions becoming more boreal with increased altitude. Stunted firs and spruces, mixed with some beech and birch, are found at the higher elevations. Stands of planted spruce exist in the Notch reservoir area and in the Wilbur's clearing area between Mt. Fitch and Mt. Prospect.
METHODOLOGY

The approach used in the current phase of study utilizes the techniques of intensive and extensive research of land titles and deeds associated with the properties in the project area. The region includes all the lands within the state owned Mt. Greylock Reservation proper and private properties that fall within the lower mountainous slopes adjacent to the Reservation\(^2\) (Fig.3). These private properties were judged to be as necessary to the study as the state lands because their proximity prescribed that interactivity affected the settlement and development of the entire area. This interdependency still exists as commercial or recreational development of either area would certainly impact the other.\(^3\)

\(^2\) This is in anticipation that some of these large tracts of land may be acquired by the Commonwealth in the future to be added to the Reservation.

\(^3\) During the 1970's efforts to develop the eastern face of Greylock in Adams were undertaken. Several parcels of land in this area were bought by a developer who razed the structures standing at the time. As a result the ground in many areas was disturbed impacting some of the archaeological sites. Developmental efforts came to a halt in the late 1970's, but the idea to revive the multi-use resort may potentially threaten undocumented archaeological sites.
FIGURE 3.

PROJECT BOUNDARIES.

- Shaded area in the center of the map is Mt. Greylock State Reservation
- Cross-lined areas are non-reservation lands included in the project
Initial research for state owned land started with a 1904 map of the original Greylock Reservation (Fig. 4). This map, which makes up a majority of the present Reservation, was compiled to show the land parcels acquired by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Subsequent state acquisitions and non-reservation property research were started with the use of current assessors maps from each of the towns and property owners' deeds.

The objective of the deed research was to trace individual tracts of land backward in time to when the colonial grants were originally established and sold by individual proprietors. This process involved creating separate chains of title for each tract of land involved within the project area. Attention was placed upon detecting any indication of potential archaeological sites and land uses other than farming. Documentation of land sales are important for revealing clues on patterning such as disposal of land by family members and diverse trends and changes in land use.
Deed research data was compiled and organized and recorded in a flow chart manner for each property within the project area (Fig. 5). Each parcel of land was identified and plotted to scale on the appropriate assessors map. Later, the parcels of land were overlaid on a USGS topographical map to scale to examine boundary and land use changes both temporally and spatially. Placing individual land parcels and known archaeological sites on these maps provided information to examine if any relationship existed between settlement location and land features. For those sites discovered through research but not verified in the source used in the research process included examination of probate records. 4 These records take three major forms: 1- wills, 2- inventories, and 3- administrations. Wills state

Figure 5. Flow chart for the "Dudley Lot".

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the wishes of the deceased and directs how the disposal of property among heirs and assigns will occur. Inventories itemize and evaluate the forms of personal and real property. Lastly, administration accounts furnish reports to the court on the disposition of property for intestacy cases and also in those cases where the will provided an insufficient guide to the legal settlement of the estate.

Probate records were examined to detect clues about personal property, i.e. farm tools, produce and livestock which would reflect specific agricultural practices as well as other economic and social activities. This information was supplemented with data from Federal agricultural census schedules to establish trends in agricultural and husbandry practices in the area.

U.S. Census records from 1790 (the first) through 1900 were examined to obtain specific information regarding occupations, family members, other individuals living under a given household, and general population trends within the six communities. Local histories of the individual towns and local newspapers were researched for information regarding economic and social trends, agricultural and forestry practices, and trade data. Relevant information about local farms and farmers was also extracted.
Business directories, Federal industrial census schedules, state and New England gazetteers were examined for information about mills, small industries and businesses that may have influenced farmers' decisions. Some of the industries operated by the mountain farmers themselves and the influence(s) they had on the local or regional markets were also assessed. Lastly, town meeting minutes were examined for the layout and acceptance of roads which were used to identify the establishment of road systems which aided in determining settlement dates for certain areas.⁵

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⁵ Town meeting minute records were not available for the Town of New Ashford. The location of these records is not known or why they are not available to the public. For the town of Lanesboro, town meeting minutes are missing after 1890. The original early Williamstown Proprietor's minutes from 1753-1803 (BK A) are missing. But there are typed minutes from 1765-1803 available at the town clerk's office.
EARLY WHITE SETTLEMENT

During the early 1700's, settlers could only emigrate to the southern Berkshire County area because of the threat of Indian attacks in the northern territory of the county. The first white men to step foot in these wild lands were the King's soldiers assigned to protect Massachusetts' northern border from Indian raids from the north. In June 1744 when England and France declared war, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts ordered a line of forts to be built along this frontier extending from Fort Drummer, now Brattleboro, Vermont, through East and West Hoosuck (now Adams/North Adams and Williamstown respectively). These forts guarded the "western gateway", a natural passage of strategic importance used by French and Indian raiding parties from Lake Champlain and upper Vermont to raid towns in southern Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The few settlers that did make it to the northern Berkshire area sought protection from Fort Massachusetts (built in 1744) situated along the Hoosac River in North Adams. However, this guard station was attacked and burned
in 1745 by the French and Indians leaving the Housatonic Valley once again virtually naked and vulnerable to Indian attacks. Settlers in the more inhabited and civilized southern end of the county counted on the spiritual force of the Stockbridge Mission to civilize and convert first the friendly Mohicans and eventually the hostile Mohawks.

The outbreak of war again in 1754 brought threats of Indian raids discouraging renewed interests in settlement in the unprotected northern frontier. But with the triumph of the British at Quebec in 1759, an end came to the French and Indian war and to the numerous Indian uprisings in western Massachusetts.

During the years following this victory, the Massachusetts General Court recognized a potential source of revenue in the western frontier. In an effort to encourage its settlement, auctions were held to sell off ten townships, seven of them lying in Berkshire County. The proprietors and speculators found effective allies in the soldiers of Sir William Pepperell coming home to eastern Massachusetts after the Crown Point Campaign on Lake Champlain (Birdsall 1959). They talked enthusiastically of the well watered, heavily wooded slopes and fertile intervals they had seen and many
of them substantiated their testimonials by emigrating themselves to the area.

The northern Berkshire frontier between 1761-1790 opened up for exploration and settlement. Bohanran & Plog (1967) categorize the types of people that advanced the frontier into two groups. The first comprises of those who used nature to their means: fur trappers, missionaries, soldiers, prospectors, and herdsmen. These explorers prepared the way for later homesteaders by discovering new territories and opening transportation routes. The second category is made up of those who intended to subdue nature and tame the land: farmers, land speculators, town planners, merchants, millers and tradesmen. During the 1760's-1790's the early white settlement of Greylock would have been by members of the first group while the second category of people worked their way into the frontier after the 1790's.

At the beginning of the settlement cycle, officers and soldiers who had served in the French and Indian and Revolutionary Wars were given prime opportunity to acquire large tracts of land for services rendered to the Commonwealth. Early land transaction records from the proprietors to settlers show some of these individuals paying cash for a portion of the lands and in lieu of the
balance, payment was rescinded for services rendered in the army, for settling in the unopened territory, clearing the forest, or road building in the new frontier.

The period from the 1760's-1790's was one of widespread land speculation, especially in the towns of Adams/North Adams and Williamstown. Two well known land speculators were Nathan Jones and Ephraim Seelye. In June 1762, Jones purchased at auction from the General Court the township of East Hoosuck or what is now the towns of Adams and North Adams. About this same time Seelye bought, in a blanket deed, from the proprietors all of the undivided lands in West Hoosuck which is now Williamstown. Part of this purchase was comprised of Mt. Prospect, the Hopper, and Stoney ledge (Browne n.d.). The availability of large tracts of land to be purchased at a minimal cost, allowed speculators to have these lands surveyed and divided into colonial lots ready for sale.

The usual number of proprietors to a township were sixty and usually sixty-three first division lots were laid out. Each proprietor drew one of these "settling" or first division lots. Two lots were set aside for the minister, and one for schools. Undivided lands in a township were termed "common" and proprietors held a common interest in
any of the remaining land of the original grant. This land was disposed of by vote of the proprietors. Often this common land was divided into second, third and fourth lots (and so on) until the whole grant was sold off.

The western slopes of the Greylock range lying in Williamstown (formerly West Hoosac) were not divided into lots for sale at an early time. Most of the massive tracts of forests were common and undivided lands which were later sold off as wood lots that conformed to the contours of the mountain slopes.

"The reason why that part had been so long neglected was, that the meadows along the Hoosac where it enters the town, and for some distance further, were low and swampy, and the higher lands sloping down to these from the base of Saddle Ball (Greylock), were clayey and inclined to be wet." [Perry 1894:44].

These lands were later divided into "pitches" or timber lots. The ninth and last lots or "pitches" in Williamstown provided an opportunity for each owner of a house lot to lay out for himself, on any of the still undivided lands, thirty acres, in one or two or three pieces, as he chose. These pieces of land were usually grabbed by the land speculators.
On the eastern slopes of Greylock which lays in North Adams and Adams, uniform blocks of two hundred acre lots ran in a north and south direction to the Adams/Cheshire town line. New Ashford's lots on the western slopes of the mountain are very irregular and appear to conform to the layout of the mountain range. Similar to Adams, the lots in Lanesboro and Cheshire were uniform in shape. The township of Cheshire in the southeast sector of the range was formed from portions of land that were originally part of Lanesboro, Adams, and New Ashford.6

Once the territory was opened and the colonial lots surveyed for sale, settlers came mostly from Connecticut, Rhode Island and eastern Massachusetts to give their try at breaking new ground to establish a workable homestead. The new settlers came in cohesive bodies. In Adams, a group of Rhode Island Quakers found not only the peace and freedom they were seeking but boundless economic opportunities to capitalize on the ample water power (Birdsall 1959). In

6 It is said that in laying out the western boundary of the town, the zigzag line was drawn with reference to the religious views of the settlers, taking the farms of the Baptist families into Cheshire, and leaving the Presbyterians in Lanesboro (Child 1885).
Cheshire, the Baptists also came from Rhode Island to try to make a new start.

Initially the flow of settlers was slow, for accessibility proved to be restrictive because of the lack of any major water routes. At its nearest point, the Berkshires are approximately twenty-five miles from any navigable waters (Colman 1837). By contrast, Albany the capital of New York, only sixty miles west of Williamstown was settled nearly 100 years earlier due to its location on the Hudson River.

Also lacking was a good network of roads into this new unexplored region. At the onset, transportation and quick communications were not considered essential. The roads first laid out served the inhabitants of the town going to and from the center of town and individual farmers passing from farm to farm. The early roads were built along the straightest routes, going over every hill that came in their way and climbing up moderate mountain slopes. Sections of mountain roads on Greylock did not always follow the contours of the land. The early roads were built with an overwhelming amount of physical labor and expense therefore it was cheaper to take the shortest route than to construct roads along the circuitous valleys where bridges would have to be erected across the meandering streams (Wilson 1967).
Parks (1967) points out that the road building era in New England consisted of two phases. During the turnpike era from the 1790's through the war of 1812 roads were constructed at the expense of corporations usually connecting major towns and cities. The second phase from 1820-1840 saw roads being built and maintained with heavy labor and expense to the town residents. These roads were built for general use and importance to the public. The majority of the northern Berkshire area fits into this latter period of road construction but prior to 1790 town meeting minutes show roads being constructed at a rapid rate, especially in the towns of Lanesboro and Williamstown. These same records show that as part of the road construction phase additional surveyors had to be chosen at town meetings from the pool of local residents to supervise the increased road construction.

During initial settlement in the towns, colonial laws originally required all adult males to work a number of days each year in the roads. By 1800 the individual towns voted to assess a highway tax in proportion to the value of property holdings. In early town meeting minutes tax rates were set to pay for the construction and maintenance of roads. For example, Adams town meeting minutes show that
the highway tax rate rose dramatically in 1806 to $1200, a rate nearly four times that of the first year in 1779 when the rate was 100 pounds (Spear 1885:41).\footnote{In 1779 all the towns in Berkshire County were still using English pounds as the basis for taxes and business transactions and was still used in the 1790's. In 1792 the U.S. Congress passed the first coinage act replacing the British pound. (Funk & Wagnalls, Vol.17,p.6157)}

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a widespread network of roads throughout the slopes of Mount Greylock was established by the surrounding towns as well as private individuals (Appendix 2). Physical evidence of some of these old roads whether they are logging roads, routes connecting one town to another or private farm roads can be found today. For example, the lower section of the current Bellowspipe Trail in North Adams in the notch between Ragged Mt. and Mt. Williams was a former road laid out in 1791 by the early pioneer Jeremiah Wilbur.\footnote{Adams town meeting minutes for April 1791 pp. 94 & 95.}
Another road (the former West Mt. road running from North Adams to Adams) laid out in 1793 and accepted by town vote in 1796 ran easterly and southerly along the eastern ridge of Ragged Mt. from Jeremiah Wilbur's house to the Quaker Meetinghouse located on Maple and Friend Streets in Adams.9

The Greylock Commission's Annual Report for 1914 gives indication of a road that ran from the southwestern corner of Adams into Cheshire and New Ashford:
"The highway which leads down to Cheshire Harbor..." This is supposed to be a part of the old stage road, at one time running from Cheshire Harbor westerly around Jones Nose."10

The Hopper Road in Williamstown led easterly from the Green River valley deep into the Hopper where it dead ended,

9 Adams town meeting minutes for 1793 pp. 115.
10 See Susan A. Churchill to Commonwealth of Massachusetts, BK 273/PG 515 (NBRD) November, 23, 1905. "Together with a right of way from the lands of Leonard A. Rider along the line of the 'Old Stage Road', so called...See Leonard A. Rider to Commonwealth of Massachusetts, BK 271/PG 229 (NBRD) March 14, 1905. "...a right to connect the same with the "Old stage road", so called at a point near where said stage road crosses Bassett Brook.
but at one point in time it led up the steep mountain face of Stoney Ledge to the now present Sperry campground located on the west side of Greylock. The Roaring Brook road in Williamstown led eastward from the now present Route 7 into Goodell Hollow area. The Bowers and Ingraham roads ran along the outskirts of the mountain from Lanesboro to New Ashford.

The emigration of the settlers to the north Berkshire area and to the upper slopes of Mt. Greylock is a unique occurrence. Most of the new arrivals left more hospitable environments, flatter land and established communities to take upon themselves and their families a life of hardship, labor and uncertain weather conditions in these rugged mountains.

The environmental conditions on Greylock are extremely varied. The growing season in the area is short when measured against agricultural standards in the central and eastern regions of Massachusetts. The season usually starts in late May or early June and runs through September depending upon the hardiness of plants. Frost free days become fewer in number at the higher elevations.

The weather on the mountain is quite variable regarding precipitation, with extreme temperature fluctuations and
isolated storms. Varying precipitation amounts have been
documented on portions of the mountain at different times
generally making winters long and extremely cold.
Occasionally winters can be moderately mild freeing the
mountain of snow except at its higher peaks. Summers are
generally moderately warm and wet but may vary from an
inffrequent hot and dry period to an equally infrequent wet
and cool season.

Contrary to what is believed about this under-developed
territory and the environmental conditions, there were early
settlers who recognized the potential of the northern
Berkshire area. Most of the settlers came to the Greylock
area looking for an opportunity to establish workable
farmsteads for themselves and their descendants. Henry
Colman (1837:13), the Secretary of Agriculture for the state
of Massachusetts, commented that:

"In an agricultural view the county of Berkshire
is singularly favored in respect to its climate,
its soil, its water, its capacity of production and
its vicinity to markets."
He continues (1837:9):

"the hills every where abound with springs of the purest water and these added to the numerous permanent streams intersecting the county in various directions, afford extraordinary advantages to the farmers of Berkshire over the tenants of a level country."

Reverend Charles Palmer (n.d.:11) speculated that settlers came to the Lanesborough area for the following reasons:

"Here is the perfection of surrounding environment, here are the wild mountains in their sublime magnificence, calculated to develop manly and sturdy qualities, to make brave, martial, courageous men, inured to toil and thoughts and images of grandeur, and on the other hand here are the hillsides with their gorgeous beauty, calculated to polish and refine this strength with the graces that beautify and adorn."

One chief reason for settlement in the northern Berkshire "frontier" may be attributed to the vastness of an unexplored wilderness. Paul Bohanran and Fred Plog (1967) claim that the "frontier is a geographic area adjacent to
the unsettled portions in which a low man-land ratio and abundant natural resources provide an unusual opportunity for the individual to better himself economically and socially without external aid." Birdsall (1954) contends that the Berkshires naturally seemed more attractive to New Englanders than the fertile land in New York state between the Taconics and the Hudson where they could only look forward to becoming tenants of the local patroon, Robert Livingston.\textsuperscript{11} The Berkshires would offer the settler an opportunity for advancement of one self in lands free from a governing body and a chance to establish a self-sufficient farmstead.

Cox (1985) contends that New England's forests were settled by those who had a desire to conquer the frontier forests. Their ancestors from Europe did not have the opportunity to exploit the forests for they were only accessible to the wealthy and landed classes. Here in America these people had the opportunity to be rid of this limited privilege and the chance to provide not only for

\textsuperscript{11} Livingston was the chancellor of New York from 1777-1801 and a U.S. statesman. He withdrew from public life in 1804 and became noted for his experimentation in scientific farming. (Colliers Encyclopedia 1960 Vol. 12:20)
themselves but for their descendents. To the settlers the forests of America represented not only a challenge but a remarkable catalog of emerging opportunities in a "timber intensive economy" (Cox 1985).

According to Thomas Nixon Carver's sketch of American agriculture there are five stages of agricultural evolution in New England, four of which are applicable to this study: 1- 1607-1783 - period of land clearing and reduction of forests for cultivation leading to the rise of self-sufficient farmers; 2- 1783-1830 - period of rapid expansion, development of public land policy and beginnings of scientific methods in agriculture; 3- 1830's-1860's - a transitional period from self-sufficiency farming to a commercialized form of agriculture sparked by the coming of the railroad into the interior lands. Production was aimed primarily to meet the demands of local markets; 4- 1860's to the close of the century. In this period agricultural expansion spread into the western United States stimulated by two legislative policies, the Homestead Acts of 1862 and 1864. These events sparked the exodus of many New England farmers to newer, fertile unsettled lands in the plain states (Wilson 1967).
Harold Wilson's scheme reflect's a somewhat different type of development in southern New England: 1- time of settlement to the first decade of the nineteenth century consisted of a period of a self-sufficient economy with little market for surplus farm products; 2- a transitional stage from 1820 through the Civil War, a period of change from self-sufficient agriculture to a more commercialized form of agriculture primarily due to the rise of manufacturing in the inland towns and villages. 3- 1870's to the end of the nineteenth century saw a decline in rural population and agricultural production which resulted in "abandoned" or "unoccupied farms".

Despite Carver's and Wilson's scenarios reflecting slightly different time periods for each stage, the events that occurred are similar. This study tends to reflect Wilson's view of agricultural development but with a degree of overlapping in these stages. In the northern Berkshire County area, the first stage from the 1760's through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, consisted of forest clearing and the development of primary road systems. This period saw the farmer producing staple crops and dairy goods for the family. The second stage from the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century to the 1860's was a period
in which farmers turned away from self-sufficiency to a more commercialized form of agriculture. These changes came about from the introduction of the railroad and expansion of the local and regional markets. The last stage, 1870's to the end of the nineteenth century was a period of dramatic change. Continued industrial growth brought about increases in population and in the demands placed upon the market. The up and coming trend was a shift from agriculture toward dairy production, forcing farmers to re-think their husbandry practices.
FOREST REMOVAL: 1760's - 1810

Greylock Mt. initially provided a nearly unlimited supply of natural resources i.e., water, land and trees. The availability of these key resources allowed the development of several types of land uses that occurred on the mountain from the late 1700's through the early 1900's. These land uses included: 1- timbering, 2- milling, 3- agriculture, 4- charcoaling, 5- dairying, and 6- mining. Throughout the 140 year period of white settlement, large and small tracts of land were purchased and utilized by private individuals and companies for one or more of the above purposes. The exploitation of these parcels differed at various times and locations and was often influenced by changes in the economy.

Timbering was one of the earliest and most extensive activities on the mountain. Initially the purpose of removing the timber was to clear land for cultivation and for shelter. The vast wood supply also provided a valuable source of fuel for individuals and eventually in the late nineteenth century supplied the needs of local mills, railroad and mining companies. The Hopper, Pecks, and Notch Brooks all provided more than enough water power to supply the saw mills operated by several generations of the Pettits, Bacons, Deans and the Wilburs.
The viewpoint that pioneer settlers had of the forests and the mountains influenced their decisions on settlement and where to practice agriculture and other ancillary activities. Clearing the forests opened the way for agricultural lands and pastures which in turn paved the path for a more self-sufficient way of life and which eventually for some led to the build-up of surpluses to be sold on the commercial market both locally and regionally.

A general practice by New England farmers was to clear the forests and farm the hilltops and ridge crests rather than the nearby valleys. Higher ground provided dryer conditions allowing the farmer to bring the land quickly into a state of cultivation. Land on the hills was easier to clear than the tangled woods in the valleys. The tree growth was sparser, and the stumps decayed sooner than on the lower, wet ground. On the hill sites a crop of grain could be grown the first year after the removal of timber even though soil conditions were rocky and shallow it served to produce a good crop for many years.

This was the situation in earlier times in Adams (which also included North Adams) where the valleys and lowlands were extensively swampy with prominent stands of pine, indicating poorer soil conditions. The meadows on the Hoosac river were
frequently overflowed (especially in South Adams and Cheshire) and it was considered unsafe to settle near the stream (Spear 1885). The village site (North Adams) and its immediate vicinity was called by early settlers the poorest part of the town of Adams. It was miserable land for farming purposes, like most pine land. The first farmers preferred settling on the mountain slope, they said the "flat would hardly bear white beans." (Spear 1885:16)

From the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century there existed a hardheaded materialism in the settlers that encouraged forest clearing not because of any distaste for the woods but because of economic necessity. The presence of a towering forest was more than an impediment, it was a threat to his survival. This sense of survival dictated that money had to be earned from crops raised in forest clearings, from the sale of woodland products, or from a combination of the two (Cox 1985). But, initially the abundance of trees was an asset that few could capitalize on because of a shortage of both labor and capital. Farmland, by contrast, was something that could be turned to profit with a rudimentary knowledge of husbandry and an abundance of hard work.
To settle in an area or to raise specific crops the settler applied his knowledge about tree and soil type relationships to begin his quest to conquer and bring the land under a state of cultivation. Lillard (1973) speculates that early settlers used local vegetation as soil gauges for settlement purposes. This knowledge consisted of what tree types indicated better soil conditions than others and combined with a hostility to undesirable tree types, the trees were eliminated as soon as possible making available land ready for cultivation.

Spruce and hemlock indicated a thin cold soil with a tough sward called a rug which had to be burned, before the soil could be plowed leading to the growth of good grass. Beech and maple indicated more easily cultivable land with warm, rich and loamy soils. Ash, elm, black, and yellow birch signified a deeper, richer soil. Lillard believes that hardwood lands attracted settlers, but never lured timber speculators as did the lands covered with pine and other cone-bearing trees. Colliers, on the other hand, looked for stands of hickory and white oak for charcoal manufacture.

Late eighteenth century maps of Greylock Mt. indicate areas of hardwood vegetation encompassing primarily the
higher slopes on the mountain. Timothy Dwight on his ascent up Mt. Greylock in 1800 commented on the types of vegetation present on his way up to the summit: "The forests are maple, beech, cherry and birch." "There are also several large spots and streaks of evergreens, chiefly hemlock and spruce." If Lillard's findings are true, then choice by farmers and millwrights to settle an area should be reflected in site location.
AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION & PROSPERITY

Studies on upland farming have generally concluded that in rural New England towns dependent upon agriculture as a means of that communities' survival was unprofitable. This resulted in the break-up of well established settlements and abandoned farms and fields. Taylor (1984) contributes farm decline and abandonment in New Hampshire, as well as in parts of Vermont and Maine to economic conditions and lack of proper management of soils causing limited crop growth and soil exhaustion. He also indicates that the collapse of hill farming communities occurred where there were no factories to provide long-term employment during off growing periods and where factory management could not compete within the regional and national markets.

However, research efforts from this study indicate these conditions did not effect many of the farm regions settled on Greylock. A network of roads linking upper farm communities with local town centers and railroads connecting large populated towns in the area allowed the flow of goods east and west. The establishment and growth of successful factories in Adams, North Adams and Williamstown provided steady employment for many for a period of over eighty years and created an opportunity for farmers to sell their
produce, timber and other farm products to those in the industrial world. This apparent prosperity and the reasons for it will be discussed later in this paper.

Historical evidence of successful farmsteads as early as the late 1700's is mentioned by Timothy Dwight (1800 Vol.III:168) on his travel up to the summit of Greylock:

"One prominent gentleman farmer, Jeremiah Wilbur was able to establish a very successful farmstead on the northeastern slopes of Greylock. This active and industrious man,... has here cleared in the midst of a forest, and reduced to a good state of cultivation, a farm from which, besides other produce, he cuts annually one hundred tons of hay."

Wilbur in the late eighteenth century began acquiring large tracts of land from the present summit of Greylock northward to the now present Notch Road near the Notch

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12 No significant industries ever developed in New Ashford. Economic and environmental conditions were not suited for industrial development and expansion. Cheshire and Lanesboro had some industry chiefly exploiting the natural resources of lime, sand, and timber. But in Adams and North Adams textile and paper mills proliferated throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
reservoir totaling 1,600 acres. Wilbur did not sell off any of these lands and retained them until the time of his death in 1813. At his demise Wilbur left a very wealthy estate of real property and chattels totaling over $19,000, a considerable sum compared to other farmers in the area as well as throughout Berkshire County. His real estate was divided equally among his 13 children by a court appointed administrator. Some of these lands stayed within the family up until the late 1800's.

Wilbur's personal inventory indicates that he succeeded in raising a number of different crops such as apples, rye, flax, and corn. An interesting note is that quantities of some of the items listed are large compared to other farms at the same time and in the same area. Wilbur also maintained a dairy of forty cows and a herd of 500 saxony or merino sheep (Niles 1912).

Wilbur's achievements in this rugged frontier surpassed most of the farmers who at the same time and in the same area were purchasing lands and managing farms on a much smaller scale. Wilbur had to have the capital to acquire his lands. It appears that he intentionally planned to invest in these purchases to establish a farmstead that enabled him to eventually produce a surplus of goods and a
cash flow to support his wife and many children which would in turn establish their future well being.

Another productive farmstead was the Paul farm also at the northern end of the mountain in North Adams/Williamstown around what is now owned by the Williamstown Reservoir area. James M. Paul's success was dependent on his raising of diverse orchard crops. During the mid 1800's, Paul consistently won high recognition at the Hoosac Valley Agricultural Society's Annual Fairs for the "best exhibition" of apples (over seventy varieties), grapes (over eleven varieties) and pears that he raised in his Greylock nursery. The Hoosac Valley News (Sept. 6, 1860) compared his apple trees to those of Rochester, N.Y. stating that "The best apple trees can be found at the Greylock nursery owned by James M. Paul instead of the Rochester nurseries."

While there are other examples of successful farmers and husbandmen on Greylock, the key to agricultural growth and success of many of the farms appears to be chiefly attributed to the farmer's adaptation to surrounding environmental conditions. In many instances the farmer sometimes had to change his agricultural and husbandry practices to meet the fluctuating demands of the local markets and needs of the surrounding populations. His
ability to adjust depended upon the proper utilization and management of the natural resources available. Baker and Paterson (1986) argue that New England farmers had the necessary resources to apply most of the progressive techniques offered to adapt to local conditions.

Newspaper articles from the mid 1800's show that the latest farming equipment and agricultural techniques such as fertilizing with lime and manure were available to both the gentleman farmer and the average yeoman. Different types of agricultural implements and tools listed in probate inventories of deceased farmers who lived on the mountain indicated which farmers were taking advantage of the latest technology. For example, the side hill plow was a common listing indicating that farmers knew about and used appropriate agricultural implements to raise and manage their crops on the steep hillsides.
As early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century the farm environment throughout Western Massachusetts was slowly changing. It was at this time agricultural production on the local and regional level underwent transformations prompting the majority of farm households to change their level of "competency" (Baker and Paterson 1986). Baker and Paterson argue that farm households reacted to markets not from the desire for self-sufficiency or from a capitalistic sense of profit, but rather to achieve this "competency" or a sufficiency of means for living comfortably. Changes occurred in the perception of what constituted a comfortable subsistence influenced by rapid expansion of the availability of consumer goods and changing economic realities in the early nineteenth century.

In order for this "competency" to become a reality changes sometimes had to take place in the agricultural realm. In New England, production amounts of rye and wheat declined and evidence of these changes are reflected in the Federal agricultural returns for all the towns, especially for Lanesboro and Williamstown, included in the project (Table 1). High prices paid for wool induced farmers to
<table>
<thead>
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<th>YEAR</th>
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<th>RYE BUSHELS</th>
<th>WHEAT BUSHELS</th>
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<td>* L</td>
<td>W</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>97</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>187</td>
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</table>

* L = Lanesboro; W = Williamstown

TABLE 1 Total rye and wheat production amounts for the towns of Lanesboro and Williamstown. The years 1850-1880 were only available for review.
reduce grain production and attention was placed upon sheep raising.

A historian of Berkshire County recorded in 1829:

"The cultivation of wheat and rye has been gradually diminishing for years, and has been considerably reduced since the opening of the Western Canal." [Bidwell and Falconer 1925:237]

During the early 1800's one milestone sparked economic growth in the Berkshire County area and brought success for some farmers. In the fall of 1807 the efforts of one prominent gentleman, Elkanah Watson from Albany, brought into Berkshire County the first pair of Merino sheep, if not in the state. This introduction of a new form of livestock, which produced a better quality of raw wool, opened an entirely new world to the farmer and brought about substantial economic changes.

"Sheep fever" swept throughout Berkshire County. Pittsfield became the center of the first important developments in woolen manufacture in America (Brooks 1974). In 1815 there were reported to be within a mile of Pittsfield over 8,000 sheep, at least half of which were 3/4 merino stock or better (Bidwell and Falconer 1925:218). Indications that "sheep fever" was spreading into the
northern Berkshire area was evident in the Greylock area. Jeremiah Wilbur in the "Notch" of the Bellowspipe area had 500 head of saxony or merino sheep as part of his livestock holdings.\(^{13}\) In Williamstown, Almond Harrison owning over 1,000 acres in the Stoney Ledge area in the Hopper, possessed 357 sheep at his decease in 1826 (Docket #4502).

Watson (1820:117) continued to introduce new strains of livestock into Berkshire County. He felt that:

"the breed of swine in Berkshire, was of the most unprofitable kind; long legs, tall, lank sides, large bones, reserving more to fat them than their value." "So, in 1808 he brought in a pair of small boned, short legged, grass fed pigs, so called."

"The old breed gradually disappeared and the community have gained largely by the exchange."

Also in the year 1807, Watson established the first Agricultural Society in New England. This society's function was to "promote the establishment of County

\(^{13}\) Wilbur's herd was noted as the largest flock in the area, and so great was this flock that President Fitch of Williams College came to see it and immortalized Wilbur and his sheep in his diary. (Wilk 1945) The location of this diary was noted to be located at the Williams College library in Williamstown, but the document was not found.
agricultural societies; but to enable them, in their incipient state, to profit by the successful experiment of the mother society in Berkshire." The Berkshire system of the Agricultural Society was promoted by Watson all over New England through his numerous lectures. It became a model for other societies throughout New England and along the east coast including Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, and Kentucky. Eventually the influence spread into Ohio, Illinois and other mid-western states.

Baker and Paterson (1986) point out in their study of Worcester County, that while stimuli such as the introduction of sheep, advancements in grain production and improved agricultural implements, there were other determining factors that gave certain farmers more of an economic edge over others. While sufficient capital and knowledge were key factors, these were not the only elements that constituted a successful farm. Agricultural decisions were based on a variety of factors including the personalities of the individuals, family structure, ancillary non-farming economic activities (such as coopering or milling), and sufficient, high quality land.

The period between 1815-1840, was a period of a lessening in self-sufficiency due to the establishment and
later expansion of factories (Wilson 1967). With the development of textile mills and small industries and the growth of associated village populations, came the increase of goods in the local markets. Industrialization had a three fold impact on farmers: 1- the increase of non-farming populations provided a greater market for agricultural products and firewood, 2- the development of industries required specific farm produced materials and 3- commercial manufacturers made inexpensive ready-made goods available that were previously made by the farmer for his own use. In order to procure the cash with which to pay for these purchases, the hill-country husbandman was forced to produce greater quantities of a few commodities allowing him to build a surplus which he could sell.

For example, with continued expansion of industry in the 1830's and 1840's, the influx of sheep into the area rapidly took hold. This new husbandry direction was in response to the demands for raw wool to be processed in the local factories. Growth of the sheep industry brought prosperity to some farmers enabling them to use surplus cash income to pay for outside purchases.

One drawback of the sheep industry was that it suffered constant market fluctuations due to outside influences in
the economic and social world. For example, the Civil War brought about inflated prices and a short period of economic boom for local sheep producers. In a 1863 Hoosac Valley News newspaper article refers to sheep bringing in good prices, two for $25.00. But after the end of the war the sheep industry in Berkshire County rapidly came to a close due to its inability to compete with wool imported from Argentina forcing prices to plummet (Brooks 1974). The Federal agricultural census schedules indicates a drop in the number of sheep held by farmers in 1860 & 1870 for all the towns included in the project, especially for Lanesboro (Table 2).

During periods of price fluctuations for sheep and stable crops such as wheat, many farmers shifted to dairying. The history of dairying in New England went through three stages, two of which are relevant to this study (Monnich 1978). The first occurred prior to the 1820's when dairying activities centered around the needs of the family. The second period from the 1820's-1920's saw technical growth affecting changes in production and the beginning of government regulation of the dairy product industry.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF TOTAL FARMS</th>
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<th>W</th>
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<td>7581</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>107 187</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>821 1161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* L = Lanesboro; W = Williamstown

TABLE 2 Quantities of sheep and milch cows for the Towns of Lanesboro and Williamstown. The years 1850-1880 were only available for review.
The second period came about from the changes occurring in society. Manufacturing was growing rapidly along with the population of workers in the industrial cities creating a demand for dairy products and other foodstuff. But like sheep and wheat, the prices for dairy products also fluctuated. As the prices of sheep fell, the price of cheese rose and the opposite affect was felt when one or the other turned up or down. Individual farmers' butter and cheese production amounts (as well as other products) in every town throughout the state were tabulated in Federal Agricultural census schedules conducted every ten years.

The towns of Cheshire, Adams, and Williamstown were major contributors in local dairy production (Table 3). Farmers maintained substantial herds of milch cows. Colman (1837) as the Secretary of Agriculture, in his annual agricultural report stated that in the town of Cheshire there was the "richest pasturage to be found in the State" and that Cheshire was almost exclusively devoted to dairy husbandry.

The town became well noted for its cheese and dairy products and its fame grew even more when the Elder John Leland presented to president Jefferson at the White House on January 1, 1802 the "Jackson cheese", the largest cheese
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF FARMS</th>
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<th>TOTAL BUTTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>82</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A = Adams; C = Cheshire; W = Williamstown

+ For simplification purposes this year includes the returns for both Adams and North Adams, even though they were separate communities at this time.
The years 1850-1880 were only available for review.

TABLE 3  Total cheese and butter production amounts for Adams, Cheshire and Williamstown.
tub ever made. The gift was to show the town's support for the President elect and a plan that would bring Cheshire's chief agricultural commodity to the attention of the nation (Browne 1944:146)\(^\text{14}\).

Colman's agricultural returns for 1837 showed that on forty-five farms in Cheshire, 913 cows were kept which produced for sale 311,050 pounds of cheese and 19,050 pounds of butter\(^\text{15}\) (Bidwell and Falconer 1925) (Table 4). In order to meet the growing demand for cheese and butter, several cheese factories were established throughout Cheshire to process these products.

The real shift to dairying occurred when the railroads and canals opened the west allowing wheat and wool production to advance to the plains. The coming of the railroad made the flow of these goods out of the rural areas much easier and faster. However, measures had to be taken to insure safe production and transportation of perishable

\(^\text{14}\) There is a differing opinion as to who originated the idea of the presentation and supervised its execution. Raynor (1885) states that a wealthy farmer, Israel Cole was behind the action.

\(^\text{15}\) In the year of 1850 Cheshire farmers Nathaniel Bliss, Alanson Jones, Francis M. Jones and John M. Simkins combined together produced 35,000 pounds of cheese. (Federal Agricultural Census Schedules for 1850)
### Dairy Produce of Cheshire, for the Year 1837–8.

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Average price for New Milk Cheese, 7½ cents.
- Do. Skim Cheese, 3 = $
- Do. Butter, 17 = $

Total, 913 300,000 11,050 9500 19,500

Table 4
dairy products. For example, Gail Borden's invention for condensing and canning milk in 1856 brought even greater mobility to the industry (Gates 1960). Milk could now be transported safely over an extended time period without spoilage. Technological changes, such as pasteurization (1895) brought about regulations in the industry to control the production of dairy products and limit the transfers of diseases associated with these products. The farm wife could no longer sell her butter and cheese to her neighbors without pasteurization (Maine 1978).

The change from a self-sufficient farmer to a more commercial farmer was accelerated by the coming of the railroad. At the time when the railroad came into the northern Berkshire area during the early 1840's, western Massachusetts became connected with Albany, New York and Boston. This step opened the door to the commercial market accelerating the flow of timber and agricultural products outside the Berkshire County area to meet increased demands.

In the 1870's the opening of the Hoosic railroad tunnel in North Adams allowed more goods to be transported outside the area. An example of the impact that the railroad had on farmers is noted in the years between 1870-1880 when Massachusetts dairymen almost doubled the amount of milk they sent to the market (Russell 1976:261).
During the 1870's through the 1880's the northern Berkshire area was rapidly expanding in every aspect of the economic, political and social world. The effects of this expansion was primarily felt in the two communities of North Adams and Adams. They had been one community and political entity for nearly a century but the two were growing and each required different needs and the current town government could not serve those demands. S. Proctor Thayer, a local prominent lawyer in 1878 stated:

"the people in both North Adams and Adams at length settled down to the feeling that they could not properly be united by the granting of a city charter and that two compact towns were greatly to be preferred to a double-barreled city."

[Walsh 1978:34]

While both communities benefited and grew through industrialization the north village was becoming a railroad center because of the newly built Hoosic Tunnel. In 1878 the town of Adams became two separate towns so that each could properly take care of their needs.¹⁶

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¹⁶ On April 17, 1878 under Chapter 143, Governor Alexander H. Rice enacted the separation. As early as 1825 there was talk of separating the north and south villages. It was approved and later rescinded on Jan. 9, 1826.
By the mid nineteenth century the movement from diversified production to specialization strengthened as farmers expanded or switched their husbandry practices to include other ancillary activities to meet the increasing demands of expanding local and regional markets.

In this study probate records, Federal agricultural census schedules and other historical records indicated that Greylock farmers were branching out from their traditional agricultural efforts to attain economic success by specializing and diversifying activities to supplement their incomes and support their families. New activities included iron ore mining, charcoal manufacturing and lumbering as ways of capitalizing on the abundant supply of timber.

One form of specialization is evident by the activity of one particular Albany businessman and husbandman. In 1848 George Martin purchased 313 acres of lands off the former West Mt. road in Cheshire. He and his family spent their summers on this farm while his cattle grazed in the upland pastures. In 1856, Martin moved permanently to the village of Cheshire and opened a butcher business (Raynor 1885). Martin made an economic decision that a retail meat business to meet the demands of the growing area population would be a profitable venture. At this time when the Hoosic Tunnel
Railroad was under construction in North Adams on the eastern range of the Hoosic Mountains, "Mr. Martin secured the contract to supply the working men with the meat they consumed, and found that from one-half a beef, he required full fifteen each week to fill his orders." (Raynor 1885:148)

Another example of specialization involves the diverse utilization of the vast wood supply. Woodlot operations made important contributions to farm profitability. Taylor (1984) found in New Hampshire that the importance of wood lot operations was heavily emphasized after the Civil War when logging activities increased. In 1870, categories including acreage used as woodland by farmers and the dollar value of forest products were added to the Federal Agricultural census schedules.

One use of the ample wood supply on Greylock Mt. was for making charcoal. Charcoal manufacturing was done on an extensive basis in the Mt. Prospect, Roaring, Kitchen and Mitchell brook areas of Mt. Greylock. Charcoaling required the cutting of large amounts of timber and then digging a circular pit in the ground. Cut logs were placed in the pit and covered with dirt and sod in a dome fashion. A fire was set and allowed to smolder for weeks at a time depending upon the type and amount of wood being made into charcoal.
Since the fire had to be tended to day and night, shanties were built near the charcoal pits to protect the overseers from the elements.

The wave of industrial expansion in Adams, Williamstown, and North Adams during the 1850's, brought about an increased demand for fuel supplies. Some of the local mills purchased tracts of land to harvest the trees for their private fuel requirements. Also local farmers were contracted to try to help meet this demand by having them cut timber into cords of wood. Evidence of this is reflected in accounting records of the L.L. Brown Paper Company during the 1860's. In 1865 and 1866 Joseph Edmunds supplied large quantities of cords of wood that he chopped on the Slaid farm on the southeastern slopes of Greylock in Adams for the company. These records also show that other men were employed to chop wood on this same farm.17

Continued industrial expansion forced major railroad companies (Boston and Maine) and local iron companies (Richmond; Briggs Iron Works; and Lanesboro) to purchase

17 During March of 1865 1,545 cords of wood were cut at a cost of $1,916.85. In 1866, 1645 cords of wood were cut at a cost of $1,125.19.
large tracts of land on Greylock to feed their fuel needs. In 1847 the Briggs Iron Works owned by Thomas Pingree erected a furnace in Lanesboro to process charcoal (where the present town hall is located) (Martin 1965). Fifteen charcoal kilns were burning the timber harvested from the 400-500 acres of woodland on Greylock lying in the towns of Lanesboro and Cheshire.

Extensive timber harvesting continued throughout the mid-nineteenth century, peaking in the 1870's and continuing through the 1890's and early 1900's. During the mid to late 1800's newspaper accounts indicate how much cutting was occurring during the nineteenth century. A Hoosac Valley News article (1860) reflects the extensive amount of cutting occurring on the Greylock slopes. Out of a total number of 23,990 acres in Adams, (at that time including North Adams) only 4,881 were still in woodland, the rest being in meadow, pasturing, unimproved land and improvable lands.

During the late nineteenth century and through the early twentieth century, a well known lumber company operated by Henry J. Arnold of Adams purchased over 2,500 acres of land on the eastern slopes of the mountain in Adams and North Adams, on the southern and western slopes in New Ashford and Williamstown to meet demands for lumber by the expanding
communities in the valleys.\textsuperscript{18}

As a consequence of all this cutting by these various groups, dramatic changes took place on the landscape. As early as 1800 nearly 20,000 acres of land were cleared in Williamstown and by 1830, 77% of the total Williamstown acreage was clear of its forests (Brooks 1974:74,84). In 1828 alone, Williamstown had in operation five sawmills. In Adams there were ten sawmills and three tanneries at this time (Berkshire Book 1892).

Photographs from the late 1890's and early 1900's show that the eastern face of Greylock was almost entirely denuded except near the extreme pinnacle of the mountain.\textsuperscript{19} During the late 1890's public outcry and growing national concern arose calling for the preservation and protection of the last few standing forests from further destruction. In response to this preservation movement, local citizens and prominent businessmen formed the Greylock Park Association.

\textsuperscript{18} See the following deeds in the Northern Berkshire Registry of deeds (NBRD): BK 247 PG 633; 247/635; 199/339 and 163/171.

\textsuperscript{19} Some photographs of the eastern slopes in Adams can be found at the Adams Public Library in the Adams Historical Society's local history collection. Photographs of the northwestern slopes of Greylock in Williamstown are located in the Williamsiana Collection at Williams College.
In 1899 the Association filed a bill in the Massachusetts Legislature giving to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts their holdings of 400 acres with the stipulation that the State should add to their original acreage sufficient land to forever protect Greylock and its adjacent peaks from any encroachment.
RESOURCE EXTRACTION

The above ground resources of water, soil and timber on Mt. Greylock were used and exploited almost to exhaustion first by the farmer and later by the industrialists. Even while this was happening these industrious and resilient people were looking for new sources of income to maintain their livelihood. They discovered mineral resources of iron and limestone and immediately began to extract them from the ground to be processed. Iron ore mining on a small scale occurred on the northern slopes of Greylock at the base of Mt. Prospect during the mid 1800's on the Paul farm. It was noted that a shaft over 100' in depth was sunk in the Paul ore bed (Hoosac Valley News 1860). The ore extracted was of high quality, but in limited quantities, for it was used to make the iron shell of the Civil War vessel the Monitor. This mining operation was family run and ceased after the late 1800's around the time when the property was taken to create the Williamstown water reservoir.

The other natural resource extracted from the mountain and utilized was limestone. The present Pfizer limestone company is near the site of an earlier lime manufacturing
operation which was started in the 1850's.\textsuperscript{20} In the 1850's Nathaniel Hawthorne visited the limestone beds near Adams and described the lime kiln there:

"a rude, round towerlike structure about 20' high, heavily built of rough stones, with a hillock of earth heaped about the larger part of its circumference..." "There was an opening at the bottom of the tower," "...large enough to admit a man in a stooping posture, and provided with a massive iron door." [Robinson 1978:109]

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\textsuperscript{20} This lime processing company and the adjacent quarry was run by the Follett family of Adams until the turn of the century. The New England Lime Company purchased the lime kilns, machinery and the lands in 1902 and 1911. See BK 239 PG 425 from Follett et als., BK 299 PG 519 from David Follett, Jr. Later the property holdings were sold in 1961 to the current Pfizer company BK 564 PG 173.
PERIOD OF DECLINE AND ABANDONMENT

The 1870's through the turn of the twentieth century saw the decline of farming and the abandonment of farms that had existed for generations. This decline came from the exodus of New England farmers to the western plain states to settle in less populated areas and to pursue richer agricultural lands. Those farmers who chose to stay were forced to change their agricultural practices.

Wilson (1967) views that New England moved from extensive farming, consisting of meat, wool and grain production, to a more intensive type of farming. In this last respect he means that some farmers were beginning to switch to dairying, fruit production and the raising of poultry as a means of support. This move was to meet the steadily growing demand for dairy products and other foodstuffs in the nearby industrial areas. Starting in the 1880 census, orchard crops: apples and peaches; and poultry categories were added. Beginning in the 1870 Federal agricultural census, the schedules show the number of gallons of milk sold by farmers and by 1880 this category heading was expanded to include milk sold or sent to butter and cheese factories.
A stimulus in this growth was the formation of associated dairying. This involved the manufacture of butter and cheese in centrally located farms or factories. In 1870 (Federal Industrial Census), the Lanesboro Cheese factory used 300 cows to produce 90,000 gallons of milk and 86,000 pounds of cheese. In that same year, the S.L. Lincoln Cheese factory in Cheshire, used 250 cows to produce 138,000 gallons of milk and 113,000 pounds of cheese. By 1880, between Cheshire's two cheese factories, they turned out, with the nearly the same number of cows, 2,178,670 gallons of milk used for cheese, cream and other dairy products.

During this period of re-adjustment, the industrial community strengthened and the smaller farms producing marginal quantities of foodstuffs were not able to become a part of this network, were gradually squeezed out, left unable to make ends meet and forced to abandon their farms. Also by the end of the nineteenth century some farm lands were no longer productive or profitable due to over 100 years of intensive agricultural use and continual livestock grazing.

One result of this elimination is that some farmers and their families were absorbed into the labor pool in the local mills. Various paper and cloth manufacturing
companies; lumber, lime and quarry businesses were able to provide year round employment leading to a steadier income and restoring family economic stability.

Two farms within this project area, the Ingraham farm on Ingraham road in New Ashford and the Dalton farm off the former West Mt. road in Cheshire were listed in a descriptive catalogue of abandoned or partially abandoned farms throughout Massachusetts for the years 1891, 1892, 1893 and 1894. This catalogue defines a partially abandoned farm as a "farm which is not occupied for purposes of cultivation or a summer home, and is for sale at a low price..." (Sessions 1891). Wilson's (1967) definition of an "abandoned" farm differs slightly from an "unoccupied" farm. An unoccupied farm is property still held by actual owners who paid taxes on them. An abandoned farm is one that has reverted to the State or to the town on account of long continued neglect and non-payment of taxes.

As a result of agricultural decline and farm abandonment many of the farm lands and non-productive woodlots were purchased by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the late 1890's and the early 1900's out of a growing local, state and national concern to protect remaining forested lands from further destruction. Also at this time other lands on
Greylock were purchased or taken by town water departments to build or add to current land holdings needed to increase and protect existing water sheds and reservoirs to meet the demands of growing populations and industries in the surrounding communities. The Ingraham and Dalton farms mentioned above were bought by the State and are part of the Mt. Greylock State Reservation. The Dalton farm through natural succession is reverting to a natural forested state. Meanwhile the Ingraham property is leased to local farmers and is utilized somewhat as it was during its life as a useful productive farm.
CHAPTER III
HISTORIC FARMSTEAD MODEL

The early farmer's decision to emigrate to a particular area of the Berkshires was influenced by prior economic, political and cultural events in the community he lived and throughout the country. An analysis of historical and economic information reveals sets of stimuli that influenced individuals to make choices for themselves and their families and decisions that would effect the local communities. Previous knowledge about agriculture, forestry and other ancillary activities which fulfilled his need to reach a level of self-sufficiency and competency before could now be applied to the new surrounding physical environment. All these conditions were discussed in Chapter II to show what influences they had on the development of the mountain historically and economically from the 1760's through the turn of the twentieth century.

The effects of any decision making process are reflected in the archaeological record in numerous ways. One substantial key to unlocking the clues of this record is through the examination of site location. This paper has discussed the diverse decisions that may have influenced
site location and settlement development. Decisions varied from location to location and changed through time. Some anthropological studies have examined settlement location through an ecological approach. Environmental factors are argued as the basis for adaptation to a particular environment. This paradigm places man within the ecosystem and all relevant variables, whether cultural or environmental, within that ecosystem are examined to recover former settlement areas. One important consideration of the ecological approach is the recognition that change is a natural state of affairs. There is no equilibrium in a given system, but changes within that system are examined temporally.

Peter Mires' study (1984) examined the environmental factors affecting the location of 200 upland farmsteads lying in over 33,000 acres (approximately 52 square miles) of the extreme northern section of the Green Mountain National Forest in Vermont. His historic farmstead adaptation model considered multiple environmental variables and the role they played in settlement location. As part of his analysis, Mires separated the site sample into "earlier" and "later temporal" periods to compare the pattern of variable distribution of each time period. The assignment
of a temporal period for each site was based on its first appearance on the historic maps used in the study.

Mires postulated that individuals farming the slopes during the late eighteenth and the first three quarters of the nineteenth centuries responded to a set of stimuli derived from their cultural heritage and the physical environment. Individuals weighed all factors which would influence their decision to locate their farmsteads. The historic farmstead is placed within the total ecosystem so that the dynamics of culture as well as the environment can be studied as a system. The variables considered important in farmstead location are: technology, social organization, food preferences, networks of exchange, climate, elevation, slope, aspect soils, flora, and fauna.

Mires contends that the threshold of historic farmstead viability is a function of the variables of elevation, slope, aspect and soils. He believes that sites would fall at or below elevations of 2300' which corresponds to a transitional vegetational zone between the boreal and northern hardwood forests for that region. This elevation was selected because the spruce-fir boreal forest is a vegetative indicator of harsher climate conditions limiting the possibility of successful farming above this elevation.
The variable of slope also played a role in settlement location in this part of Vermont. Certain sloping terrains will increase the amount of solar radiation benefiting pasture lands and grain production. For example, in the middle latitudes, a 20 degree slope with a southerly exposure will receive about twice as much solar radiation during the winter months than will a level surface (Price 1981). The slope in Mires' model was extrapolated from the slope of land that is arable and currently under cultivation in Addison County, Vermont. From this Mires speculated that historic farmsteads would most likely be located on slopes of less than 33 degrees.

Mires found that historical literature and current land use practices indicated that aspect or exposure also played an important role in settlement location. Based upon this information he contends that easterly and southerly exposures were the more desirable locations for historical farm sites. To substantiate this idea, Mires developed a circular chart on topographic maps dividing his research area into 20 degree segments, possibly using true north as 0 degrees. Known sites within the project area were plotted on the map and the frequency of sites, measured from the center, was recorded for each 20 degree interval. He found
that nearly 75% of all the sites were located in the southeasterly hemisphere between 60 and 240 degrees on his chart.

Lastly, Mires speculated that early farmers selected soils based on the criteria of drainage, slope, stoniness, and depth. Well drained soils were chosen over poorly drained ones and gentler slopes indicated deeper soils.

Using these extrapolated and deduced variables for elevation, slope, aspect and soil Mires developed a hypothetical historic farmstead site. This site was located at an elevation below 2300 feet, on a 33 degree or less slope, had a southeasterly exposure and had a soil type that was well drained, of a considerable depth and with moderate amounts of stone inclusions.

Mires' sample of 200 historic farmstead sites encompassed eleven towns. These sites were located with the use of mid-nineteenth century historic maps. In his study, sites ranged from 600' to 2200' in elevation. Ninety-five percent of the site sample fell within elevations below 1980' with a mean of 1551'. Ninety-five percent of the sites occurred on a slope of less than 31 degrees and 77% of the site sample fell into less than a 20 degrees slope range. He found that three quarters of the sites were
situated in the southeasterly hemisphere between 60 and 240 degrees. Lastly, he found that the majority of the sites were located on the better soil types.

However, Mires did find that site locations from the "earlier" and "later" temporal periods differed in both elevation and aspect. He defined the "earlier" sites as those that appear on map sources of the 1850's and the "later" sites showing on maps from the 1860's-1870's. Sites from the "later" period were generally at higher elevations and there were more sites with a northwesterly exposure. The aspect of the "earlier" sites was predominantly in the southeasterly hemisphere between 60 and 240 degrees. There was no significant difference between "earlier" and "later" sites with respect to either slope or soils.

Mires' upland study was reviewed for several reasons. First, this researcher wanted to determine if the findings from this study would compare or differentiate from Mires' conclusions, even though the sample size and project areas are different. Secondly, his study was considered because of similarities in the geomorphic composition. The Mt. Greylock range is at the extreme southerly end of the same Green Mountain system. Also, the elevations of the major mountain peaks are comparable to the Greylock peaks.
Lastly, both are heavily forested and protected by a governmental run forestry agency, minimizing potential threat and destruction to cultural resources.

This study follows Mires' model with respect to examining the four environmental variables and their affect on site location, however the methods used to resolve the variables have been changed to accommodate the data sources available for this work. The scope of the Mt. Greylock project area lies in six towns and involves forty-six documented and confirmed sites from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unconfirmed sites were not included because their exact location is not known thus not providing accurate information on the variables to be tested.

Elevation was determined by locating all of the known sites that have been verified in the field and placed on a current United States Geological Survey (U.S.G.S.) topographical map at or between contour lines. Soil information was determined by using the Berkshire County soils survey report conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Scanu 1988).

Slope was arrived at by measuring the horizontal distance in feet to scale through the known site that has been located on the topographical map. Then the vertical
distance in feet was determined through the site, using distances between contour lines. With these two numbers, the horizontal distance is divided into the vertical distance resulting in the slope number represented in a decimal point value. For simplification purposes the slope number was grouped into four general categories: 0-5%; 5-15%; 15-25%; and over 25%. This conforms with the current Massachusetts Historical Commission's Historic Archaeological survey forms for archaeological resources.

Aspect or exposure was determined by using the range of degrees from 0 to 360. The center point is a designated U.S.G.S. bench mark at the summit of Mt. Greylock. From this established point on the topographical map, lines were extended at intervals of every 15 degrees starting with 0 degrees at true north to 360 degrees. This resulted in the formation of four separate clockwise quadrants as follows: northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest. Sites that fell within the individual sectors were noted at the proper degree intervals and quadrants sections.
RESULTS:

In comparing the results of this study and Mires' study, all of the sites on Greylock in the sample size fell below 2400' in elevation. Elevation levels ranged from 1060' to 2340' with a mean of 1540' whereas the mean in Mires' study was 1551'. Elevations, however, did vary among the towns in the project area. Sites in Cheshire fell below elevations of 2300' down to the 1740' level. In Adams sites were located at elevations ranging from 1540' to 1,100'. These elevation levels ranged from 760' to 1200' below the Cheshire sites. North Adams sites were found at elevation levels between 1440' to 1210'. But in this same town one site was found at an elevation of 2320', 1440' higher than the next highest site.

In Williamstown, the sites located were at the lowest elevations in the study. This may be due to the availability of much gentler terrain for homesteads, pasture and tillage lands only at lower elevations whereas the terrain in the inner Hopper and Roaring Brook regions is very steep and rugged making it impossible for these purposes. Sites in New Ashford were all found under 1800' but none of them were at a constant level. The one single Lanesboro site was found above the 1800' level, at 1960'.
The location of these sites differed from Mires' findings in several ways. Out of the 46 sites in this survey approximately half of the sites were located in the southwesterly quadrant, indicating a different settlement location pattern than in Mires' study. Twelve of the 46 sites were found in the northeasterly quadrant and only eight were found in the southeasterly quadrisection. The majority of sites in Mires' study fell between 60 and 240 degrees and indicating to him, a southeast exposure. On Greylock sites were located in sixteen of the twenty-four sectors except in the following: 60-75; 135-150; 165-180; 240-270; 270-285; 285-300; 315-330; 330-345 degrees indicating that factors other than exposure influenced the location of sites.

Soil conditions at the sites fell within nine different types: BmE -8; LtE-10; TuC -9; PmC -11; FwC -1; PsD -1; AmC -2; FaC -3; and HoB -1. According to land capability classification in the Berkshire County Soils Report (Scanu 1988), the first four soil groups have very severe limitations making them unsuitable for cultivation. The soils groups FwC, PsD, and FaC also have limited capabilities for cultivation purposes. The soil group AmC has moderate to severe conditions that reduce the choice of

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plants for growing and require conservation practices. HoB, however, is well suited to grasses and legumes but there is a problem of droughtiness. All of these soil types except LtE are deep and moderately to well drained agreeing with Mires' speculation that well drained soils were preferred over poorly drained soil types. This does indicate that reliance on soil type for settlement was not a key factor, since most of the sites fell into the poorer soil types.

The majority, or three-quarters of the sites were situated on slopes of 5-15%. All Cheshire sites, and half of the Adams and Williamstown sites were located in this slope category. Most of the North Adams and New Ashford sites are included in the same 5-15% group. Slightly less than one quarter of the total sites fell into the 0-5% category for slope. This included two North Adams sites and one-half of the Williamstown and New Ashford sites. Finally, only one, the Lanesboro site fell into the more vertical 15-25% category.

Temporal periods in this study were determined based upon population changes in the towns (Table 5). Population growth is a key indicator of changes in patterns of settlement nucleation (Artifacts Vol.IX No.3, 1981). Time periods were broken down as follows: 1- 1760-1820; 2-
<table>
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<th>New Ashford</th>
<th>North Ashford</th>
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</tr>
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<td>1192</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
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<td>107</td>
<td>24200</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Adams and North Adams were one community until 1878, when the two were split into separate towns.

TABLE 5 - Population figures.
1820-1860; and 3- 1860-1900. Approximate dates or occupation periods of the sites were determined with the use of maps, deeds and other historical documents available.

Mires' sample failed to reflect sites prior to 1850 and post 1870. This brief 20 year time span he chose to indicate changes in settlement in the "later" temporal period is not an accurate reflection of change because of its brevity.

Most of the sites on Greylock, in all the towns were well-established throughout the period of 1858-1904, when the maps were available. However, earlier sites prior to 1858 existed in areas where early mountain roads had been established. At this time, preliminary conclusions can be drawn that some early farms not yet verified in the field may be located at more interior parts of the mountain and further removed from town centers than any of the sites documented in this study. As discussed earlier in the paper, self-sufficiency was the primary concern of the first farmers. But by the mid-1800's many of these sites were no longer in use, suggesting the need for the farmer to come down from the higher lands to be nearer to the markets. As the economy changed so did the needs of the farmers. His husbandry practices changed forcing him to lower lands to raise agricultural crops and graze his livestock.

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DOCUMENTED & IDENTIFIED SITES\textsuperscript{21} (Appendix 3)

These sites have been identified with the use of maps and various historical records and confirmed in the field. Only three of the sites indicated on the historic maps have not been located through above ground reconnaissance.

ADAMS:

A total of nine sites were found on the eastern slopes in Adams situated on West Mountain, Gould and Thiel roads. Five sites were located on West Mountain road consisting of four homesteads, known more recently as the former Chouniere, Scholz, Fairweather farms and one unidentified site. One sawmill was located on the banks of Pecks Brook which runs down the east slope of the mountain parallel and adjacent to the West Mountain road as it descends towards Adams.

Off the former Thiel road one farmstead formerly known

\textsuperscript{21} The exact location of these sites can not be revealed because of their protection under several federal and state legislative acts: Historic Sites Act of 1935, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Archaeological and Historical Preservation Act of 1974, the Massachusetts Environmental Policy Act (M.G.L. Chapter 30) and State Antiquities Act (M.G.L., Chapter 9, ss 26-27c).
as the Thiel farm was located. Approximately due northeast of this site an unidentified partially dry laid stone and cement foundation was located. On Gould road the farm known today as the Margery Gould place still exists with two farmhouses, barns and outbuildings. Beyond the Gould farm is remnants of the former Picard farm with a small spring house built into the side of a hill which has an underground spring feeding it. Opposite this feature the dry laid stone foundation of the farmhouse was found.

CHESHIRE:

In this town a total of eleven sites were found on and off the Mt. Greylock State Reservation property. Six of these sites were located along the former West Mt. road (once used as a section of the Appalachian Trail and abandoned in 1985). Two sites were found off an old road bed running west from West Mt. road to the former Dalton farm. In addition, two sites were located on the Old Adams road, which ran along the mountain side in a southerly and westerly direction through the Greylock reservation from the "Cheshire Harbor" area in Adams to Jones' Nose. One is situated adjacent to the road and the other is sited well into the woods off this road. Another site was located on
the southerly side of another road or trail possibly what used to be the "Old Stage Coach road". This trail runs westerly up the mountain from Bassett brook in the northwesterly corner of Cheshire and joins with the Old Adams Road in New Ashford.

NEW ASHFORD:

On the Greylock and Bowers roads which are still in general use today a total of four sites were documented. On Bowers road one of these is believed to be a tubmill site (Parrish 1980) but current research efforts have not confirmed this conclusion. Along the Ingraham road three farmstead sites were located within the project area.

Lanesboro:

Only one site was documented and located within the project bounds. This site was noted because of its isolation. It is not accessible to any major water sources but there is visible remains of an old road bed nearby.

Williamstown:

In the Roaring Brook area four sites were located. It is not known if these sites are homesteads. Research
presents conflicting evidence, only two of these sites appear on historic maps. The other two features may have been poor houses. In the Goodell Hollow area of Williamstown, along the road that followed Roaring Brook, Perry [1894:45] indicated that: "...in 1830 there were seven or eight poorhouses along this road and brook, and nearly the same number on nearly the same sites about 1890." It was a common practice in early times for poorhouses to be situated in out of reach locations, far from the visible eyes of the townspeople.

On the western slopes of Greylock, the Hopper region provided an unique and desirable location to some settlers.22 The Hopper Brook flows through the heart of this region. Along this stream two sites were found in close proximity to the river banks suggesting that these could possibly be sawmills. Deed research strengthens this belief by indicating that two sawmills along the Hopper Brook were operated by the Bacon and Pettit families for at

22 The Hopper received its name from the resemblance to the funnel shape of a grainhopper, wide at the top and narrowing at the base.
least fifty years. In addition, two sites found in the outer portions of the Hopper appear to have been farmsteads and are verified by historical records.

NORTH ADAMS:

Along the present Bellowspipe trail, which was originally laid out and built by Jeremiah Wilbur in the early 1790's, three known farmstead sites were located. Also in this area the operation of sawmills on the Notch Brook has been confirmed through deed research and other sources of documentation indicating that Wilbur's sons operated sawmills in the Notch in the 1830's. In this area a map dated 1831 shows two saw mills on the Notch Brook. A field survey conducted in support of this paper, mill stone remnants were found along the Notch stream banks. In addition to these sites on the Bellowspipe trail a cemetery set out from Wilbur's estate in 1813 was located well off into the woods.

23 See Massachusetts Registers for the years 1852 and 1853. See deed of Stephen Crosford to Anthony Sanders et als. in BK 50 PG 559 (NBRD); probate of Stephen Bacon Docket #7360. See deed of Eddy Crandall to Stephen Pettit in BK 53 PG 515 (NBRD).
Similar to the site found in Lanesboro, one isolated site was located in the approximate area of Wilbur's clearing between Mt. Prospect and Mt. Williams. This site is distant from any major water source and old established roadways and its nature and history are unknown. However, there is indication from deed research that a steam operated saw mill was in operation in this area during the late 1880's.\(^{24}\)

On the east side of Ragged Mt. along the former Notch Road leading to Adams a total of three sites were located in an above ground field survey for this project. One of these sites occupied until the 1970's but now abandoned has a two story wooden structure of undetermined date on a dry laid stone foundation. At this time no attempt has been made to determine the date of origin for this structure.

On the lower slopes between Mt. Prospect and Mt. Williams and within the boundaries of the Williamstown watershed property which lies partly in Williamstown and

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\(^{24}\) See Daniel M. Wells to Commonwealth March 6, 1900 BK 247 PG 641 (NBRD); Daniel M. Wells July 16, 1888 BK 187 PG 245 (NBRD).
North Adams, traces of a former iron ore mining site on the former Paul property were located. Deed research and local histories confirm that mining did occur in this area.
SITES DOCUMENTED,

NOT VERIFIED (Appendix 4)

There are a number of sites discovered through various sources of historical research which have not been verified in the field. Research has indicated that several types of sites may have existed other than farmsteads on Greylock. A Berkshire Hills newspaper article (1902) gives the following descriptive account of several sites in New Ashford:

"On the flats now owned by the Richmond Iron Company, they had a fort built of ash logs...." "The old settlement was near this fort and several old cellar holes now marks its site, while there is an old cemetery in the vicinity." Since the Richmond Iron Company owned several parcels of land in New Ashford, it is difficult with this limited documentary evidence to determine where these sites could be located.

Also in New Ashford, deed research reveals that a sawmill was in operation in the early 1800's on the east branch of the Green River. In the Jones' Nose area, deeds

25 Currently their is a small replica of a fort called Ash Fort built at the junction of Rockwell and Greylock Roads. This location is speculated to be the approximate site of the fort.
indicate possibly two separate farms owned by Seth and Francis M. Jones from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. During the early 1800's a road running west from the West Mt. road in Cheshire ran through the south east corner of New Ashford. Deeds indicate there may have been a farmstead in this area. Finally, the 1876 (Beers) map for New Ashford indicates the S. Baker farm on the easterly side of Ingraham road, but field reconnaissance has failed to locate this site.

The 1860 Williamstown census indicates that Steve and Lydia Bacon of Williamstown ran a poorhouse. There is speculation that this poorhouse was located in the Stoney Ledge area in the Hopper. In addition to five family members and farm laborers there were ten people noted as residing in the poorhouse. Interestingly enough, two of the occupants, David and Sarah Porter represented the Negro population. Charles Ransford (personal communication) of North Adams has indicated that a farmstead site can be found on the lower slopes on the north side of Hopper Brook in Williamstown.

Research and personal communication with local resident Donald Kruszyna (1981) of Cheshire indicated that there is a farmstead site off the old road bed that leads west from the
West Mt. road in Cheshire. Also in Cheshire along West Mt. road deeds indicate at least two other farmsteads. One of these was owned by George Martin according to the 1858 (Walling) and 1876 (Beers) maps has not been recovered in the field. In this same area, deeds as well as probate records suggest that there may have been blacksmithing in this area. Lastly, on the Dooley property deeds reveal that shanties associated with charcoaling could be constructed on the property for this purpose.

Historical maps, deed research and a road layout indicate that in addition to those sites documented and verified along the present Bellowspipe trail, other sites existed that have not been confirmed. According to the described layout of this road there were four farmsteads in existence at that time. The description of this road gives bearings and distances and various reference points at four individual residences. In an attempt to specifically locate these sites, this information was plotted to scale on a topographical map. This indicated that in addition to the

26 Also see an unnamed plan of the Notch Brook area dated 1831 in the Braytonville Plan book located at the Northern Berkshire Registry of Deeds.
three sites already documented and located in the field it brought to light that three other sites have not been accounted for in past site recovery efforts.

Also in reference to this area, in a Berkshire Hills article (Aug. 1902), Deacon Jeremiah Wilbur of North Adams gave his reminiscences of people living in the Notch on the slope of the "Bellowspipe". He claims that in 1824 two aged colored people Jimmie and Jennie Guinea lived in this area. Another colored family, the Tucker's, lived near the Laban Wilbur place in the Notch. The Tucker family was educated and literate, for he [Deacon Wilbur] "found a newspaper in Tucker's home published in Philadelphia, which led him to believe that the parents had escaped from Pennsylvania masters." He also recalled that "both the boys attended the Old Notch school on the Wilbur place near the present reservoir".

The location of the Notch School has been identified with the help of maps and Harry Bernard who presently lives on Notch Road. However, no remnants of the school have been

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27 Deacon Jeremiah Wilbur born in 1815, was the grandchild of the pioneer Jeremiah Wilbur who settled in the Notch in the late 1700's. (Berkshire Hills, Jan. 1, 1902)
found above the ground. Research has not yet revealed where the Guinea and Tucker families could have located their domiciles. An explanation for this could be that these people could have been squatters and did not purchase land eliminating any possibility of occurrence in the historic record.

According to the 1831 map of the Notch area referenced earlier in this text, it indicates that an additional site formerly occupied by Elihu Cheesbro existed at the northern end of Ragged Mt. along West Mt. road in North Adams. But no physical surface remains have been found to verify its location.

In the south west corner of Adams, in the vicinity of Bassett Brook, from the early 1800's through the mid 1800's deeds indicate that Hiram Bassett established his farm. Well north of this area and west of the Thiel farm, deeds indicate that a farmstead existed in the western half of colonial lot 18 at the turn of the nineteenth century.

In the area of Gould and Thiel roads in Adams three sites appear on historical maps that have not been located in the field. Two are in the vicinity of Thiel road, the former A. Hall and Weisner farms. The third site, the former G. Weisner farm may be off of Gould road.
During the mid-1970's as part of an attempt to develop this area off of Gould and Thiel roads into a multi-use resort, these sites were severely impacted and possibly entirely destroyed. Efforts to build a resort area in this same location have been re-initiated and in 1986 the University of Massachusetts (UMASS) archaeological services team conducted a Phase I survey of this area in compliance with the Environmental Impact Report (EIR) regulations. Survey results confirmed that these sites had been impacted. This investigation also concluded none of the nineteenth and early twentieth century sites identified were eligible for inclusion in either the State or National Register of Historic Places because none met the criteria of historic cultural resources worthy of preservation. Project archaeologists determined that current project development efforts were not likely to impact any unknown historical or archaeological resources.

All the geographical areas mentioned in this section, discuss potential historic sites revealed through numerous documentary sources. However, it should be stressed that other areas of the mountain should not be excluded from consideration as possible settlement areas.
SETTLEMENT ANALYSIS

McManis (1975) suggests that in agricultural areas one of two spatial patterns develop in outlying communities: 1- homesteads grouped closely together to form a loosely nucleated hamlet and 2- others dispersed along paths or roadways widely separated from each other by fields and pastures. Geographers in an attempt to measure and describe patterns of farmstead distribution and nucleation attribute these occurrences to the following: 1- dispersal of villages are characteristic of rougher, dissected and hilly areas; 2- villages exist where sources of water are localized; and 3- villages exist where conditions allow the farmer to purchase larger tracts of land so he can be nearer to his livestock and to carry out his agricultural practices (Hart 1975).

McManis (1975) explains that nucleation also occurs when non-farming sites such as gristmills and sawmills form where water power is the most abundant, usually in the physically rougher terrains where farming was not practiced. These types of ancillary activities drew people away from the town center and as a result various sites developed off these established water sites which made more diversified products and services available.
On Greylock, mill sites depended upon a constant water flow for their existence and needed to be located next to an abundant supply of timber. Along the Hopper, Notch, Roaring, Mitchell and Kitchen Brook streambeds, the year round availability of water played a role in the overall determination to occupy these areas and the types of land uses that would work well surrounding the sites. There is evidence that non-agricultural activities radiated from these mill sites. On the steep northwestern and western slopes of Greylock in Williamstown and New Ashford, prime timber was harvested for the manufacture of charcoal in the Mitchell and Roaring Brook areas in close proximity to mill sites. At this time, there is no indication whether these two activities co-existed or if they were independent of each other.

Stilgoe (1982) points out that steep terrain areas were excellent for charcoaling because charcoal making clashed with husbandry. He attributes that iron manufacturers, who

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28 An 1830 map of Williamstown shows that a mill site was located on the southerly side of Roaring Brook. This site has not been found in the field. Deed research indicates that located along one of the main tributaries of Mitchell Brook a sawmill was in existence during the early 1800's.
used charcoal for fuel, intended to reforest whatever land they cleared to ensure an adequate harvest of cordwood to fuel their furnaces and not to turn the open spaces into pastures and meadows.

Richard Waldbauer (1986) examined cluster patterning of nineteenth century hill farm communities in the White Mountains of New Hampshire and Maine. He found that cluster patterning developed as the result of the interplay of social, economic and geographic factors. In these areas, the mountainous terrain reflected a range of topographical features such as river bottom lands, upland benches, steep-sided basins and notches that defined cluster boundaries. Ridge tops, rugged slopes, deep-cut streambeds, and perched water tables in some cases defined transitional zones between cluster areas. His findings concur with Hart's statement that suitable locations for the exploration of waterpower redefined the conditions for exploitation of the land.

Similar to the geographic conditions which defined cluster boundaries in Waldbauer's study, settlement areas on Greylock were comprised of farmsteads and non-agricultural sites located in close proximity to the major river beds. These sites are nestled in the valleys between smaller
mountain ridges and on higher slopes of the river beds resembling Hart's third categorization of farmstead placement.

The sites located and dispersed along old established road ways that followed river beds reflect a type of spatial patterning with a linear degree of clustering. Characteristic of this type of patterning, mutually useful activity areas were located on slopes between the farms. This spatial layout categorizes residence units that are adequately spaced but the settlement as a whole would be a distinct entity (Clarke 1977).

Thomas Hubka (1986) concludes that nineteenth century farm neighborhoods generally contained five to thirty farms in a spatially defined district such as river valleys or along hillside ridges. One example found on Greylock is in the Kitchen Brook area of Cheshire where a total of ten known sites occupied by several different families existed from the early 1800's to the turn of the twentieth century.

Another example of this type of nucleation was present in the Bellowspipe area of the Notch in North Adams. From the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century three to six farmsteads were present at various times. Also in this vicinity there is Jeremiah
Wilbur's private cemetery and historical indications of a one room school house. Unlike the Kitchen Brook district where various unrelated families lived, the Notch area was occupied primarily by children and descendants of the Wilbur family. It appears that other families living in this so-called neighborhood must have had close ties to the Wilbur family through relationship or friendship because some of the community members were buried in the cemetery.

In the Hopper along the Hopper Brook, however, the sites found reflect a tightly clustered pattern with less spacing between farms. Historical research indicates that a closely knit neighborhood developed. From the early 1800's and throughout the early twentieth century the Bacon and Pettit families established permanent ties to the Hopper region for several generations. Likewise, a family cemetery and a school was situated in proximity to these farms.

A second pattern found on Greylock consisted of individual farmsteads dispersed but in a linear fashion adjacent to roads which ran along the ridgetops or the lower confines of the mountain. This type of distribution occurred where the terrain and slope was much gentler allowing for adequate spacing between farms. For example, along the West Mt. road running through the southwest corner
of Adams, deed research indicates that during the late 1700's and early 1800's there was one farmstead distributed per colonial lot or two hundred acres. The gentle and rolling lands enabled farmers to establish pastures for grazing, leaving lower fields below or near the farmhouse for crop production. Adequate spacing also allowed the farmer to utilize adjacent mountain lands on the upper slopes for wood lots that provided plenty of fuel and timber. This type of pattern also existed on the Ingraham and Bowers roads in New Ashford and on West Mountain Road on Ragged Mt. in North Adams.

While these patterns are prevalent on Greylock, there are a few sites which do not conform to these archetypes. A third pattern existed in the Roaring Brook area. The four sites documented are tightly clustered with less spacing between sites as compared to other sites along streams.

Another class of sites are isolated from the primary settlement areas, distant and inaccessible to well traveled roadways and seasonal water sources. At this particular stage in the research no clear conclusions can be offered to explain their isolation from the central settlement areas. However, historical research indicates that the Lanesboro site (Woodason) was located on an early road that wound up
the mountain side from the present Pratt road. There are
documentation clues that other farmsteads may have been
located in proximity to this same road. As previously
discussed, the site located in the Wilbur's clearing area
may have been a steam powered saw mill, since these upper
slopes of the mountain were mostly woodlots.
LAND USE ANALYSIS

Lillard (1973) states that settlers used vegetation and soil type relationships for specific settlement purposes and land use applications. Documentary evidence exists showing that individuals owning wood lots did utilize certain tree types for milling purposes. For example, spruce and hemlock were valued and often mentioned in timber deeds. Spruce lumber in 1888 was being sold at $3.00/thousand board feet and hemlock was sold at $2.00/thousand board feet.29

On the other hand, mill sites along major water ways usually located on the poorer soil types, moderate slopes and lower elevations suggests that millwrights primarily evaluated land not according to soil fertility or the presence of glades but by assessing its forest cover, and proximity to waterfalls (Stilgoe 1982).

Contrary to Lillard's (1973) statement about soil relationships, the Greylock area appears not to fit the criterion in some aspects. The domestic/agricultural sites that lie within rocky slopes varying from 3-25% and soil types not acceptable for cultivation but with good drainage

indicates the early Greylock settlers could not have totally relied on vegetational and soil type relationships. Since most of the domestic/agricultural sites were found at constant elevations and slopes, it suggests that these two variables played more of a significant role in site location rather than soil types and vegetation.

Farming decisions and land use activities are also influenced by factors such as topography, soil conditions (depth, depletion or richness), length of the growing season, and more significantly access and distance to local and regional markets. Higbee (1958) concurs with these influences and contributes the size of farms and alternative opportunities for employment as additional influences affecting diverse land uses.

Bidwell (1916) states that the farmer's ability as a jack-of-all-trades can be attributed to his economic environment and his capability to adapt to forces exerted upon him from the local environment. As previously discussed, research suggests that the natural resources available to the settlers on Greylock mountain and prevailing local economic conditions molded the farmer's choices to pursue certain types of agricultural practices and ancillary activities.
One possible explanation for this adaptation is the need for farmers to reach a level of "competency", necessitating decisions on farm production which would meet their needs and the demands of local markets and industry. A farmer's survival level was achieved by supplementing his income with products that could be produced in the non-farming season such as timber harvests and iron ore mining or departing entirely from their traditional agricultural output branching out to sheep raising or dairying. Substantiation of this exists because of the number of Greylock farmers who were able to manage productive farms for an extended period and by the millwrights who operated successful mills.

This diversity of livelihoods is reflected in probate inventories and Federal agricultural census schedules. Probate records reflect agricultural crops and numbers of livestock amounts being raised at the time of the individual's death. This record confirms that to reach a level of subsistence the farmer must have conducted a profitable farm for many years before his demise.

Federal agricultural census schedules indicate the types and amounts of agricultural products and livestock raised during a given year. These census records, however, were only conducted every ten years, not providing any
information about farm production in the interim years. It is during these interim years that probate records can fill the gap to provide additional data. This source however does not offer a consistent time frame for the collection of data, whereas the agricultural census schedules were conducted every summer on the tenth year.

These two sources of information together can present clues about agricultural and husbandry trends over a given period of time. Comparison of livestock and produce holdings and agricultural practices can be made between farmers in a region. As previously discussed, this data can then be weighed against economic conditions in given periods of time and in a specific geographical area to reveal the changing trends of farming practices.

Another example of adaptation is the farmer's use of specific agricultural implements. Probate inventories show that farmers used agricultural implements such as the side hill plow for making the task of cultivation and planting easier. In addition the farmer's decision to raise certain crops on Mt. Greylock, it reflects a conscious choice to maintain their economic independence. Cool weather crops such as potatoes, carrots; Indian corn, and oats were the important varieties raised. These are in accordance with
Colman's (1837) opinion that these types of crops grew well during a shorter growing season and in the higher, hillier terrains.

Federal agricultural census schedules confirm that many of the farmers within the project area raised adequate amounts of these crops to sustain a comfortable means and in some cases enabling individuals to maintain surpluses. One of these products was maple sugar which was harvested only on certain areas of the mountain and indicates that farmer's took advantage of this product. Cheshire, Lanesboro and New Ashford farmers supplemented their livelihood with an added effort on maple sugar production. This was possibly due to climatic and environmental conditions which were appropriate for an abundance of maple trees to in grow in these areas. For example, a section of the project area in New Ashford is located on a mountainous plot of land (Colonial Lot 8) called Sugarloaf. This mountain must have had an abundance of sugar maples growing in 1789 to receive this nomenclature. 30

Probate inventories also show that farmers did not

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30 See Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Peter Mallery April 15, 1789 BK 3 PG 240 (NBRD).
always rely on the production of staple crops such as wheat, oats and corn for subsistence. Some diversified their output with the raising of various kinds of livestock such as cattle, pigs, fowls and turkeys.

Federal agricultural census schedules show that in Cheshire, which was noted for its prime dairy land, many farmers emphasized efforts on the production of cheese and butter. Farmers in Adams produced adequate amounts of oats, potatoes, and Indian corn, but, some of them supplemented their incomes with the production of cheese and butter.

Baker and Paterson (1986) argues that some farmers resisted change and others partially adapted in ways that conformed to their traditional values and ideals. Those who adapted or diversified did so by specializing their output of goods, improving and increasing their land holdings when market opportunities dictated change or when family needs had to be satisfied.

This study has noted that some farmers adopted sheep raising and charcoal manufacturing when traditional agricultural activities did not provide the necessary income to maintain the farmer's livelihood. To profitably support these practices, these activities required sizable tracts of land and if the farmer did not currently possess adequate
landholdings, sufficient capital had to be raised to purchase these lands.

An example of Baker's statement can be found in probate records and Federal agricultural census records which reflect the numbers of sheep possessed by farmers at given periods of time. On average flocks of 20-25 sheep could be found on most New England farms (Bidwell 1916). However, there are instances on Greylock where farmers possessed anywhere from 30-361 sheep at a given time. This indicates that those farmers had the capital to purchase herds of these sizes and must have had the immediate availability of land for grazing of these animals. Danhof (1969) indicates that farmers who possessed more capital than the average farmer tended to give greater attention to animal husbandry. This is probably due to the fact that livestock can yield greater and steadier sources of income for the farmer. In addition, livestock is less labor intensive than grain production.

Associated with the chosen land uses, changes in property lines often occurred. Initially property divisional lines were closely related to the system under which the land was surveyed. Within a given system of land survey, variations in the form of land surfaces determined
variations in parcels of land. When the colonial lots were originally laid out in the late 1700's, division lines usually followed mountain slope contours and natural features such as streams. In Williamstown and New Ashford, irregular division boundary lines followed streams, rivers and mountain contours. On the other hand, in Adams, North Adams, Lanesboro and a portion of Cheshire uniform two hundred acre lots were laid out due to greater regularity in the lay of the land.

Subsequent boundary line changes reflect the farmer's decisions to alter the landscape to accommodate his choice to practice agriculture or animal husbandry. As previously discussed changes in the local economy reflected the choices farmers made to meet the demands created by the market. Changes reflected shifts from labor intensive (e.g., farming) to less labor intensive production (e.g., animal grazing, lumbering). Rubertone and Thorbahn (1985) concluded that changes in the size or function of a settlement may have a direct effect on patterns of land use in its surrounding hinterland. Paynter (1982) found with the introduction of new industries to the Connecticut Valley in the nineteenth century, an accompanying shift in land use.
in the hill towns involved the production of raw materials useful to these industries.

Today, stonewalls and barbed wire fences can be found throughout the forests. These fences protected crops from damage by wandering cattle and other livestock. As a general rule, livestock farmers preferred small and squarish plots because it allowed for better control of grazing and breeding practices, whereas crop farmers were more inclined toward long and narrow fields, which are better suited to the use of machinery (Hart 1975).

In Adams, Lanesboro and Cheshire lower elevation lands provided much gentler terrain for tillage and luxuriant slopes for pasturage of domesticated animals. These slopes provided better drainage, richer soils and good exposure. Since farmers preferred to be closer to their herds to manage them, this could be a partial explanation of the higher number of sites located in these areas of the mountain.

While boundary lines of land parcels changed when crop production and livestock raising were prevalent, woodlot boundaries seldom changed their shape. Changes did occur when big industries and iron companies purchased and consolidated several tracts of land, especially in New
Ashford. The steep upper slopes in Adams and North Adams for the most part remained blockish in form for 100 years due to their specific use as woodlots during that length of time.

Changes in lot boundary lines can be attributed to the process of farm enlargement and reorganization. For example, land sale transactions indicate that individuals in the Kitchen Brook area of Cheshire acquired small tracts of land during the early 1800's to establish their farmsteads, but by the mid to late 1800's portions of these farm lands were being sold off to other farmers who were re-organizing their land holdings. Restructuring and re-organization of property holdings can be partially attributed to a need for additional pasture lands, more productive soils, and the selling off of non-productive lands. In many instances large portions of the land held within farms was of little or no value for agricultural purposes (Danhof 1969). Farmers sometimes left sections of land idle for a period of time to avoid rapid soil exhaustion and depletion. Thus, by accumulating other tracts of land these idle tracts could increase the overall productivity of the farmstead.

A good example of this restructuring of farmlands is demonstrated with the former Dalton farm in Cheshire.
Initially, from 1789-1793 several different landowners acquired parcels of land from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and were subsequently sold to Jabez Rounds (Fig. 6). Rounds at his demise in 1843, possessed a mountain farm of 350 acres and a small half acre lot and buildings adjacent to West Mountain road. In his inventory, Rounds raised 19 assorted cows and 11 sheep. He also had on bushels of potatoes and oats and butter and cheese products. A portion of his estate was distributed by will to Hannah, his widow and the remainder was shared equally among the four sons and three daughters. At this time the 350 acres were re-distributed by changing the interior boundary lines (Fig. 7).

In September of 1848, the heirs conveyed their interests and fee in the total farmlands to George Martin. One year after his acquisition, Martin sold 70 of these acres to Lewis Ambler. Subsequent to his initial purchase, Martin in 1856 purchased an additional 146 acres in New Ashford. During the 17 year period that Martin held the farm, he varied his husbandry practices. According to the 1850 Federal Agricultural census, Martin possessed four milch cows, 14 other cattle, sheep and 14 swine. For crops, he produced 200 bushels of Irish potatoes and 100 bushels of
Figure 7.

SCALE: 1 in. = 1000'
buckwheat. But, in 1860 his husbandry concerns shifted from livestock to a slightly diversified crop selection which included Indian corn, oats, tobacco, and hops.

In 1865, Martin conveyed to Patrick Dalton and his son James, 297 acres in New Ashford and Cheshire (Fig. 8). The father held this farm for 16 years until his death in 1881. According to the 1870 and 1880 Federal agricultural census, Dalton also varied his husbandry practices to include six milch cows, ten other cattle and two swine. Crop production included 85 bushels of oats, and 100 bushels of Irish potatoes. He also produced 800 pounds of butter and cut 260 cords of wood. By 1880, he increased the milch cows to eight, swine to three and added eighteen poultry. At this time he raised barley instead of oats, decreased the butter amount to 600 pounds but increased the potato yield to 350 bushels.

At his death in February 1881, his inventory listed no crops but did show three swine, five sheep, seven cows and three yearling heifers. His farmstead must have been in financial trouble because a $430.00 debt was placed on the estate. The farm was willed to his widow and was subsequently passed on to his five children. The downfall of the farmstead became more evident because by 1891, the
Figure 8.

SCALE: 1 in. = 1000'

-140-
farm was listed as abandoned in the Massachusetts descriptive catalogue of abandoned and partially abandoned farms. It appears that the farm was no longer productive because in later land transactions the property was referred to as mountain land. Eventually, most of the farm became part of the Reservation.

In the early stages of land acquisition, farm enlargement sometimes required the operation of non-contiguous tracts of land, and in these cases the process of farm enlargement appears to be a process of farm fragmentation. Fragmentation of properties encouraged farmers with these holdings to live in central nucleated settlements, requiring daily travel to the fields. Some farmers found it more convenient to move closer to the land they were working and to sell off their holdings in the town's center, where land prices had risen (Taylor 1984).

As a result of this preference in settlement location, families moved to the fringes of the towns and found themselves an inconvenient distance from the church and the school. This process caused groups of families to organize themselves as separate communities with their own church and school. When this situation arose affecting a number of families in a specific area, the town fathers established
separate and individual school and road districts to care for community needs.  

This type of separated community is evident in the Bellowspipe area of the Notch located at the northern end of the Greylock range in North Adams and in the "Hopper" along the Hopper road in Williamstown. From early times of settlement, several families settled in these two regions, each located several miles from the main village. In the heart of the Notch village a school, appropriately called the "Notch School" was built to accommodate the enrollment of farm children in this district who were needed before and after school for farm work.

31 This evident in any of the town meeting minutes in which the town father's established several school districts and road districts. Education and road maintenance were important neighborhood functions legislated by the town government (Hubka 1986).
CHAPTER IV
RESEARCH UTILIZATIONS

One of the intentions of this study is to provide an effective means to conduct archaeological and anthropological studies on Mt. Greylock and vicinity as well as for the surrounding Berkshire county area. The historical features on the mountain and its environs have suffered continuously from a lack of funding, qualified personnel, a low priority profile and a general lack of interest by responsible authorities and agencies at all levels. The historical artifacts and sites in the area will not last forever and must be investigated, analyzed and documented before civilization, development and the passage of time remove them entirely from the scene.

The primary purpose of this paper is to develop a research design, using deed documentation, that would give extensive data to the Department Environmental Management (DEM) to supplement management policies on cultural resources. It will provide the DEM with much basic research, field documentation and verification of some of the upland settlements on Mt. Greylock. It adheres to the specific guidelines and goals for cultural resources devised
by the DEM. These goals are as follows. First, to conduct prehistoric surveys and research at the reconnaissance level in the entire unit. Second, to conduct historic surveys in the hill-top agricultural communities and rural village centers. Third, to conduct a historic survey of threatened nineteenth century resort communities and resources. Fourth, to evaluate both prehistoric and historic survey data leading to National Register nomination.

To manage cultural resources the DEM has divided the state into five units that correspond to the five administrative regions already in place. Each region is designated as a study unit under the cultural resource plan.³² Specific needs developed under the guidance of the Massachusetts Historical Commission are stated and described in the DEM's three volume series on the management of cultural resources. These guidelines are to enhance efforts and to carry out the objectives of the cultural resource program for each park and forest within the system.

Berkshire County falls into Region V under this

³² Study unit boundaries run along current town/city boundaries because the MHC has argued that today's town boundaries reflect the earlier Commonwealth.
classification system. The Berkshire study unit has a poor representation of cultural resources in the county as only twelve communities in the region have National Register properties. Mt. Greylock State Reservation policies on cultural resources are outlined in the Guidelines for Operations and Land Stewardship (G.O.A.L.S. 1988) plan. This plan is modeled after the specifications discussed in the Department of Environmental Management's policies and if followed would insure a program for complete documentation of all verified sites.

The Department of Environmental Management categorizes cultural and archaeological sites into three classes. The first consists of sites currently listed on the State Register of Historic Places. The second group includes sites that are known but have not yet been listed on the Register. The third group of sites is those not yet discovered within the DEM's system to identify and protect

33 For Mt. Greylock State Reservation five historic sites were filed with the Massachusetts Historical Commission's State Register by James Parrish former historic preservation planner in the 1980. This author filed thirteen sites with this agency in 1980. This is due to the lack of sufficient information to determine the site(s) eligibility to the register.
cultural and archaeological resources. Once known and unknown sites have been placed into one of these categories they are then placed into specific cultural/historical zones.

These zones are identified according to the state's criteria for cultural resources. They are as follows:

A.) Unique Resource Zone - Cultural/Historical areas:

Only sites listed on the State Register of Historic sites or of major significance to the Department for such activities as interpretation, and community education are included in this category.

B.) Environmental Protection Zone:

Sites not yet evaluated for State Register eligibility, sites located through research but not verified in the field, and zones with a described potential for containing as yet unlocated sites that may be eligible for registration should be zoned under this category. Also any area containing a known, expected, or predicted site which is not currently threatened by competing uses falls in this category.

C.) Natural-Resource Management Zone and Developed-Lands Zone
Classification under this zone includes those sites not evaluated for State Register eligibility, sites located through research but not verified in the field, and zones with a described potential for containing as yet unlocated sites that may be eligible for registration and that have conflicting uses with other Departmental priorities are classified under this category.

Once archaeological or historic sites have been placed within one or more of these zones, decisions and recommendations are made about the identification, evaluation, protection, and interpretation of these resources. The Mt. Greylock G.O.A.L.S. plan indicates that none of the areas on Mt. Greylock that contain cultural and archaeological resources have yet been assigned to any of the cultural/historic subzones because all of the sites are pending evaluation. While these archaeological sites are pending evaluation the DEM management plan requires a minimum buffer zone of four acres be placed around the identified cultural and archaeological sites and around any sites that may be identified in the future.

Several comments need to be made concerning the DEM's policies on cultural resources. A considerable amount of work needs to be done in all categories of the G.O.A.L.S.
plan to speed up data recovery and evaluation processes. This study will contribute to the second objective of the DEM cultural resource program to conduct historic surveys in hill-top communities. This is important because the majority of the State Park lands in Berkshire County fall into this category. Past inventory work (Denault 1980, 1981) and current research will add to the cultural and archaeological data base available to park personnel about known and unknown cultural resources. If this information can be circulated among park and DEM personnel, efforts can then be placed on prioritizing management goals.

An important criticism to be made about the second objective in the DEM's cultural resource program is that more emphasis should be placed on the potential for eighteenth century sites to exist within State Park lands in the western part of the state. Research from this paper clearly indicates that a considerable amount of human activity occurred during this time and diverse land uses occurred at different periods of time. More effort and research should be focused by the DEM on these issues to alleviate this deficiency.

A concern to this researcher which should be a priority for the DEM is those sites not yet discovered within the
system. It is important to identify and locate all potential cultural zones throughout Reservation lands. Once this is done research efforts can be applied to determine what specific resources exist within those cultural zones and how they can be incorporated into the DEM's baseline system. Currently the DEM has initiated efforts to accumulate a basic inventory of cultural and archaeological resources. However, one negative aspect of their efforts is that personnel are limited because of their lack of knowledge on all aspects of the recovery process of cultural resources.

Upon evaluation of the known and unknown sites in this study, recommendations can be made to place them in appropriate cultural/historic zones. Out of the 18 sites that are currently listed on the state register, eleven of them fall within State lands and could be included in category A. There are six additional sites located on Reservation lands which fall into category B. The sites in this category listed by towns are as follows:

- Cheshire - three sites
- Williamstown - one site
- North Adams - one site
- Adams - one site
At this time research suggests that only one additional site is on Reservation lands and can be included under category C.

It is important to note that a total of 29 documented and verified sites were located on privately owned properties adjacent to the Reservation. Seven of these are already on the State Register. This information is significant because the possibility exists that some of these lands may be acquired in the near future by the Commonwealth. These sites should be treated as potential cultural resources that may be threatened because private owners have the right to develop their lands thus jeopardizing the integrity of the archaeological sites. Site numbers in this category are broken down by towns as follows:

- Adams - nine sites
- Cheshire - seven sites (four are on the State Register)
- Williamstown - five sites
- North Adams - eight sites

Another focus of the DEM is to incorporate information about cultural and archaeological resources into the existing interpretive program throughout the State park
system. The DEM has set up general policies and guidelines for the interpretation of archaeological and historic resources. The cultural resources inventoried in each region determines what themes are appropriate for interpretive activities in that region. The intention of the interpretive programs is to give visitors to the parks an understanding of the overall historical development of the Commonwealth and local historical events.

The DEM has suggested several possible site related themes for the Mt. Greylock State Reservation concerning historical sites. They are as follows: Early Settlement, Early Industry and Famous Citizens. But with the knowledge from this study these themes can be expanded to include: Agriculture, The Expanding Frontier, Early New England Landscape and Resource Extraction. There are secondary divisions that can be added to the DEM's list of site related themes, sheep husbandry, charcoaling, colonial farming techniques and colonial family life.

As part of a regional approach, the DEM recommends the identification of a "Regional Interpretive Center". This center would orient visitors with information about the region and its history, prehistory, and natural history. To support these Regional Centers, a research department and
curatorial facility would be established.

While the idea of an informational center is an appropriate action at the time when the guidelines were proposed in 1985, the financial situation throughout the State and the DEM's administrative structure make this concept less practical at this time. Budget and personnel constraints would eliminate the possibility of establishing or maintaining existing centers. As an alternative it would be appropriate to get local academic institutions and historical commissions to participate in the gathering of research data and the storage of records and artifacts that would benefit all parties interested in protecting, preserving and managing cultural and archaeological resources.

Finally, other applications of this study can be used by town administrators, planners and local historical societies. Deed research has been done for the properties adjacent to the Reservation and the information gathered can be used to help answer questions about property lines, and ownership rights useful to local surveyors, lawyers and title examiners. The data may be used to provide clarification on road status, such as when the road was laid out, who has rights to it and the type of road it is.
RECOMMENDATIONS

It is important to get local colleges and universities to participate in current or future inventory, documentation and recovery processes. Most academic institutions with History, American Studies and Anthropology programs have internship programs that could provide a qualified pool of individuals to assist in those efforts. Local Historical Commissions should be approached to assist in these efforts, since they are empowered by the MHC to educate the public, and to protect and preserve cultural/historical resources of the areas they serve.

The Department of Environmental Management (DEM) requires that a regional cultural resource technician be appointed to carry out the objectives of the cultural resource program. Their efforts would include an on-going inventory, survey, evaluation, and nomination of archaeological and historic sites to the State and National registers of Historic places. Because of the shrinking pool of DEM employees it is suggested that when new lands are acquired by the State of Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, that the title examination of the new property include a full deed study to search for historical information. Existing personnel can participate
in these efforts. In Massachusetts, foresters or other qualified park personnel conduct the deed research on a given property during acquisitions and of other land related functions. During this function, these employees could make note of indications of non-farming activities and references to sites that may have existed on the property in question at any given time. This information collected by student interns and volunteers can be stored and will supplement the use of available historic maps and other research data to accurately locate additional sites.

Upon reviewing the DEM Cultural Resource Program plan (Vol. II, 1985), there is one area that is not discussed under the section of intensive field surveying. The DEM states that there are specific procedures to be employed while surveying for archaeological sites in rural and city areas. However, no discussion is given for surveying in forested areas. While wooded areas can be rural, rural areas are not always necessarily wooded. The two types of areas should be distinguished, and classified as separate. Some wooded lands, like many parts of Greylock, are heavily covered with thick growth from June to October making surface exploration and subsurface testing difficult.

It has been argued by archaeologists (Chartkoff 1978;
that specific methods of sampling strategies are more appropriate than others for locating and identifying historic archaeological sites in forested areas. It is a well accepted fact that conducting site surveys in forested areas can more often than not present limitations in the process of site and data recovery thus affecting scientific interpretation of the data.

For example, Lovis (1976) during site reconnaissance and excavation in Michigan employed the sampling technique called transect interval sampling. This procedure involves the collection of midden samples at regular intervals along a series of transects that extend from the find spot or known area of a site outward until the site's limits are defined. Chartkoff (1978) points out that site size is usually estimated on the basis of surface distribution of artifacts, but the validity of this procedure depends upon a visible ground surface. Lovis indicates that when ground surface visibility is low in woodland situations the distance between transects would have to be lessened to reduce the chance of missing any significant cultural objects within the sites.

The point to be made is that this type of sampling strategy should be considered as a viable means for
retrieving the location of unknown sites and artifactual data that can not be detected from visual field surveys. The department should be made aware of this procedure and consult with qualified archaeologists on the use of this and other surveying methods.
CONCLUSIONS

This research project has been ongoing for approximately ten years, and the author has learned several important details about conducting, documenting and compiling research data. Part of the problem in carrying out these various stages of research was the limitation and accessibility of professional literature and related topical material in the Berkshire County area. Anthropological journals and articles at the local colleges and libraries are limited or non-existent.

Another problem in researching was in some instances certain types of information were not available to the researcher until the later stages of research. Assessors maps used to compile deed data were not available in sufficient detail and for all communities mandated by law in until 1988. These maps despite some errors in property lines and other cartographic features, do provide a ready resource for compiling deed data. In conducting the actual deed research, related work experience has taught this researcher a more efficient and accurate method to conduct this form of documentation. Finally, specific soils information for the project was not available in a compiled report format until 1988 delaying the evaluation and
formation of conclusions necessary to the study.

Some of the sources used contained distortions or incorrect statements of data. Documents prepared by individuals or local historians for educational papers made references to particular sources of information about specific events or individuals which could not be located to verify these descriptions. In some cases, the primary source of reference was not cited or incorrectly cited making confirmation of the quoted statement difficult or impossible to verify. Of all the sources used the most persistent obstacle was missing documents and records particularly in dealing with land deeds. For example, there are many instances when a reference for a deed transaction was called for in the title chain but the actual deed was never recorded. The lack of records is unfortunately one of the hazards in using this type of historical documentation. It requires that inferences be based on total deed data for a tract of land in order to make logical conclusions.

An important lesson learned during the processes of this project is the value, as well as the difficulties, of using a computer. Unhappily for this researcher a computer was not available for this effort until the last year of the project. This study has produced an overwhelming amount of
data and the task would have been much simpler and more easily expedited if the data had been entered into the computer in an organized manner.

One final comment made is that Commonwealth lands that were acquired during the period of this project were not included in the research scope. Research efforts should be expanded to include these lands because of any developmental plans by the DEM. The specific areas targeted are the Kitchen Brook, Pork Lane and outer Hopper areas.
Soil types found on Mt. Greylock & vicinity.

**KEY**

**Land Capabilities**

1. Suited to cultivated crops, hay
2. Suited to pasture
3. Not suitable for crops & hay
4. Not suitable for pasture
5. Poorly suited for cultivated crops & hay
6. Poorly suited for pasture
7. Used as woodland
8. Erosion is a factor

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APPENDIX 2

EARLY ROADS ON GREYLOCK & VICINITY

There are several categories of roads referred to in the text. A brief review of the definitions of the roads applicable to this study will be given. The definitions of the different types of roads was taken from the Report on the Legal Status of Roads in the Towns of Williamstown, Massachusetts (1987). The actual dates of the layout and acceptance of roads come from reading the various Town meeting minutes. One note should be made here, many of these roads existed for a considerable time prior to its actual acceptance. The purpose of using road establishment data is to determine possible dates of settlement in certain areas.

In many instances there were early roads laid out by acts of "dedication", that is roads laid out by private individuals who built them to service themselves and their neighbors. Often these roads were accepted by the public usually inferred without any town votes or written documentation.

1- TOWN WAY:
This type of road is accepted by Town Meeting vote and includes a layout of the road from a survey.

2- TOWN WAY:
This type of town way was voted on by town meeting vote but did not include a filed layout of the accepted road. This is considered as an incorrectly accepted town road.

3- COUNTY WAY:
This is a public way under the jurisdiction of the County but is maintained by the town.
## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED:

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<td>Adams</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Camp Hamblin Road</td>
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<tr>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Road near Bassett Brook</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Bellowspipe Trail</td>
<td>1791</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>West Mt. Road on Ragged Mt.</td>
<td>1796</td>
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<tr>
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<td>F</td>
<td>West Mt. Road s.w. cor. prior</td>
<td>1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>G</td>
<td>Portion of Thiel Road</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<td>Cheshire</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>West Mt. Road</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Unnamed road leading west from West Mt. Road</td>
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<td>J</td>
<td>Private way from Micah Pratt's house east to town line</td>
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<td>K</td>
<td>Main St.</td>
<td>1762</td>
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<td>Williamstown</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Hopper Road (inner portion)</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Bressett Road</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>Pattison Road</td>
<td>1815</td>
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APPENDIX 3.

- Sites documented & verified in the field
- Cemetery
- Iron ore mining site
- Mills
Appendix 4

- Documented sites, but not verified in the field
- Areas which may contain other potential sites
GEOGRAPHIC GLOSSARY

KEY
A- Wilbur's Clearing
B- The Notch
C- Bellowspipe
D- Ragged Mt.
E- The Hopper
F- Roaring Brook
G- U.S.G.S. Bench mark
H- Proposed Greylock Glen Resort area
I- Jones Nose
J- Kitchen Brook
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VITA

Susan Ann Denault


In September 1984, the author entered the College of William & Mary Anthropology graduate program. While completing the Masters thesis on the historic archaeological sites of Mt. Greylock State Reservation in Adams, Massachusetts, the author has been self-employed as a research technician to land surveyors in Berkshire County. Other projects have included consulting on Environmental Impact Review projects and editing research information for published historical articles and books.