

REHOBOTH



"I know histhry isn't thru, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histhry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', gettin' dhrunk, makin' love, gettin' married, owin' th' grocery man an' bein' without hard coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome, but not befur."



— Dunne, Finley Peter,
OBSERVATIONS BY MR. DOOLEY,
New York, 1902

1639

In about this year, [Obadiah Holmes](#) emigrated from England to America. For awhile he would settle at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay colony, but he would then remove to [Rehoboth](#) and become a [Baptist](#). He would unite with the church in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).



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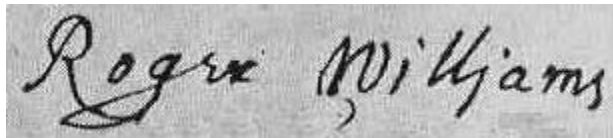
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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1645

What is now the Rumford area of East [Providence](#), and Attleboro, Massachusetts, and [Cumberland](#), had up to this point been called “Seacunke” after the band of Narragansett that lived in the area, and in King [Phillip](#)’s time would be called “[Rehoboth](#)” after the band of English that had just removed from Plymouth to there. (East Providence would not become part of [Rhode Island](#) until 1862.)

Perhaps it was the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) who wrote to Governor John Winthrop in this year, that: “A war with the Narragansetts is very considerable to this plantation, for I doubt whether it be not in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maintain the worship of the devil, which their pow wows often do; secondly, if upon a just war the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, women and children enough to exchange for Moors [presumably, he meant enslaved blacks] which will be more gainful pillage for us than we conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive until we get into a flock of slaves sufficient to do all our business, for our children’s children will hardly see this great continent filled with people, so that our servants will still desire freedom to plant for themselves and not stay but for very great wages. And I suppose you know very well how we shall maintain twenty Moors cheaper than one English servant.”



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1661

~~REDACTED~~
Massasoit died and was succeeded by his 1st son, *Wamsutta*, the one who had been nicknamed “Alexander” (*sic*) by the whites.¹



Att the earnest request of *Wamsutta*, desiring that in regard his father is lately deceased, and hee being desirouse, according to the custome of the natives, to change his name, that the Court would confer an English name upon him, which accordingly they did, and therefore ordered, that for the future hee shalbee called by the name of *Allexander Pokanokett*; and desireing the same in the behalfe of his brother, they have named him *Phillip*.



Allexander Wamsutta was married to [Squaw Sachem Weetamoo](#) of Pocasset. He sold Attleboro lands to the [Plymouth](#) colony. This sachem would be signing the land sale documents presented to him by the English sometimes with

an **A** sometimes with a **W** and sometimes with a **M**

(these things are complex, for in fact he had in addition another name beginning with the letter M) as his younger brother *Metacom*, when he would in his turn become the sachem of the [Wampanoag](#), would be signing these ubiquitous documents with

a big inky **P**

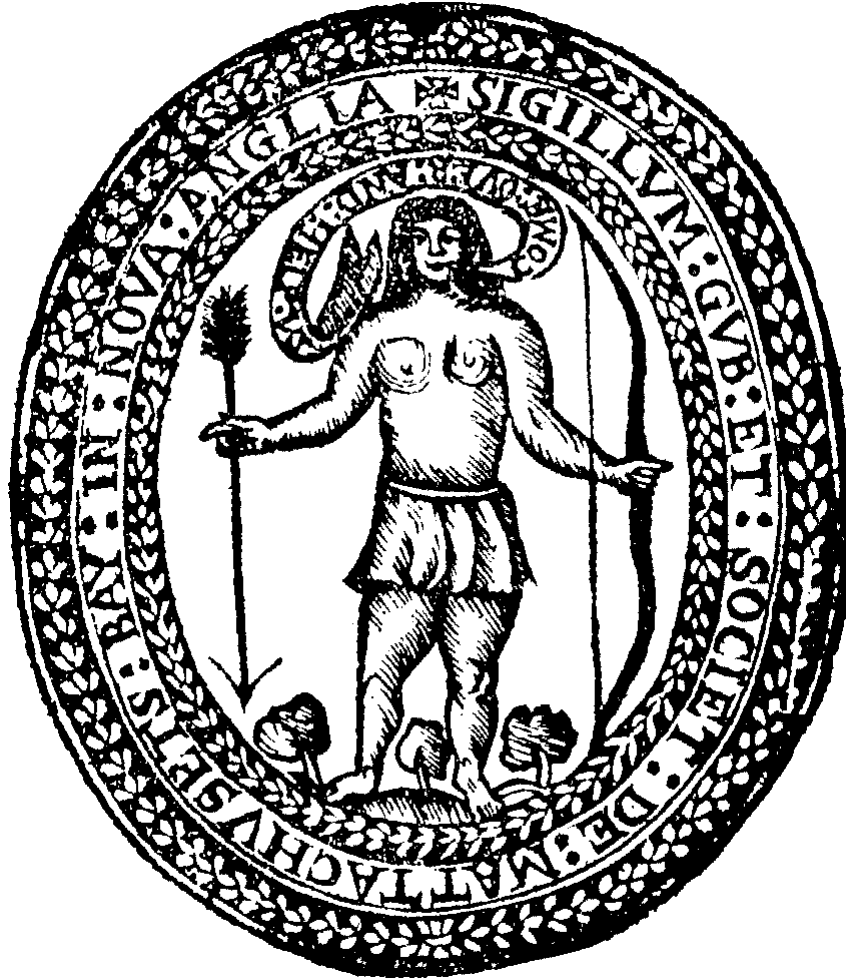
*Phillip alias Metacom
his P marko*

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(it all was made to seem so legitimate and respectful and congenial).

This was the year of the property transaction known as the “Northern Purchase.” The English of [Rehoboth](#)

1. When the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony depicted an American native with a cartoon bubble coming out of his mouth, going “Come over and help us,” the reference of course was to the Book of the Acts of the Apostles in the Christian Bible, which has the Apostle Paul dreaming of a Macedonian who is pleading that he “Come over into Macedonia, and help us.”



On that basis, for the whites to have assigned to two Native American sachems the names “Phillip” (*sic*) and “Alexander” (*sic*) two well-known kings of ancient Macedonia, would seem rather innocent. However, bear in mind that it was the naming convention of the period, to refer to persons of color by the deployment of offensively grandiloquent and therefore implicitly derogatory nicknames. The dusky brothers *Wamsutta* and *Metacom* were therefore nicknamed Alexander and Phillip more or less in the mode in which masterly whites were in the habit of condescending magisterially to their black slaves: such ostentatious names (in the case of black slaves, master-assigned names such as those which Dr. LeBaron of [Plymouth](#) tried to enforce upon his house slaves, such as Pompey and Julius Caesar — starving one of his slaves, Quasho Quando, as punishment when the man absolutely refused to respond to such a name) implicitly gestured toward their low standing in the eyes of the righteous, marking them as pretenders, as con artists, implicitly warning fellow whites not to take them seriously as human beings or as leaders.

In what significant manner does this differ from the period in Central Europe during which Jews were being required to register and to receive family names and were being assigned names, by a sympathetic constabulary, which translate into the ordinary English as “gold-grubber” and as “money-bags”?



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(chartered in 1643 by the Plymouth Colony, and the birthplace of public education in North America) hired



Thomas Willett to negotiate for them with Wampanoag sachems for what is now Attleboro and North Attleboro. This 1661 deed still exists and very clearly is signed by Willett and by Wamsutta. The land in question has clearly belonged to the white man since way back. One of the terms and conditions of this deed document, however, is that part of the property in question had been set aside for perpetual use by the natives. Since there aren't any natives there any longer, and since continuous occupancy is normally taken by our courts to be the signal of native title, this clause would seem to be ancient history — but as of the Year of Our Lord 2003 there is a case pending in the Rhode Island courts which alleges that legal title to the land district that had been set aside, that seems to amount to Cumberland and east Woonsocket, is open to challenge.



The bite in this antique document comes from the fact that since the early 1660s, colonial law, and the federal law that followed after this colonial law upon our national independence, has consistently held that no native tribal land could be validly conveyed to another unless that conveyance had the blessing of a federal court, or Metacom had such a high regard for Captain Thomas Willett that during the race war he ordered that the Willett family not be harmed. When someone who had not heard of this brought the head of Hezekiah Willett to Metacom, thinking that he would be pleased, Metacom did what he could: he adorned the head of Willett's son with wampum, and combed its hair.



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of the US Congress. Since there exists no federal legislative or judicial record whatever, that these lands which had been formally set aside for native use in this Wamsutta/Willett title document have subsequently legitimately been conveyed to anyone else, and since the tribe in question, the Seaconke *Wampanoag*, happens to be still in existence, it is abundantly clear that the land in question –whatever that land amounts to and whoever now resides upon it– still belongs to them and to them alone. (After the natives lost in this race war known as “*King Phillip’s War*”, we understand that very naturally the victorious white colonists simply moved in and took over by eminent domain, selling the red survivors of the war into slavery or packing them off to other lands. However, that makes the situation of these native inheritors similar to, say, the situation of an Israeli Jew who is holding a WWII-era title document to a family home in the Polish town of Oswicum, the German form of the name being “Auschwitz” — a family home now inhabited and defended by non-Jewish Poles who definitely have some sort of piece of paper asserting their invalid title. It seems clear that the legal implications of World War II for its survivors, and the implications of King Phillip’s War for its survivors, have yet to be fully worked out.)

But you can’t please everybody all the time. Soon *Wamsutta* fell under suspicion of not favoring one English colony over another, but instead, of the evil practice of selling merely to the highest bidder, favoring his own interest and the interest of his band over the interest of others. He was therefore taken captive by an indignant Major Josiah Winslow and marched rapidly to Duxbury at gunpoint, as part of a strategy to put the arm on him and to induce him to favor the *Plymouth* colony over the *Rhode Island* colony. They needed for him to pledge to sell no more native American territory to settlers out of the *Rhode Island* group, even if those white people were to offer his people a better deal.

Did he not understand who his real friends were? However, while being held under guard in Duxbury, Alexander *Wamsutta* became seriously ill, so ill that the guards feared to be blamed for his death and released him to hike home — and in his fever he didn’t make it all the way back.

Metacom, the second son of the *Massasoit*, the one who had been nicknamed “Phillip” by the whites, was at that time 24 years of age, and suspected or professed to suspect that the whites had poisoned his brother, or had caused his illness because of the overexertion of being force-marched at gunpoint, or at the very least had sadly neglected his brother during his fever. That suspicion, well or poorly grounded, was going to cause one hell of a lot of trouble.

Weetamoo, a Pocasset, had been the consort of *Metacom*’s older brother *Wamsutta*. With his death, as his younger brother became Sachem, she became not merely a widow but the Squaw Sachem.

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Inauthentic representation of Metacom by Paul Revere, for whom an Indian was an Indian, at the Library of Congress. Done in 1772.

["Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project](#)



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1665

During the mid-1660s, Rehoboth was being settled by English from Plymouth.



1675

June 23, Wednesday (Old Style): A white boy shot and killed a red native who was looting one of the abandoned Swansea homes. The trap, if it was a trap, was sprung. The next day after that offing, the escalation would be on its merry way, with one white being offed at Swansea, two being offed at Miles' Garrison, two being offed at Rehoboth, and six being offed at Mattapoiset.³

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

At some point in this timeframe, Friend John Easton would relate, a letter had been received in Rhode Island from the governor of the Plymouth colony, John Winslow, requesting "our help with sum boats if thay had such ocaation and for us to looke to our selfs." Captain James Cudworth communicated that the Governor's intention in making this request was to "Cum upon the indians" by land, down the neck of the Mount Hope peninsula, and that the Rhode Island boats were "to atend," blockading the Mount Hope peninsula so that the Wampanoag would not be able to escape the Plymouth troops simply by taking to their canoes. On this day Governor William Coddington of Rhode Island, a Quaker, agreed to do this: "I intend (God willing) to get our boats and watch the shore to oppose the common enemy, all of us being Englishmen and subjects of our King and proposing to serve one and the same end." One may infer from this pledge that the Quaker Peace Testimony was not seen as applying to interracial conflicts — that blood was thicker than principle.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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June 26, Saturday-29, Tuesday (Old Style): Attacks were made by the *Wampanoag* upon *Rehoboth* and *Taunton*. It proved to be possible to evade the approaching colonial troops and evacuate *Mount Hope* in favor of *Pocasset* (now *Tiverton, Rhode Island*). The Mohegan sent an embassy to Boston with an offer to fight alongside the English against the Wampanoag.

Here again however, I suppose the attitude expressed by the amateur historian Reverend *Grindall Reynolds* of *Concord* to be considerably more accurate and cogent than the attitude expressed by any of the professional historians of this period:



The first act of the war closed with Philip's flight from Mount Hope. At the seat of what, we are asked to believe, was a long conceived, subtle, and powerful confederacy, almost literally no resistance was made. In forty-eight hours after the appearance of the hastily gathered English soldiery, the chief was a fugitive, and his tribe, as such, swept out of existence.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

July: *Metacom*'s warriors mounted attacks where they could, wiping out the town of Dartmouth; *Rehoboth* and *Taunton* were attacked soon after *Swansea*. In mid-July an attack on the town of Mendon by the Nipmuc would ominously foreshadow the spreading of the war. Job *Nesutan*, who had been helping the Reverend *John Eliot* in the translation of the BIBLE into the Nipmuc tongue for publication at the Cambridge press, was killed as he fought alongside the English.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

3. The "score" at this point: 8 out of 10 Commandments still operational.



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July 29, Thursday (Old Style): Metacom and his Wampanoag broke from the swamp in which they had been hiding and headed toward central Massachusetts. They kept a forced march through the night and all the next day, hoping to get over the open country around Rehoboth without being seen, but some men from Taunton spread an alarm.

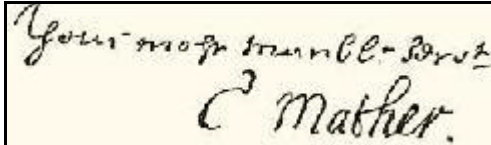
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 19, Sunday (Old Style): Forces of the United Colonies assaulted a sanctuary which the Narragansett tribespeople had set up in order to avoid turning over their wives and children to the whites as hostages, in the “Great Swamp,” a swamp in what is now South Kingstown, Rhode Island. In an attempt to assimilate this battle to the battle which ended the Pequot War, which had occurred in a swamp near Fairfield on July 13, 1637, both of these battles would come to be referred to as “The Great Swamp Fight.” This particular slaughter would excite a rather crude piece of doggerel:

’Tis fear’d a thousand Natives young and old,
Went to a place in their opinion cold.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The bloody-minded Reverend Cotton Mather would remember this Great Swamp Fight as the tailgate party at which the Narragansett tribe had been “Berkew’d,” his spelling. (Get a clue: he was a Puritan and the land had been purified. –What could possibly be offensive about ethnic cleansing?)



It had been at 5 AM that the white soldiers had formed up after their night in the cold snow without blankets, and set out toward this Narragansett stronghold. They had arrived at the edge of the Great Swamp, an area around South Kingstown, at about 1 PM. The Massachusetts troops in the lead were fired upon by a small band of native Americans and pursued without waiting for orders. As the natives retreated they came along across the frozen swamp to the entrance of the fort, which was on an island of sorts standing above the swamp, and consisted of a triple palisade of logs twelve feet high. There were small blockhouses at intervals above this palisade. Inside, the main village sheltered about 3,000 men, women, and children. The Massachusetts troops had been enticed to arrive at precisely the strongest section of the palisade where, however, there was a gap for which no gate had yet been built. Across this gap the natives had placed a tree trunk breast height, as a barrier to check any charge, and just above the gap was a blockhouse. Without waiting for the Plymouth and Connecticut companies, the Massachusetts soldiers charged the opening and swarmed over the barrier. Five company commanders were killed in the charge but the troops managed to remain for a period inside the fort before falling back into the swamp. The Massachusetts men, now joined by Plymouth, gathered themselves for a 2d charge. Meanwhile, Major Treat led his Connecticut troops round to the back of the fort where the palisade had not been finished. Here and there the posts were spaced apart and protected only by a tangled mass of limbs and brush. The men charged up a bank under heavy fire and forced their way past the palisade. As they gained a foothold inside, the second charge at the gap also forced an entrance and the battle raged



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through the Indian village. It was a fight without quarter on either side, and was still raging at sunset when Winslow ordered the wooden lodges put to the torch. The flames, whipped by the winds of the driving



snowstorm, spread quickly. Winslow decided that the army had to fall back to the shelter of Smith’s Trading Post in Coccumscossoc (Wickford), where some resupply ships might have arrived. The English gathered their wounded, the worst being placed on horseback, and fell back toward Wickford. It would not be until 2 AM that the leading units would stumble into the town. Some, losing their way, would not get shelter until 7 AM. This three-hour battle was the end of the Narragansett Campaign. The English suffering 20 killed and 200 wounded (80 of whom who later die from their wounds, there being 40 English corpses interred in one common trench in Wickford) and the Narragansett likewise suffered high casualties although about a thousand did escape.

At least one armed white man who was killed while attempting to kill others was a Quaker and an officer:



“The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained.... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples.”



– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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(Presumably Friend Robert Westcott, like the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the “mind and voice of the most high amongst us,” and had assured himself that [Quakers](#) who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will! —You must lie in your blood, you “barbarous men of Bloud”!)

(Presumably, since Friend Abraham Mann of [Providence](#) who was wounded during the Great Swamp Fight was a white man, he was then tenderly cared for by the [Quaker](#) caretakers on [Aquidneck Island](#), who tenderly cared for those who had been wounded in the fight, if they were white men!)

While the [Narragansett](#) were not completely crushed there can be no question that the Great Swamp Fight was the turning point in the war. If the tribe had been able to join the [Wampanoag](#) at full strength in the spring the war would have lasted much longer. The Narragansett would have a few more victories in 1676, would burn [Rehoboth](#) and [Providence](#), and in March would ambush Captain Michael Pierce, but for all practical purposes they were out of the war.

In the course of this single race battle with the English, the [Narragansett](#) would lose almost 20% of its entire population, and massacre and starvation would soon be killing off most of the remainder. By 1682 fewer than 500 would remain of the original estimated 10,000 souls who had existed as of 1610. After 1682 this remnant would be allowed by the English to settle with the Eastern Niantic on a reservation at Charlestown RI. The Narragansett tribal registry currently list over 2,400 members, most of whom reside in [Rhode Island](#).⁴

4. In [Rhode Island](#) especially, after the population disaster of “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, many native women would form new households with black men. Rhode Island would be boasting the largest black population in New England and a significant proportion of these blacks would be free, so in many cases this was their best available option. These unions would result in a new category of person, the “mustee,” who was considered to be a native American by himself or herself but not by the “white people” who were *de facto* making all such distinctions. You may therefore run into some hot arguments if you cite these population statistics, from whites who will attempt to insist to you that “it’s all just a bunch of n-----s making pretenses,” quote unquote. (You’ll have to live in Rhode Island for awhile, and argue cases of land title and cases of casino gambling, to get the full flavor of this.)



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Most contemporary accounts of this second of the “great swamp fights” have been based upon a couple of letters by the white army’s chaplain, the Reverend Joseph Dudley, and one by Captain James Oliver, commander of the 3d Company of the Massachusetts regiment:



May it please your Honnr Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75

I am comanded by the Generall to give your Honnor account of our proceeding since our last frm Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Ponham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by oue Warwick scouts of his seat but the darkness of ye Night Diffucutly of our Passage & unskillfulness of Pilots we passed the whole night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from ym yt we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our sloops from Seaconck arrived since which by ye help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of ye number & resolution of ye Naragansetts, we have burned two of their towns viz; Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & ye old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized or slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayes your advice concerning their transportation and Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lieut. Wayman’s face, the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of yr Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward noywithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abovsd Peter whom we have found very faithful will Make us believe yt yr are 3000 fighting Men many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayre battle In ye Mean time I have only to present the Genralls humble service to your & to beg you Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your

Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley

Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot

My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley

Amongst our Prisonrs & Slayn we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags



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Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675

May it please your honour

The comming of the Connecticut force to Petaquamscott, and surprisal of six and slaughter of five on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscott, though in snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced: Capt. Mosley led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about twenty rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flanked, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not permitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive women, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had but been a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credibly informing us, under a strong guard.



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After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening quarters, a wonder we were not prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning, recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return to at least Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the Genreal commends to your honer, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting oue men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode Isalnd, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we compleat the account of dead, now in doing, The Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.

*I give your honor hearty thanks
for your kind lines, of which
I am not worthy
I am Sir, your honors
humble servant
Joseph Dudley*

Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbusses, and hand grenadoes, and armour, if it may, and at least two armourers to mend arms.



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Narragansett 26th 11th month 1675

After a tedious march in a bitter cold that followed the Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Ponham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec 14th, our General went out with a horse and foot, I with my company was kept to garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec 15th, came in John, a rogue, with pretense of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with Sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile from our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and a half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th came that news. Dec 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petasquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old for 80l. in money. Dec 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left; that night very stormy; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came to the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they were brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since. Eight died at Rhode Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed Dec. 20, as we heard since; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night, not to be forgotten, viz. That when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would have done, but the sachems would not consent; they had but ten pounds of powder left.



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Our General, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since, and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily and that undoes them. This is, as nearly as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Mohegans and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Teffe, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence Jan'y 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him lost his head and lies unburied.

A list of Major Saml Apleton souldjers yt were slayne & wounded the 19th Decemb.'75, at the Indians fort at Naragansett

*In the Company of killed wounded
Major Appleton 4 18
Capt. Mosely 6 9
Capt. Oliver 5 8
Capt. Davenport 4 11
Capt. Johnson 4 8
Capt. Gardiner 7 10
Capt. Prentice 1 3*

31 67

Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson, and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.

*Of the Connecticut troops 71 were killed.
Capt. Gallup- 10
Capt. Marshall- 14
Capt. Seeley- 20
Capt. Mason- 9
Capt. Watts- 17*



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[Edward DeWolf](#) was one of the volunteers who surrounded the Swampy Fort, to whom the State of Connecticut granted the township of Narragansett, now Voluntown, as a reward for their services (however, presumably he continued to reside in Lyme).

1676

March 28, Tuesday (Old Style): An American attack was staged on [Rehoboth](#) (afterward known as Seekonk, and after that known as East [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#)) and Robert Beers, an Irishman, was killed. Forty-five dwelling houses were torched, and twenty-one barns, two grist mills, and a sawmill. (Another source says 30 barns and almost 40 dwellings — what we know for sure is that only two structures in the area would survive through the war. Some claim that Metacom himself was present, and they still preserve there the framework of an ancient chair in which supposedly he seated himself while enjoying the flames.)

Captain Hugh Mason of Watertown, Jonathan Danforth of Cambridge, and Richard Lowdon made recommendations for the safety of the frontier (interior) towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Five steps would be taken:

1. That the towns of Sudbury, [Concord](#) and Chelmsford be strengthened with forty men apiece, which said men are to be improved in scouting between town and town, who are to be commanded by men of prudence, courage, and interest in the said townes; and the parties in each towne are to ordered to keep together in some place commodious in the said towns and not in garrison houses: and these men to be upon the charge of the country.
2. That for the security of Billerica there be a garrison of a number competent at Waymesett [Lowell], who may raise a thousand bushels of corn upon the land of the Indians in that place; and may be improved daily in scouting and ranging the woods between Waymesett and Andover, and on the west of Concord river on the east and north of Chelmsford, which will discover the enemy before he comes to the towns, and prevent lurking Indians about our towns. Also they shall be in readiness to the succor of any of the three towns at any time when in distress; also shall be ready to joine with others to follow the enemy upon a sudden after their appearing.
3. That such towns as Lancaster, Groton, and Marlborough that are forced to remove; and have not some advantage of settlement in the Bay, be ordered to settle at the frontier towns that remain for their strengthening: and the people of the said towns to which they are appointed are to see to their accomodations in the said towns.
4. That the said towns have their own men returned, that are



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abroad, and their men freed from impress during their present state.

5. That there be appointed a select number of persons in each town of Middlesex, who are, upon any information of the distress of any town, forthwith to repair to the relief thereof; and that such information may be seasonable, the towns are to dispatch posts, each town to the next, till notice be conveyed over the whole country, if need be.

Another subject is embraced in the report from which the above is extracted. The committee were instructed to consider the propriety of erecting a "line of stockadoes or stone worke" across the county, to include Chelmsford, [Concord](#), Sudbury and the other populous places; but they deemed this inexpedient, on account of the length of way to be fortified; the difficulty of crossing ponds and rivers, the peculiar season of the year and the scarcity of laborers. For these and several other reasons the project was abandoned. It would indeed have been a work of no small magnitude to erect such a barrier as would have been effectual against the incursion of savages. A line of garrison houses was, however, erected on the frontiers of all these towns; and it is probable that in fixing upon the location of the Christian Indian towns before the war, reference might have been had to the safety of the English in case of danger. They served, says [Gookin](#), as a "wall of defence."⁵

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

August 28, Monday (Old Style): At a cliff now known as Anawan's Rock in the eastern part of [Rehoboth](#) to the north of a wooded country then known as Squannakonk Swamp (an area of nearly three thousand acres), Anawan, who at the death of Metacom had become sachem of what remained of the [Wampanoag](#), and his small group of remaining warriors, were surprised and surrendered to the militia of Captain Benjamin Church. Anawan would be executed in Plymouth. (The rock is a bit south of the roadway, about halfway between Taunton and [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in what is now Rehoboth, Massachusetts.)

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

5. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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1704

June 7, Wednesday-9, Friday (Old Style): There is still in existence a bill of sale and a deed for “one Negro boy” (Felix). The seller was Benjamin Allen (1652-1723) of [Rehoboth](#) and the purchaser was Thomas Allen (1669-1714) of [Swansey](#) (“Felix,” by the way, means “happy”).

SLAVERY
RHODE ISLAND

1729

January 7, Tuesday (1728, Old Style): Burial of Samuel Sewall in the Hull/Sewall family tomb in Granary Burying-Ground, [Boston](#).

Some [Rehoboth](#) residents were jailed at [Bristol](#), [Rhode Island](#) on account of their refusal to pay “ye Ministers Rate....”

1730

March: [Benjamin West](#) was born in [Rehoboth](#).

1731

The Reverend [John Comer](#), a [Baptist](#) minister of [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), visited New-York, and at the request of the disgraced Reverend Henry Loveall, preached at Piscataqua. Giving up his church in [Newport](#), the Reverend Comer moved to [Rehoboth](#).

SOME PAGES OF THE DIARY



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1732

In this year the diary of the Reverend [John Comer](#) describes a remarkably heavy snow. Presumably this was at [Rehoboth](#).

SOME PAGES OF THE DIARY



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1755

The population of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) amounted to, in the categories of the day: 747 men, 741 women, 655 boys, 754 girls, 262 blacks, 275 men able to bear arms, and 406 enlisted soldiers.

John Green's Map of the Most Inhabited Part of New England was based largely upon the previously published map by Dr. William Douglass. Dr. Douglass (1700-1752) had been a Scottish physician practicing in Boston who had studied in Edinburgh, Leyden, and Paris. Here are two details from his earlier map:

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- EAST GREENWICH RI
- MOUNT HOPE
- PORTSMOUTH
- TIVERTON
- WARWICK RI
- REHOBOTH
- BRISTOL
- WARREN
- SWANSEA

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CONCORD

(In the lower right corner of this new 1855 offering we are offered the First Comers at Plymouth — being met on the shore by an Indian holding a pole with a liberty cap atop it!)

CARTOGRAPHY

Also in this year, a map by Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville:

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Also in this year, a map by Thomas Kitchin:



1804



July 24, Tuesday: The wife of Asa Martin, in [Rehoboth](#), had [hanged](#) herself on Sunday night. "She was deranged."

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

24 of 7 Mo 1804 / Last first day [Sunday] the 22d of the M our dear friend Nathan Hun appointed the afternoon Meeting at 5 O'clock, that the inhabitation of the Town might have an opportunity to whom a general invitation was given; I believe it was a time wherein the cause of truth gained ground among the people present. He was favor'd to declare the Truth for the space of an hour & a quarter in a very living & powerful manner. — many people were much wrought upon by its powerful efficacy in their Minds, being tendered and contrited. It was a tune which I hope may never be erased from the minds of any that were there. —Joshua Bradley a [Baptist](#) Minister, being informed of the Meeting, he said, he would come & at the conclusion of his own gave his hearers information of ours, & requested them to come



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as he wished too, & should hold no evening meeting on that Account --He accordingly attended, sat very attentively the whole time, & when the meeting broke up, went in the high seat where Nathan was, took him by the hand, & said he had gained the hearts of many that evening & thought he might by staying longer in the Town do much good, for you see says he the solemnity there is in this Meeting. I have a Meeting house which is at your service, my doors are open to you at any time. he asked him where he lodged & said he must see him again that evening. whether he went on or not I dont know, but the next Morning called on him & gave him litters to his friends in Connecticut to open the way for him to have meetings among them where Nathan was going - Nathan went over the ferry on second day morning in company Sam Rodman Rowland Hazard & David Williams.—

At the aforesaid Meeting the English French & Spanish Consuls were present, & many people of note in the Town - I have not heard of any that were dissatisfied but of many that confessed themselves highly gratified at the opportunity & I hope many of the prejudices which were held against friends will be removed - I must acknowledge for myself, tho' I have attended many great & Momenteous meetings, yet never did I attend one that I felt the importance of so much as this. & to my great thankfulness I am given to believe that it begun & ended well to the Glory of God

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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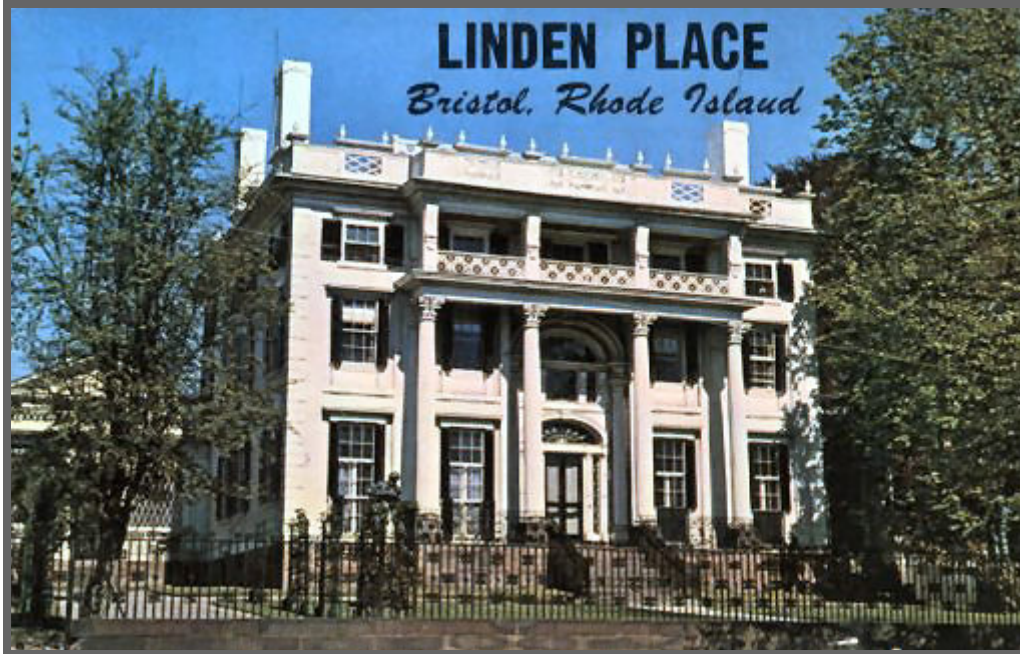
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1810



Here's a story of one side of Narraganset Bay, versus the other side! On the east side of the bay in this year General [George DeWolf](#) was erecting "Linden Place" in Bristol as his homestead, using the profits of his large slave plantation in the Caribbean to make this a fine specimen of the finest architecture tastes of the period. His homestead, designed by Russell Warren, is distinguished by a fine portico with lofty Corinthian columns, and an old-fashioned ornamental balustrade of intricate pattern surrounds the roof. In the following year he would purchase adjacent land, to enlarge the grounds. Here in 1817 he would be able to entertain none less than President James Monroe in a manner befitting his position. Hoo-hah!



Meanwhile, on the west side of the Narraganset Bay, a couple of years after being caught as a runaway and flogged, [Cato Pearce](#) ran away again. He only had a year to go until under [Rhode Island](#) law he would no longer be required to serve his master without pay, but he ran away anyway — could he have been fearing that his master would sell him south into life slavery just before he attained his majority, or, could he have been fearing that despite technically becoming a free man, he would not be able to be actually free as a black man in the Rhode Island of that era? At that time there were only a few more than a hundred slaves left in South County, but the situation there for people of color did not seem markedly improved. This time he determined to try crossing the border into Massachusetts, because slavery had there in all its forms been outlawed, and hired himself out as a farmhand to a white family in [Rehoboth](#).

I went into Rehoboth, Mass., and hired out to a man by the name of Samuel Lyon. He was a dreadful wicked man, and while livin' with him I became more wicked and hard than ever. He had rum as plenty almost as water, and I got to drinkin' badly. I loved with him about three years. He died while I lived with him. His death was dreadful. I think he lay on his sick bed almost a



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fortnight. He cried bitterly for mercy – mercy, and told his folks that he was going to hell. He said he could n’t be saved. Oh, he said, my feet and legs are in hell. He die in that dreadful state; and the last words that came from his lips were, “O Lord, gone!” I used to stand and look at him in this dreadful state, but I dare not go into the room. I then made up my mind that I would try to do better.

A few years later Cato would sign on as a crewmember aboard a schooner belonging to a Captain Rogers of New London, Connecticut, on a cruise to the Caribbean and then London. During a storm at sea he would try to pray, only to be told by the mate that “he would n’t have d----d niggers praying on board. He cuffed me, pinched my ears, and told me if he caught me praying again he would tie me over the windlass.” On his return in about 1815, after spending his wages, he would hire himself out to James Rhodes of [Providence](#).



By that time there would be only seven persons still enslaved in South County.



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1812



At about this point [Cato Pearce](#), who had been working on a farm in [Rehoboth](#), Massachusetts, signed on as a crewmember aboard a schooner belonging to a Captain Rogers of New London, Connecticut, on a cruise to the Caribbean. On his return in about 1815, after spending his wages, he would hire himself out to James Rhodes of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).



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In approximately this year [Robert Voorhis](#) was building his hut on Fox Point,



ROBERT THE HERMIT.

a peninsula of uninhabited land about a mile south of [Providence](#) Bridge in [Rhode Island](#), and would reside there for a number of years, until obnoxious construction work began in that vicinity. What had made this escaped-mulatto-slave-become-seaman resolve to become a [hermit](#)? —he said that had sneaked back down south via [Baltimore](#) to Georgetown in a fruitless attempt to recover his first wife and their children:

Feeling a strong inclination once more to visit the shores of the south, where I had not only been unjustly deprived of my liberty, but where I was inhumanly forced from my beloved wife and two darling children, I took passage (about fifteen years since) on board a sloop for Baltimore, and from thence proceeded direct to Georgetown. As twenty years had elapsed since I there left all that I held most dear in life – and so great a change had time effected in my personal appearance, I felt little or no apprehension that I should be recognized or molested by any, if living, who once professed a claim to me. In this I was not mistaken, for indeed as regarded the town, inhabitants, &c. so great a change had the twenty years produced, that I walked the streets at mid-day unnoticed and unknown. My old master (Voorhis and his wife had been some years dead, and the survivors of the family had removed to parts unknown– Bevins, the wretch by whom I was unjustly deprived of my liberty, and thereby forever seperated [sic] from my unfortunate family, had a few years



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previous emigrated to the west- but, the principle object of my visit was not answered- of my wife and children I could obtain no satisfactory information- all that I could learn, was, that soon after my disappearance, their sufferings and deprivations became so great, that my poor wife in a fit of desparation [*sic*], as was supposed, put an end to her existence, and that her helpless children did not long survive her!- this was enough! yea more than enough, to fill to the brim the bitter cup of my afflictions!- afflictions which had more less attended me through life!- I then felt but little desire to live, as there was nothing then remaining to attach me to this world- it was at that moment that I formed the determination to retire from it- to become a recluse, and mingle thereafter as little as possible with human society.

1828



May: John William Davis, who would eventually become governor of [Rhode Island](#) (1887/1888, 1890/1891), would as an 80-year-old man retain a memory from his long-ago toddlerhood of having stood in a chair at a window in his home to witness, at the tender age of two years plus some months, during May 1828, a company of militia, the “Palmers River Company,” making their way to or from Training Day on a rural road near [Providence](#) (presumably in [Rehoboth](#)?):

The uniforms of the privates were dark dress-coats, white linen trousers and silk hats each bearing a plate strapped to the crown, in which a white plume with a red top was conspicuous. Their accoutrements were muskets, bayonets, cartridge-box and knapsacks. The officers wore tall bell crowned chapeaux, decorated with gold lace and feathers, dress coats of blue lined with buff, huge high collars trimmed with gold tinsel and cord, epaulets with gilt buttons in regulation order, with buckskin short breeches, knee buckles, and long hose with white-topped boots turned down and tassels. Capt. Bullock as I recollect wore two epaulets while Lieut. Burr supported but one. It was to me altogether a spectacle particularly gorgeous to behold. I have seen many a parade since then but none quite so impressive. We could not then have detailed it just as now, but the image upon the mind was so fixed that it is perfect even now.

This same elderly gentleman would retain also from his long-ago toddlerhood a memory of an ebony cane with an ivory fist at its top:

The same season an uncle who had been stricken with paralysis came to our house using an ebony cane with an ivory fist upon its top. I recollect having much interest to know whose fist it was and whether or not it was alive. This uncle as may be seen by his grave tablet died in the summer of 1828, hence the date and my age at that time are known. The foregoing incidents like



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many other well-remembered ones all trivial in themselves are here recorded to show that two or three years is age sufficient to enable the child brain to take and hold impressions that become life long recollections and the need of great care in presenting only what is true and proper.

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: December 2, 2013



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

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