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# P

SACHEM *METACOM* OF THE WAMPANOAG, SON OF *MASSASOIT*  
(WHOM IT AMUSED THE WHITES TO REFER TO AMONG THEMSELVES  
AS “*KING PHILLIP*” AND AS “*BLASPHEMOUS LEVIATHAN*”)<sup>1</sup>



There are no authentic  
period depictions of  
this person.

*Phillip alias metacomb  
his P mark*

“*NARRATIVE HISTORY*” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,  
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY

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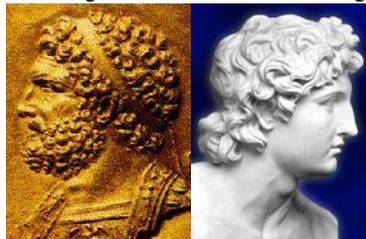


## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1. The brothers *Wamsutta* and *Metacom* were nicknamed Alexander (*sic*) and Phillip (*sic*) because the whites were into supplying Native American leaders with offensively grandiloquent and therefore implicitly derogatory names, more or less in the mode in which they were in the habit of condescending to their black slaves: such ostentatious names (in the case of black men, names such as “Pompey” or “Caesar”) implicitly gestured toward their low standing in the eyes of the whites, marking them as pretenders, as con artists, warning whites not to take them seriously as human beings or as leaders. In period documents the name that was assigned was being spelled “Phillip,” as the name assigned to his brother was being spelled “Allexander,” with two l’s.



The epithet “blasphemous leviathan,” with its echoes of Moby-Dick the white whale which Captain Ahab sought to destroy, is per the Reverend Cotton Mather. There being no accurate depiction of sachem Metacom, I have generally relied here upon the Imperial Daguerreotype of the famous American actor Edwin Forrest (1806-1872) taken at the Matthew Brady Studio, with him in costume as the tragic hero “Metamora” of the oft-staged play *METAMORA: OR THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAGS* about Metacom, written in 1828 by Concord’s *John Augustus Stone*. This is a bitmapped image of a modern salted paper print from that original collodion negative, which is a gift of The Edwin Forrest Home at the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC. I am using the Old English character “thorn” (þ) above to represent the actual mark made by Metacom because his “P” signature had an ascender. (In the evolution of that actual thorn character during medieval times, it got transformed into something similar to a “y.” That longer ascender got losted somehow, and the upper part of the letter became more and more open. So the letter “y” in the signs saying “Ye Olde Tea Shoppe” is the same letter that was used in Old English to represent the “th” sound. When someone uses this now to make a name appear archaic, he or she is only following the medieval evolution of the thorn. Of course I have my doubts about the correctness of pronouncing it as if it were the consonant in “yes,” the correct pronunciation being as in “thorn.” And, of course, Phillip was attempting a P, not a medieval thorn which no way would he have known about. I am merely using an available font character to approximate what Phillip signed.)





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

A WEEK: In the words of the old nursery tale, sung about a hundred years ago, –

“He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,  
And hardships they endured to quell the Indian’s pride.”

In the shaggy pine forest of Pequawket they met the “rebel Indians,” and prevailed, after a bloody fight, and a remnant returned home to enjoy the fame of their victory. A township called Lovewell’s Town, but now, for some reason, or perhaps without reason, Pembroke, was granted them by the State.

“Of all our valiant English, there were but thirty-four,  
And of the rebel Indians, there were about four-score;  
And sixteen of our English did safely home return,  
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

“Our worthy Capt. Lovewell among them there did die,  
They killed Lieut. Robbins, and wounded good young Frye,  
Who was our English Chaplin; he many Indians slew,  
And some of them he scalped while bullets round him flew.”

Our brave forefathers have exterminated all the Indians, and their degenerate children no longer dwell in garrisoned houses nor hear any war-whoop in their path. It would be well, perchance, if many an “English Chaplin” in these days could exhibit as unquestionable trophies of his valor as did “good young Frye.” We have need to be as sturdy pioneers still as Miles Standish, or Church, or Lovewell. We are to follow on another trail, it is true, but one as convenient for ambushes. What if the Indians are exterminated, are not savages as grim prowling about the clearings to-day? –

“And braving many dangers and hardships in the way,  
They safe arrived at Dunstable the thirteenth (?) day of May.”

But they did not all “safe arrive in Dunstable the thirteenth,” or the fifteenth, or the thirtieth “day of May.”

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

METACOM

MYLES STANDISH

BENJAMIN CHURCH

CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK



GOOKIN

A WEEK: We passed Wicasuck Island, which contains seventy acres or more, on our right, between Chelmsford and Tyngsborough. This was a favorite residence of the Indians. According to the History of Dunstable, “About 1663, the eldest son of Passaconaway [Chief of the Penacooks] was thrown into jail for a debt of 45, due to John Tinker, by one of his tribe, and which he had promised verbally should be paid. To relieve him from his imprisonment, his brother Wannalancet and others, who owned Wicasuck Island, sold it and paid the debt.” It was, however, restored to the Indians by the General Court in 1665. After the departure of the Indians in 1683, it was granted to Jonathan Tyng in payment for his services to the colony, in maintaining a garrison at his house. Tyng’s house stood not far from Wicasuck Falls. Daniel Gookin, who, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Boyle, apologizes for presenting his “matter clothed in a wilderness dress,” says that on the breaking out of Philip’s war in 1675, there were taken up by the Christian Indians and the English in Marlborough, and sent to Cambridge, seven “Indians belonging to Narragansett, Long Island, and Pequod, who had all been at work about seven weeks with one Mr. Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, upon Merrimack River; and, hearing of the war, they reckoned with their master, and getting their wages, conveyed themselves away without his privity, and, being afraid, marched secretly through the woods, designing to go to their own country.” However, they were released soon after. Such were the hired men in those days. Tyng was the first permanent settler of Dunstable, which then embraced what is now Tyngsborough and many other towns. In the winter of 1675, in Philip’s war, every other settler left the town, but “he,” says the historian of Dunstable, “fortified his house; and, although ‘obliged to send to Boston for his food,’ sat himself down in the midst of his savage enemies, alone, in the wilderness, to defend his home. Deeming his position an important one for the defence of the frontiers, in February, 1676, he petitioned the Colony for aid,” humbly showing, as his petition runs, that, as he lived “in the uppermost house on Merrimac river, lying open to ye enemy, yet being so seated that it is, as it were, a watch-house to the neighboring towns,” he could render important service to his country if only he had some assistance, “there being,” he said, “never an inhabitant left in the town but myself.” Wherefore he requests that their “Honors would be pleased to order him **three or four men** to help garrison his said house,” which they did. But methinks that such a garrison would be weakened by the addition of a man.

“Make bandog thy scout watch to bark at a thief,  
 Make courage for life, to be captain chief;  
 Make trap-door thy bulwark, make bell to begin,  
 Make gunstone and arrow show who is within.”

Thus he earned the title of first permanent settler. In 1694 a law was passed “that every settler who deserted a town for fear of the Indians should forfeit all his rights therein.” But now, at any rate, as I have frequently observed, a man may desert the fertile frontier territories of truth and justice, which are the State’s best lands, for fear of far more insignificant foes, without forfeiting any of his civil rights therein. Nay, townships are granted to deserters, and the General Court, as I am sometimes inclined to regard it, is but a deserters’ camp itself.

PHILIP



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

A WEEK: It is stated in the History of Dunstable, that just before his last march, Lovewell was warned to beware of the ambuscades of the enemy, but “he replied, ‘that he did not care for them,’ and bending down a small elm beside which he was standing into a bow, declared ‘that he would treat the Indians in the same way.’ This elm is still standing [in Nashua], a venerable and magnificent tree.”

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

METACOM

CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1620

December 18 (December 8, Old Style), Friday: The intrusives and the indigenes first encountered one another (unless, that is, there had been prior observations by the *Patuxet*, which had gone undetected). The intrusives then coasted round, and ran in under the lee of Clark’s Island in [Plymouth Harbor](#), in a north-easter that



evening.

As [Henry Thoreau](#) would record the event in his journal in August 1851 while bumming around on the coast, “On Friday night Dec 8th o.s. the Pilgrims exploring in the shallop landed on Clark’s Island (so called from the Master’s mate of the May Flower) where they spent 3 nights & kept their first sabbath.”<sup>2</sup>

BOSTON HARBOR

“MOURT’S RELATION”

Clark’s Island<sup>3</sup> Sunday night On Friday night Dec 8th o.s. the Pilgrims exploring in the shallop landed on Clark’s Island (so called from the Master’s mate of the May Flower) where they spent 3 nights & kept their first sabbath. On Monday or the 11th o.s. they landed on the rock. This island contains about 86 acres and was once covered with red cedars which were sold at Boston for gate posts– I saw a few left –one 2 ft in diameter at the ground –which was probably standing when the pilgrims came. Ed. Watson who could remember them nearly fifty years –had observed but little change in them. Hutchinson calls this one of the best islands in Mass. Bay. The Town kept it at first as a sacred place –but finally sold it in 1690 to Sam. Lucas, Elkanah Watson, & Geo. Morton.... Mr Thomas Russel –who cannot be 70 –at whose house on Leyden st. I took tea & spent the evening –told me that he remembered to have seen Ebenezer Cobb a nat. of Plymouth who died in Kingston in 1801 aged 107 who remembered to have had personal knowledge of Peregrine White saw him an old man riding on horse back –(he lived to be 83)– White was born at Cape Cod harbor before the Pilgrims got to Plymouth– C. Sturgis’s mother told me the same of herself at the same time. She remembered Cobb sitting in an arm chair like the one she herself occupied with his silver locks falling about his shoulders twirling one thumb over the other– Russell told me that he once bought some *primitive* woodland in P. which was sold at auction the biggest Pitch pines 2 ft diameter –for 8 *shillings* an acre– If he had bought enough it would have been a pasture. There is still forest in this town which the axe has not touched says Geo. Bradford. According to Thatchers Hist. of P. there were 11,662 acres of woodland in ’31. or 20 miles square. Pilgrims first saw Bil. sea about Jan 1st –visited it Jan 8th.

The oldest stone in the Plymouth Burying ground 1681 (Coles? hill where those who died the first winter were

2. It is believed that the name of the 1st mate of the [Mayflower](#) was Thomas Clark.

3. Clark’s Island: Bear in mind, Thoreau was “a-[botanizing](#)” here on the grounds of another former racial concentration camp for Christian Indians like the one on Deer Island in Boston harbor.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

buried –said to have been levelled & sown to conceal loss from Indians.) Oldest on our hill 1677 In Mrs Plympton’s Garden on Leyden st. running down to Town Brook. Saw an abundance of pears –gathered excellent June-eating apples –saw a large lilack about 8 inches diameter– Methinks a soil may improve when at length it has shaded itself with vegetation.

Wm S Russel the Registrer at the Court House showed the oldest Town records. for all are preserved –on 1st page a plan of Leyden st dated Dec. 1620 –with names of settlers. They have a great many folios. The writing plain. Saw the charter granted by the Plymouth Company to the Pilgrims signed by Warwick date 1629 & the box in which it was brought over with the seal.

Pilgrim Hall– They used to crack off pieces of the Forefathers Rock for visitors with a cold chisel till the town forbade it. The stone remaining at wharf is about 7 ft square. Saw 2 old arm chairs that came over in the May flower.– the large picture by Sargent.– Standish’s sword.– gun barrel with which Philip was killed – – mug & pocket-book of Clark the mate– Iron pot of Standish.– Old pipe tongs. Ind relics a flayer



a pot or mortar of a kind of fire proof stone very hard–



only 7 or 8 inches long. A Commission from Cromwell to Winslow? –his signature torn off. They talk of a monument on the rock. The burying hill 165 ft high. Manomet 394 ft high by state map. Saw more pears at Washburn’s garden. No graves of Pilgrims.

Seaweed generally used along shore– Saw the Prinos Glaber inkberry at Bil. sea. Sandy plain with oaks of various kinds cut in less than 20 yrs– No communication with Sandwich– P end of world 50 miles thither by rail road– Old. Colony road poor property. Nothing saves P. but the rock. Fern-leaved beach–

**KING PHILLIP**  
**PLYMOUTH ROCK**  
**MYLES STANDISH**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

TIME Magazine, at the end of 1991, got this picture from the Granger Collection to use to illustrate their Columbus Special about how certain strange and divisive people are now insisting on the celebration of American diversity:



**The Patuxents were not altogether mistaken about the Pilgrims**



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.  
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.

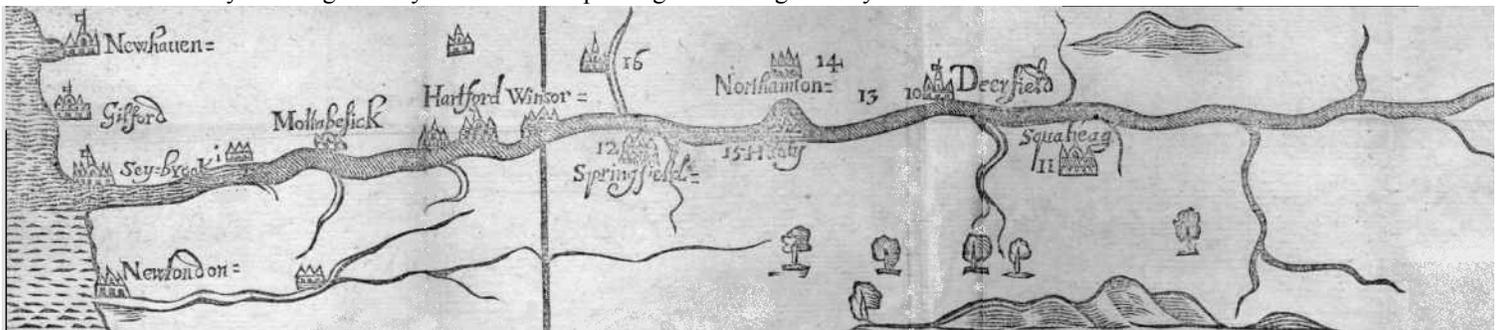
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1622

The fur trade on the lower Connecticut River had grown enough by this point in time that the Dutch were establishing a permanent trading post near Hartford. Their intention was to trade with all of the tribes in the region, but the Pequot had other ambitions and were determined to dominate the Connecticut trade. They first attacked the [Narragansett](#), not so much to seize a disputed hunting territory in southwest [Rhode Island](#), but to keep these powerful rivals away from the new Dutch post. The next step would be for the Pequot to use a combination of intimidation and war to tighten their grip on the region's trade by subjugating the neighboring Nipmuc and Mattabesic. However, some Mattabesic chose to ignore them and tried to trade with the Dutch, prompting the Pequot to attack several groups of Mattabesic who had gathered near the Dutch trading post for trade. The resident trader for the Dutch West India Company, Jacob Elekens, would grow annoyed at these Pequot efforts to monopolize the fur trade, and by way of retaliation, he would seize Tatobem, a Pequot sachem, and threaten to kill him unless the Pequot ended their campaign of harassment and paid a ransom for his release. The Pequot would bring 140 fathoms of wampum to the post for Tatobem's release, which Elekens would accept, but having expected beaver rather than these strange little shell beads, he would kill Tatobem anyway. All the Pequot would get for their fathoms of wampum would be his dead body. Understandably outraged, the Pequot would burn the trading post, but the fur trade was far too important for the Pequot and Dutch to permit some dead sachem and some charred trading post to stand in the way of mutual prosperity. The Dutch would replace Elekens with Pieter Barentsen who spoke Algonquin and was trusted by the Pequot, and after a suitable round of apologies and gifts “to cover the dead,” trade would resume. Two important changes would result from this brief confrontation which had lasting impacts. The Dutch never again would attempt to prevent the Pequot from dominating the other tribes in area, and in effect would grant them a monopoly in the Connecticut fur trade. Unchallenged, the Pequot would aggressively expand their control over the Mattabesic tribes along the Connecticut River, either by forcing them to sell their furs to Pequot traders or by exacting a heavy tribute for the privilege of trading directly with the Dutch.



At the end of Tisquantum's life he coughed up blood and died, leaving “sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss,” but at the end of the Walt Disney movie bearing his name as understood, Squanto, its hero is still young and healthy. As the film credits roll we are informed (referring of course to [“King Phillip's War”](#)) that the Plymouth whites would eventually forget



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

what Squanto had taught them about peace and racial harmony, and “drive the red people off of their land” — which is not even a **first order approximation** of the racial slaughter which actually happened in 1676 followed by the racial selling of most of the surviving adult Native Americans of New England as slaves in the Azores and the awarding of their children to the homes of New England soldiers as domestic slaves. Since alleging that what happened was that the tribes of New England were **driven off** is formally identical in its cruel revisionism with the neo-Nazi claim that the Holocaust never happened and that the Nazis had merely given the Jews of Europe new lands somewhere to the East, let us pray that Disney Studios sustains “a great loss.”

[John Smith](#) reissued his NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS, this time with an account of the Plymouth colony in it.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

HDT

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

**1623**

English began to settle near Great Bay at Dover Point, and Passaconaway of the Penacook began a lengthy peace with them (followed in this by his son Wonalancet who would succeed him as Sagamore in 1665). Dover's biggest landholder, Richard Walderne or Waldron, a representative to the Boston Court, would be the Sagamore's primary white counterpart. By the 1660s Waldron would have persuaded 43 white families to live deeper inland, at the lower Cochecho falls, where the Dover downtown mills now stand. Here he would erect a sawmill, grist and corn mills, and the area's only trading post. During the general race war, the Sagamore Wonalancet would sequester his Penacook until the defeat of Metacom's Wampanoag and then enter into a treaty with this Major Richard Waldron.

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

### THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1637

Birth of a 2nd son to *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather the [Massasoit](#), whom he named [Metacom](#), the brother who would be nicknamed “Phillip” by the amused whites.<sup>4</sup>

Att the ernest request of Wamsitta, 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 desiringe the same in the behalfe of his brother, they have named him Phillip.



In this year of [Metacom](#)'s birth there was a major battle between two groups of Nipmuc at Louisquisset (Loquasuck), which possibly indicates the fork of the Branch River and the [Pawtucket](#) or [Blackstone River](#) in what is now [Rhode Island](#), or may indicate the vicinity of the villages of Albion and Manville, or may indicate some area farther to the west. Ownership of the territory in question was also in dispute between the Nipmuc and the [Narragansett](#).

4. The brothers *Wamsutta* and [Metacom](#) were nicknamed Allexander (*sic*) and Phillip (*sic*) because the whites were into supplying Native American leaders with offensively grandiloquent and therefore implicitly derogatory names, more or less in the mode in which they were in the habit of condescending to their black [slaves](#): such ostentatious names (in the case of black men, names such as “Pompey” or “Caesar”) implicitly gestured toward their low standing in the eyes of the whites, marking them as pretenders, as con artists, warning whites not to take them seriously as human beings or as leaders.

Actually, as might be expected, *Wamsutta* and [Metacom](#) had a number of brothers and sisters. One sister, called by the English name “Amie,” was the wife of Tuspaquin, headman of the Namaskets. Mention is also made of another son, and also another daughter, of *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1642

At Québec, [Father Jean de Brébeuf](#) was entrusted with the care of the native Americans at the reservation at Sillery.

Another Jesuit, [Father Isaac Jogues](#), was captured in an ambush. After being kept around as a [slave](#) for some time in an Iroquois village, he would be tortured and murdered and in 1646  his head would be impaled on the village's palisade. As a comparison situation to what has happened in regard to the memory of the martyred [Metacom](#), we place on record here that there is now a marble statue at the scene of this historic crime against a white man, in Auriesville, New York, a spot which wants to be known as the National Shrine of the North American Martyrs.

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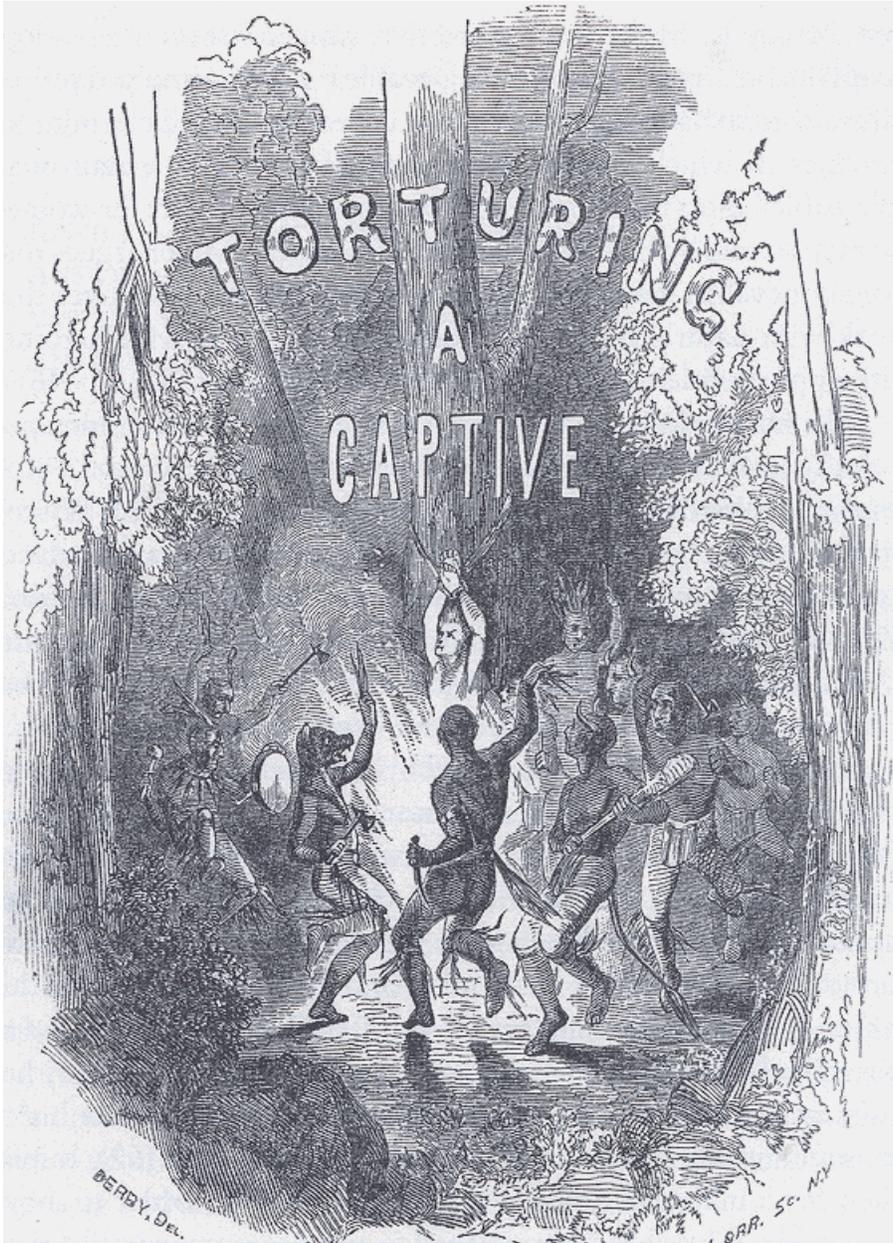
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The *memento mori* statue at the site depicts [Father Jogues](#), already missing parts of two fingers to the torture of the Iroquois, in the act of carving the name of Jesus into a tree. There is of course no comparable *memento mori* at [Mount Hope](#), reflecting the dismemberment of [Metacom](#) in 1676, neither because this native religious leader would omit to carve the name of Jesus into a tree, nor because he fails to qualify as an authentic martyr — but because he utterly flunks our test of skin color. No proper commemorative plaque marks the spot in Salem at which that red martyr’s head was impaled.

MARTYRDOM

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

After [Fathers Isaac Jogues and Bressani](#) had been captured during effort to reach the Huron country, [Father Jean de Brébeuf](#) was appointed to make a 3d attempt. He succeeded. With him on this journey were [Fathers Noel Chabanel and Garreau](#), both of whom would afterward be murdered. They reached St. Mary’s on the Wye, which was the central station of the Huron Mission.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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.”

WHAT I’M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND  
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1646

A Jesuit, [Father Isaac Jogues](#), who had been captured in 1642  in an ambush, who had been being held by the Iroquois as a [slave](#), was at this point tortured and murdered, and his head was impaled on the palisade of the village. As a comparison situation to what has happened in regard to the memory of the martyred [Metacom](#), we place on record here that there is now a marble statue at the scene of this historic crime against a white man, in Auriesville, New York, a spot which wants to be known as the National Shrine of the North American Martyrs. The *memento mori* statue at the site depicts Father Jogues, already missing parts of two fingers to the torture of the Iroquois, in the act of carving the name of Jesus into a tree. There is of course no comparable *memento mori* at [Mount Hope](#), reflecting the dismemberment of Metacom in 1676,  neither because this native religious leader would omit to carve the name of Jesus into a tree, nor because he fails to qualify as an authentic martyr — but because he utterly flunks our primary test, which is that of skin color.



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1655

May 9, Wednesday (Old Style): In [Concord](#), John Bellows got married with Mary Wood of Marlborough MA. This couple would produce, as their final child, born probably during 1678 or 1679 at Marlborough MA after the return of the exiles from a safer residence at [Concord](#) during “King Phillip’s War”, the [Benjamin Bellows](#) of Lancaster who would father the [Benjamin Bellows](#) who would found [Walpole](#), New Hampshire.

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



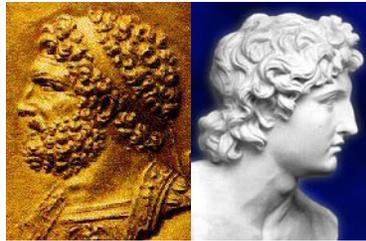
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## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1660

*Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (the *Massasoit*) died early in the year, and his eldest son *Wamsutta* received the name Alexander (*sic*) Pokanokett (*sic*) from the whites of the *Plymouth* colony. His younger brother *Metacom* was designated Phillip (*sic*) by the whites of the Plymouth colony. (The implication of this joke naming system was “See, here’s a colored man with bad attitude: he acts with dignity and poise and obviously supposes he’s going to conquer the world, or dominate us or something, like the famous historical white man Alexander the Great — but he’s not nothing but a woods savage and he isn’t ever going to get any respect from us.”)



DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1661

*Massasoit* died and was succeeded by his 1st son, *Wamsutta*, the one who had been nicknamed “Alexander” (*sic*) by the whites.<sup>5</sup>



Att the ernest 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 desiring 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*

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

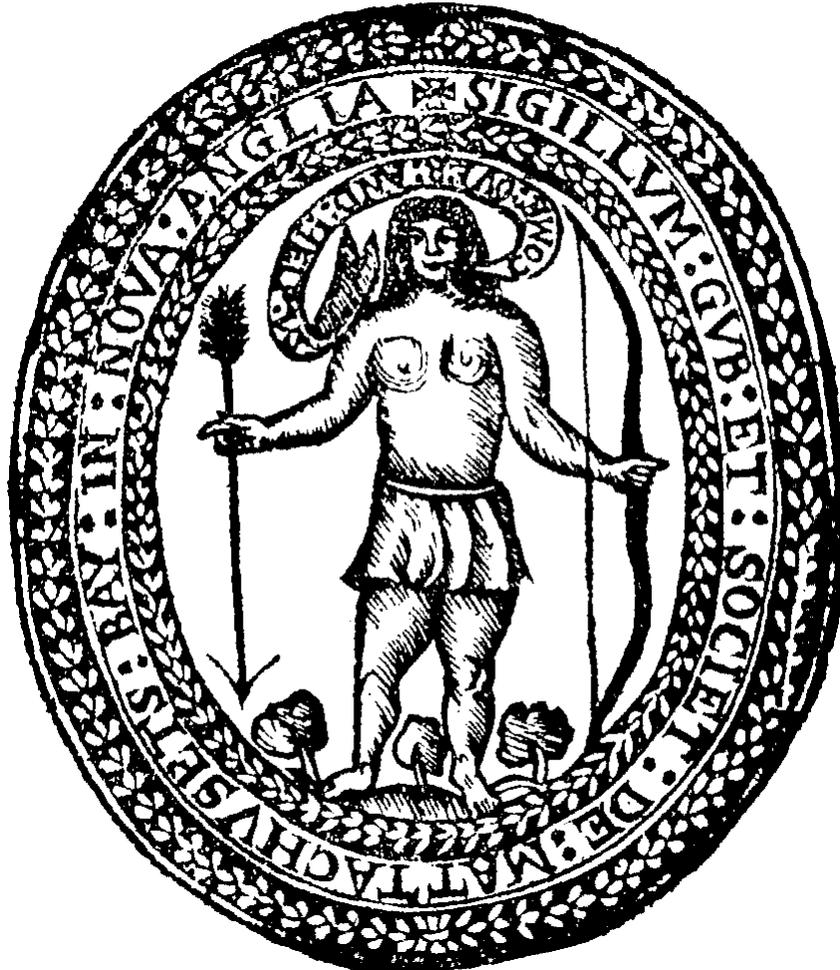
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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

5. 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](#).<sup>6</sup> 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 of the US Congress. Since there exists no federal legislative or judicial record whatever, that these lands which

6. [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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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.

The Reverend [Roger Williams](#), William Field, the Reverend Thomas Olney, Jr., Joseph Torrey, Philip Taber (1605-1672), and John Anthony were associated together in [Providence](#), Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

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

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### 1662

The Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted a law banning all printing except that done under strict license, in Cambridge. It appointed [Daniel Gookin](#) and the Reverend Jonathan Mitchell as the first licensers of this press — and Gookin declined.

In [Concord](#), Thomas Brooks was again deputy and representative to the General Court.

[Samuel Willard](#) of [Concord](#), son of Major [Simon Willard](#) and a graduate of [Harvard College](#), was ordained at Groton.



In her old age [Squaw Sachem](#) had become blind, and in this year she died. In all probability, her death, since



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she was not white, was not one of the four listed as having occurred in [Concord](#) in this year.

Marriages    Births    Deaths

	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1656	3	11	—
1657	3	11	3
1658	3	6	3
1659	2	10	4
1660	6	11	3
1661	2	12	6
1662	4	14	4
1663	5	14	4
1664	4	11	2
1665	7	13	6
1666	2	22	6
1667	8	15	6
1668	4	21	5
1669	4	24	5
1670	2	21	2
1671	6	22	7
1672	5	20	3
1673	6	29	6
1674	3	20	5
1675	5	21	11
1676	4	13	13
1677	11	22	6



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A remaining group of probably fewer than 100 of her tribe lived in [Concord](#) under the subordinate headman Tahatawan, along the far bank of the stream from Egg Rock down to Clamshell Bluffs<sup>7</sup> with farmlands behind their homes. They had their Nashobah Plantation, around Nagog Pond approximately 11 miles to the northwest, near what would become Littleton, but evidently were still too fearful of further Mohawk raids to be able to reside there. In this year Lieutenant Joseph Wheeler petitioned the General Court to grant to him 200 acres out of these native lands, but this petition was denied. Eventually the Nashobah would move to their reservation, where they would reside for approximately four decades until they were removed back to Concord during the frenzy of “[King Phillip’s War](#)”. At that point 58 would be remaining: 12 men and 46 women and children. Back in Concord, they would pitch their tents on the property of John Hoar.

Lieutenant Joseph Wheeler, by trading with the Nashobah Indians, became their creditor, and petitioned the General Court, in 1662, for a grant of 200 acres of land at the southerly part of their plantation [Nashobah Plantation] as payment for his debt; but it was refused. In 1669, he, with several inhabitants of [Concord](#), petitioned for a tract of land at Pompasitticut; and the Court appointed him, with John Haynes of Sudbury, William Kerley of Marlborough, James Parker of Groton, and John Moore of Lancaster, a committee to view it and report at their next session. This report was made May 11, 1670; and it was found “to contain 10,000 acres of country whereof about 500 is meadow. The greater part of it is very mean land, but we judge there will be planting ground enough to accommodate 20 families. Also there is about 4000 acres more of land that is taken up in farms, whereof about 500 acres is meadow. There is also the Indian plantation of Nashobah, that doth border on one side of this tract of land, that is exceedingly well meadowed, and they do make but little or no use of it.”

George Hayward,

Joseph Wheeler,

Thomas Wheeler,

John Hayward,

William Buttrick,

Sydrach Hapgood,

Stephen Hall,

Edmund Wigley of [Concord](#),

and Joseph Newton

and Richard Holdridge,

petitioned for this tract of land; and it was granted to them, “to make a village, provided the place be settled with not less than ten families within three years, and that a pious, an able, and orthodox minister be maintained there.” [Daniel Gookin](#), Thomas Danforth, and Joseph Cook were appointed “to order the settlement of the village in all respects;” and the various proceedings in relation to it resulted in the incorporation of the town of Stow, May 16, 1683;<sup>8</sup> which has since been found able to accommodate more than twenty families!<sup>9</sup>

7. Henry Thoreau would visit Clamshell Bluffs many times, examining not only the broken shells left by previous inhabitants, but also fragments of pottery, and a stone tool. Clamshell Bluffs is now beneath the asphalt of the Emerson Hospital parking lot.



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July: Sachem *Wamsutta* of the [Wampanoag](#), known to the English as “Alexander,” the older son of *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather the [Massasoit](#), had hired the Harvard-educated Reverend John [Sassamon](#) to interface with the English—and with their written word—on his behalf. Major Josiah Winslow with a body of eight or ten well-armed colonial soldiers arrested the sachem and the colonists required him to appear before them at Duxbury to answer charges concerning his supposed plot to attack them. After dealing with these accusations and eating a meal, the sachem was visiting Josiah Winslow at Marshfield when he was taken suddenly ill and was treated by a Dr. Fuller by the administration of a “working physic,” or what today we would describe as a strong laxative. Some, including his wife Weetamoo, believed him to have been poisoned, but there is no great amount of evidence to indicate this and the accounts indicated that he had been well received by the Winslows. It was not uncommon in this era for people to die of sudden illness, and it is hard to imagine what advantage

8. Twelve “foundation lots,” containing 50 acres of upland and 15 of meadow, were at first granted in the following order:— to the Minister, *Boaz Brown*, *Gershom Heald*, *John Buttrick*, *Ephraim Hildreth*, Thomas Stevens, *Stephen Hall*, *Samuel Buttrick*, Joseph Freeman, *Joseph Darby*, Thomas Gates, and *Shadrach Hapgood*. Others were afterwards granted.

Others were afterwards granted:

John Wetherby, Dec. 18, 1679.

Richard Whitney, sen. June 3, 1680.

*James Wheeler*, April 8, 1681.

Moses Whitney, April 8, 1681.

Henry Rand, Jan. 13, 1682.

*Isaac Heald*, Jan. 13, 1682.

*Israel Heald*, March 13, 1682.

Benj. Bosworth, Aug. 7, 1682.

Thomas Ward, Oct. 24, 1682.

Richard Whitney, jr. Oct. 24, 1682.

Jabez Rutter, Oct. 24, 1682.

Thomas Steevens, jr. June 17, 1684.

*Boaz Brown, jr.*, June 17, 1684.

*Samuel Hall*, June 17, 1684.

*Thomas Darby*, June 17, 1684.

Mark Perkins, Jan. 1, 1685.

Richard Burke, sen. March 1, 1686.

Roger Willis, March 1, 1686.

Benj. Crane, Dec. 23, 1682.

*Joseph Wheeler*, April 19, 1683.

*Jabez Brown*, June 15, 1683.

Thomas Williams, June 15, 1683.

Stephen Handell, March 10, 1686.

Benj. Crane.

These were the original inhabitants of Stow [Massachusetts]. Those in italics went from [Concord](#).



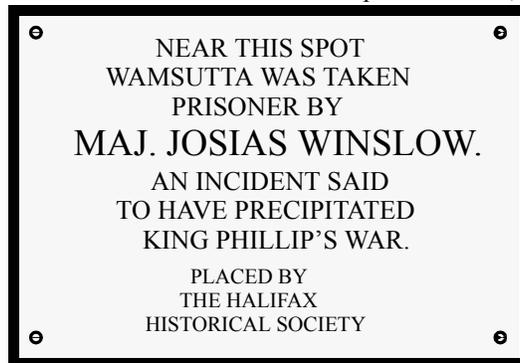
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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a poisoner might have hoped for. If what was causing Alexander's stomach pain was appendicitis, then it would have been this “working physic” that would have ruptured his appendix, filled his body cavity with toxins, and killed him while on his journey back home. (On the other hand there are records of the Plymouth Council having taken note of an expense at the time for poison “to rid ourselves of a pest,” although it is possible that these records were entirely innocent and routine and dealt merely with agriculture or sanitation.) He would be succeeded during the following year by his brother *Metacom* (or *Pometacom*, or *Tasomaccon*, or *Wewesawanit*), known to the English as *Phillip*. Phillip would reaffirm all previous agreements with the Plymouth colony, but joined in the general suspicion that the white people had caused his brother's death.

This plaque is mounted on a boulder near the shore of Monponsett Lakes, inland from Cape Cod.



9. [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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1664

In this year or perhaps the following one, the family of [John Smith](#) of [Plymouth](#) relocated to [Dartmouth](#), settling in the region since known as “Smith’s Neck” where many of his descendants still live. Smith would serve Dartmouth for a decade in a number of capacities, such as Surveyor of Highways, as an arbiter of disputes, and as a member of a committee (with John Cooke and John Russell) to distribute donations, from Ireland, for the relief of white people impoverished by “[King Phillip’s War.](#)”



August 6, Saturday (Old Style): [Metacom](#) was summoned to Plymouth Town to provide reassurances against accusations that he had been plotting to do harm to the English.<sup>10</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



**There are no authentic period depictions of this person.**

10. While serving as a scribe and translator for sachem [Metacom](#) in this year, [Sassamon](#) was teaching him to read.



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1665

King [Charles II](#) of England’s commissioners attempted to end the very confused land title quarrels among various English and native claimants — by assigning authority over the land to the assembly of the [Rhode Island](#) colony. Some historians now suspect this to have been a major step towards the race war known as “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, as it aggrieved the colonists of the Massachusetts bay without actually resolving problems of title and purchase.

According to someone’s free imagination, this is approximately what Captain John Whipple’s house in [Providence](#) might have looked like in this timeframe:



1665. On the proposition of Roger Williams, he was authorized to receive tolls for passing Weybosset bridge, for which he engaged to keep it in repair. Toll was to be exacted from strangers, and “of townsmen what they are free to give.”

From this year to 1703 the Reverend [William Hubbard](#) would serve as the minister to the church in Ipswich, Massachusetts.

The English took over some more Nipmuc lands by means of their Brookfield Purchase, from the natives of Quabaug to several inhabitants of Ipswich. The purchase was fair and square although there is some question as to what might have happened to the natives had they chosen to be “unreasonable.” Whites got the best farmlands in the river valleys, leaving the Nipmuc —who depended heavily on agriculture— with a serious difficulty in feeding themselves. The Nipmuc of course got [Christianity](#) in return for their title generosity, which any way you slice it is a really great deal.

This would be the last land deal with the Nipmuc prior to “[King Phillip’s War](#)”.

HDT

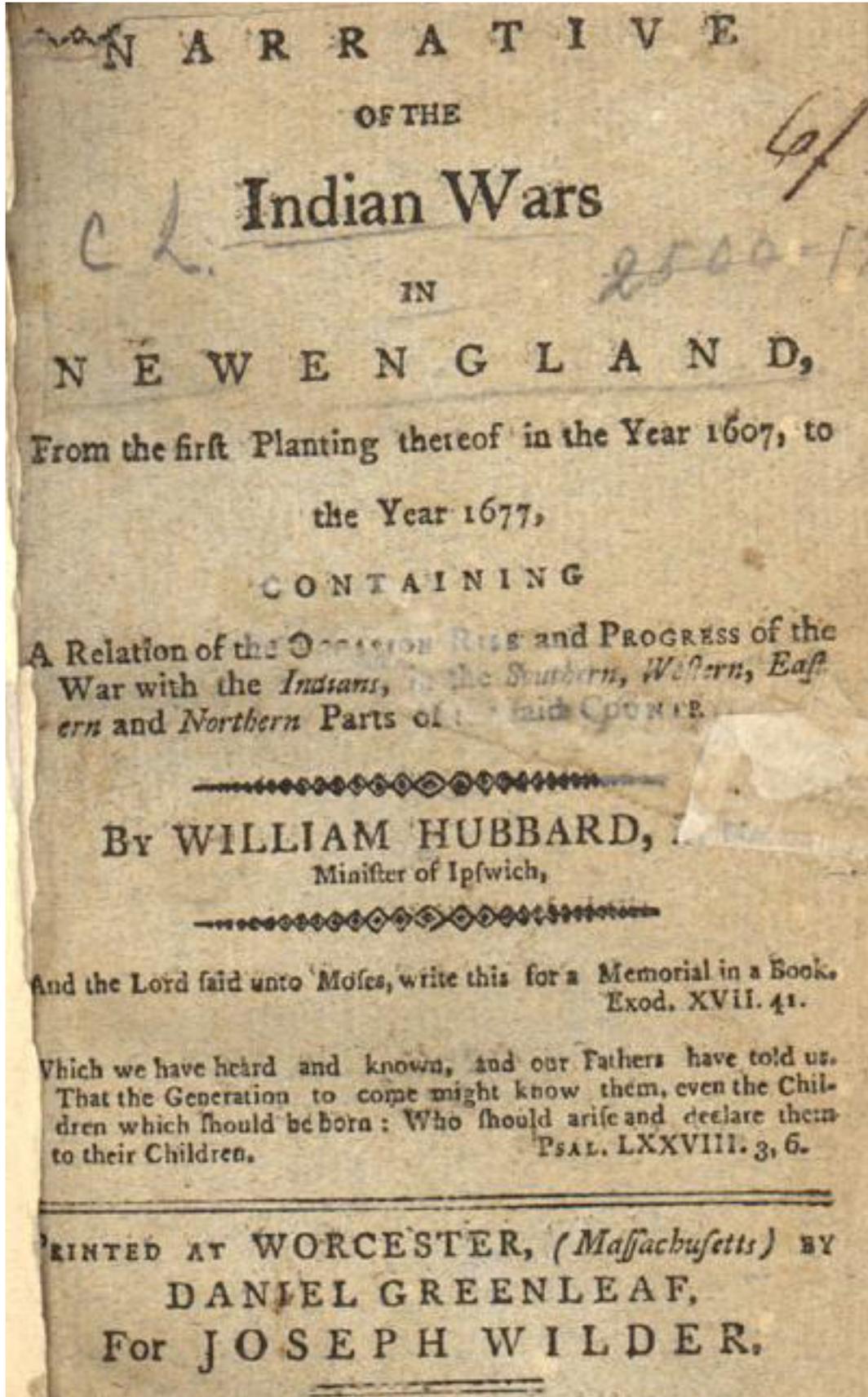
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1667

Swansea (Swanzy) was established, much closer than any English settlement had been to Metacom's own village at Mount Hope. The English were hostile to Phillip's agenda to raise herds of pigs (for instance, they had told him to get his pigs the hell off of Pig Island in the Narragansett Bay, where they as well as he were keeping pigs in order to preserve them safe against forest predators); however, as James D. Drake has commented on his page 66, “The Indians in the region were openly angry with their English neighbors, probably because livestock owned by the English were allowed to trespass on native land.”<sup>11</sup>



11. Drake bases this guess on the work of Virginia DeJohn Anderson, “King Philip’s Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England” (William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, 51, October 1994).

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“History is better than prophecy. In fact, history ‘is’ prophecy. And history says that whenever a weak and ignorant people possess a thing which a strong and enlightened people want, it must be yielded up.”



– Mark Twain

Metacom was again summoned to Plymouth Town, as had already occurred during 1664, to provide reassurances against their fear that he was plotting to war upon the English.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

*Phillip alias Metacom  
his marks*



It was in this period that Deliverance Smith was born. Although we know that eventually John Smith of Plymouth and Dartmouth would come to be the father a total of thirteen children and although the initial five, Hassadiah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were definitely born to his 1st wife, Friend Deborah Howland Smith, and although the will would make it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah had been born to the 2d wife, Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith — about Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitabel, and Eliashib we can only infer that they would also pertain to this 2d Quaker woman, Ruhamah. As to how it was that a 2d Quaker wife was bearing children for this man across the water in Dartmouth while in Plymouth his 1st Quaker wife seems still to have been very much alive, and as to the details of the eventual relocation of this Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the genealogical record has preferred to remain silent. We notice a reticence in assigning the years of birth to the various children, as if these details would inform us of certain life patterns of which it would be better for the world at large to remain ignorant. We only know that this child, Deliverance, became a Friend.



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1669

So they would have protection from predators, both *Metacom* and the English had been keeping their pigs on an island in the [Narragansett Bay](#), that for this reason had come to be known as Hog Island. The town officials of [Portsmouth](#) at this point told the Indian to get his pigs the hell off of their island. Phillip, who liked his pig meat, would use this as one item on the laundry list of grievances against the English (along with a suspicion that they poisoned his brother) which he would nourish in his heart.

In the Bay Colony, certain settlements were the subject of legislation in a category “frontier towns”,<sup>12</sup> in the period of “[King Phillip’s War](#)” there were various legislative enactments regarding such towns.<sup>13</sup>

12. MASSACHUSETTS COLONY RECORDS, Volume IV, part ii, page 439; MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, Volume CVII, pages 160-161

13. See, for instance, MASSACHUSETTS COLONY RECORDS, Volume V, page 79; Green, GROTON DURING THE INDIAN WARS, page 39; L.K. Mathews, EXPANSION OF NEW ENGLAND, page 58

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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1671

The Indian Library of the Reverend [John Eliot](#) issued an English-language book, THE INDIAN DIALOGUES. The Reverend entered into an agenda, with John [Sassamon](#), to convert the sachem [Metacom](#) to Christianity.

Reports circulated that [Metacom](#) was preparing the [Wampanoag](#) for war and effective countermeasures were taken.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



Summoned to [Taunton](#), he listened to accusations and signed an agreement to give up the Wampanoag’s firearms to the English for a set period of time. However, like the IRA of our own era, he did not stay around for dinner afterward, and, as in the case of the IRA, the guns were not willingly surrendered. (How would he have been able to persuade anyone to give up their hunting equipment, with which they fed their families?) Later he would be accused of infidelity and fined 100 pounds. The sachems of the Sakonnet and the Assawompset were implicated as well, and *Awashonks*<sup>14</sup> was fined 50 pounds and charged to appear and hand over some six firearms that were known to be in native American possession. The Christian Indians on Cape Cod and the adjacent mainland, in opposition to Phillip, made their submission to [Plymouth](#).

14. The “shonks” or “shunks” or “suncks” portion of this name was an honorific, signifying leadership. Her intimates would have called her *Awa*.



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“...The conflicts of Europeans with American-Indians, Maoris and other aborigines in temperate regions ... if we judge by the results we cannot regret that such wars have taken place ... the process by which the American continent has been acquired for European civilization [was entirely justified because] there is a very great and undeniable difference between the civilization of the colonizers and that of the dispossessed natives....”



— [Bertrand Russell](#),  
THE ETHICS OF WAR, January 1915

It was in this period that Judah Smith was born. Although we know that eventually [John Smith](#) of Plymouth and Dartmouth would come to be the father a total of thirteen children and although the initial five, Hassadah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were definitely born to his 1st wife, Friend Deborah Howland Smith, and although the will would make it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah had been born to the 2d wife, Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith — about Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitable, and Eliashib we can only infer that they would also pertain to this 2d Quaker woman, Ruhamah. As to how it was that a 2d Quaker wife was bearing children for this man across the water in Dartmouth while in Plymouth his 1st Quaker wife seems still to have been very much alive, and as to the details of the eventual relocation of this Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the genealogical record has preferred to remain silent. We notice a reticence in assigning the years of birth to the various children, as if these details would inform us of certain life patterns of which it would be better for the world at large to remain ignorant.

March: [Metacom](#) paraded his [Wampanoag](#) warriors through [Swansea](#) displaying their weapons. Called into court in [Plymouth](#) town, he acknowledged preparations for war.<sup>15</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
RHODE ISLAND

New governor Richard Coney arrived at [St. Helena](#) accompanied by new chaplain Richard Noakes (who would have a problem with alcohol). Governor Coney would regard the whole bunch of settlers as “drunks and ne’er-do-wells,” and would be seized by his council and put aboard a ship back to England on August 21, 1672.

15. What on earth was he thinking of, other than collective suicide? Even if he could get every red tribe in New England to side with his own band of warriors, there were only 18,000 native Americans in total, by way of contrast with 60,000 English inhabitants. The white population had the red population outnumbered by 3 to 1! —The answer is, that [Metacom](#) seriously underestimated the racial aspect of this conflict. He did not understand that all the whites would regard any red conflict with any of the whites as a red conflict with all the whites, which needed to result in the extermination of all the reds. He wasn’t enough of a racist to be able to comprehend that. He presumed that his tribe could go to war against Plymouth Colony, and the other colonies of the United Colonies of New England would more or less stand by and watch the contest as in all likelihood the other native tribes would more or less stand by and watch the contest if there were a mere intra-racial dispute between, say, his [Wampanoag](#) and the [Narragansett](#).

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April 10, Monday (Old Style): At [Taunton](#), [Metacom](#) put his big inky **P** upon a document binding his [Wampanoag](#) warriors to surrender their arms and acknowledge the English colonial authority.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 17, Saturday (Old Style): [Metacom](#) met, as he had agreed, a delegation of five English near the ferry opposite [Newport](#). Although he was unarmed, the forty warriors with him were carrying both bows and muskets.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

September 24, Sunday (Old Style): At [Plymouth](#), still attempting to cope with the repeated problems between the natives and colonists, sachem [Metacom](#) of the [Wampanoag](#) put his mark upon a humiliating treaty ceding nearly all rights to the English colonial government.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



**There are no authentic period depictions of this person.**

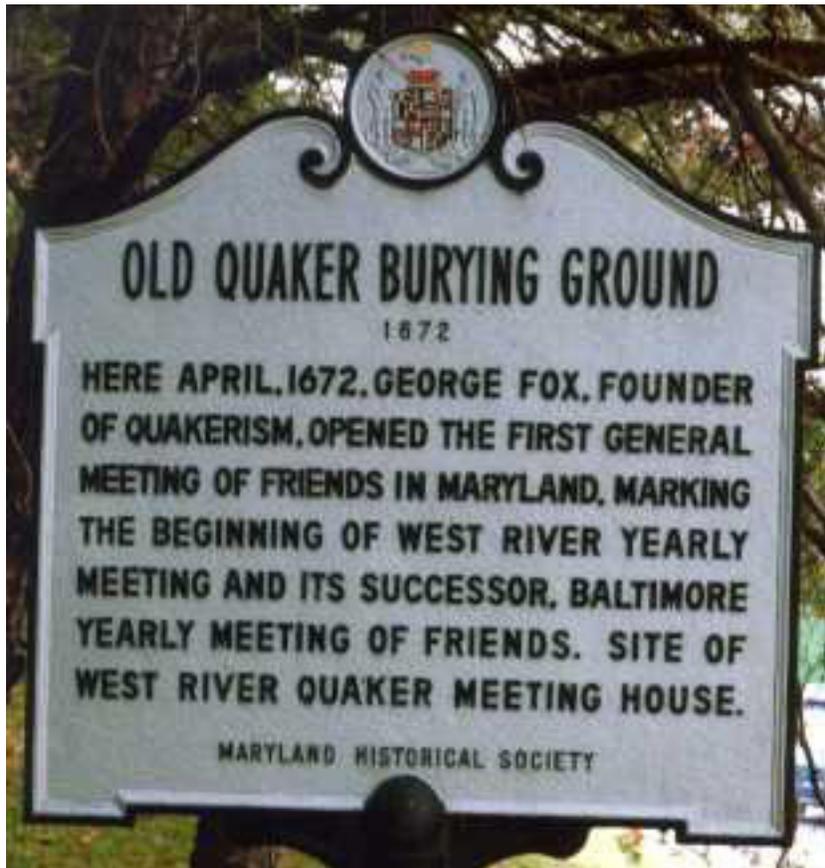
(He really didn’t have all that much choice. The Massachusetts Bay colony was of course allied with its settlements of praying Indians, while the Rhode Island colony was allied with the local [Narragansett](#), so unless Phillip wanted to cozy up to these other groups of natives –which of course he couldn’t afford to do– that left only the Plymouth colony with which to ally. And even then, there were settlements of praying Indians with which he had to compete for the loyalty of the Plymouth people, such as the praying town of Nemasket near Assawompset Pond.)

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1672

Friend [George Fox](#) rode through the colonies of the Eastern seaboard of the North American continent, especially in and around Southern [Maryland](#), sleeping out as he had done in his youth in his leathern suit in northern England (he reports, unsurprisingly, that sleeping on frozen ground makes one “very cold”), primarily to counter the influence on American [Quakers](#) that was being exercised by John Perrot of Boston, which he among others regarded as excessive; however, he displayed a special interest in obtaining conversations with Native Americans, since he presumed that these people whom he believed to be totally unfamiliar with the Gospel might be able to instruct him as to the extent to which what he knew as the “saving light of Christ” is quite universal, that is, enlightens everyone and is not necessarily mediated by the Holy Scripture of a particular culture, may be assisted by but does not require close familiarity with Gospel manifestations of the saving light, is not contingent upon any very particularly cultural heritage.

*George Fox*



Friend George attended several established meetings, including one called “Patuxent.” He was present at the General Meeting of Friends on West River, which would become the Baltimore [Yearly Meeting](#). He would write of staying at the home of James Preston, son of the Richard Preston who had died in 1669. On one



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occasion, returning from a trip on horseback with James Preston, the home was found to have been burned and his chest destroyed, “due to a careless wench.”

Catholic *conquistadores* of the 16th Century, wherever anything in the faith of the Aztecs or the Incas reminded them of some portion of their own rites and rituals, detected only the mocking spirit of the Devil; this Quaker missionary of the 17th Century, on the other hand, was prepared to experience in any similarity a universality of the human spiritual experience of the Divine. After all, if the light came only from Holy Scripture, then how did Father Abraham in the BIBLE get the light? The scripture that tells us about his life could not have existed during his lifetime! Abraham’s seed was blessed not because Abraham adhered to scripture but, according to Genesis 22:16, because he “obeyed my voice.” Fox had never been able to have such conversations with people in England, could not even have them with European intrusives in America, because any noticed similarities might perfectly well be explained as due to commonalities of cultural background rather than commonalities of human nature. In his journal Fox records about a dozen such encounters, some of them one-on-one conversations, others at large gatherings. While he did use these encounters as an opportunity to witness to his gospel message,<sup>16</sup> Fox also made careful essays at comparing native reports of spiritual experiences with his own.<sup>17</sup> It was Fox’s belief, or his trust, according to the assertion in Joel 2:28 that the Holy Spirit is poured out upon **all flesh**, that even when the scriptures were not known or the gospel preached, the hold of the Holy Spirit could be detected upon the human soul. The question he kept asking his Native American informants was a simple one:

*Did they know something within them which reproved them when they did wrong?*

All Fox’s encounters were friendly and affirmative, but on several occasions they went beyond this and created an ongoing relationship between local Quaker groups and Native Americans. One such occasion was when Fox twice addressed a group of leaders in Maryland:

... and they heard the word of the lord and did confess to it. And what I said to the kings and emperor ... I desired them to speak to their people, that God is setting up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness countries and setting up his glorious ensign and standard of righteousness. And they asked when we had meetings and they said they would come to them and were very loving.



16. [George Fox](#). JOURNAL, ed. John Nickalls. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1952, page 643.  
17. [George Fox](#). JOURNAL, ed. John Nickalls. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1952, page 642.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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The other such occasion was when Fox addressed about a hundred natives and blacks for about two hours, on Shelter Island off Long Island:



...they said all was truth and did make a confession of it after the meeting. So I have set up a meeting among them once a fortnight, and Friend Joseph Silvester is to read the Scriptures to them, negroes and Indians.... A great desire there is and a great love and satisfaction were among the people, blessed be the Lord. His name spreads and will be great among the nations and dreadful among the heathen [Malachi 1:14].

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) also attended the [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends in New-England at the home of Governor [William Coddington](#), who had become a Quaker. While on this visit, George Fox held a meeting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) “in a great barn, which was thronged with people.” This was just after the yearly meeting, and in all probability was the immediate cause of the challenge that would be sent by the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) to him and [Friends](#) with him, to debate fourteen propositions which he had drawn up in relation to Friends’ doctrines.

July: Friend [George Fox](#) visited [Rhode Island](#), staying with Governor Nicholas Easton. [Quakers](#) were just becoming the dominant group in that colony’s government. Governor Easton, 11 of the 16 assistants, and perhaps seven of the 20 deputies were members of the Religious Society of Friends. Friend Nicholas Easton was the primary political leader there at this point, and the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) the primary spiritual leader. Friend George recorded that:

In New England there was an Indian king that said he saw that there were many of their people of the Indians turned to the New England professors. He said they were worse since than they were before they left their own religion; and of all religions he said the Quakers were the best.

Commenting on this, Jill Lepore surmises that this may be more than merely the “Quaker party line,” that although there is no extant record of such a visit, Friend John Easton of [Rhode Island](#) may have taken Friend George along on a visit to the sachem [Metacom](#) at [Mount Hope](#). Alternatively, she offers, Friend George may simply have become aware somehow of the sachem Metacom’s rejection of the Reverend [John Eliot](#)’s proselytizing.

The conclusion Friend [George Fox](#) arrived at in his New World travels was that all humans did experience

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Christ’s light, however this experience might be conceptualized in a given culture:



Now Jews, and the Turks, and heathen, and Indians, that do not nor will not profess and own Christ in the flesh, to be the Savior; if one come to speak to them of their evil deeds and words, and ask them if there is something in them that tells them, they should not speak and do so, or so wickedly? (for the light of Christ troubles and condemns them if they do evil), here they will confess to the light of Christ though they know not what it is....

But Fox did not come to America during this period just prior to the outbreak of “King Phillip’s War” only to interrogate the indigenes. As mentioned above, he also came to deal with the intrusives, in particular with one intrusive, a Boston one named John Perrot. Fox wanted to counter the influence that was being exercised by Friend Perrot in Boston.



At the time Friend Perrot evidently was attempting to develop the Quaker insistence, that in matters of worship we ought to dispense with any form which might divide worshipers into opposing groups contemptuous of and intolerant of each other, to the point at which even the regularity of showing up on time for a silent meeting of worship, on First Day, was to be regarded as a “form” and discarded. George Fox sought to drive away such individuals, whom he characterized as “disorderly walkers.” And indeed, those Quakers who distrusted the growing levels of group control over individual conduct began to walk in other paths.



PHILIP, KING of Mount Hope

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1673

[William Hall](#) was for one last time Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#). He was appointed on a committee for the purpose of “treating with the Indians about [drunkenness](#), and to seriously council them, and agree of Some way to prevent extreme excess of Indian drunkenness.” Five headmen were named with whom the committee should treat, among whom was [Metacom](#) of [Mount Hope](#), called King [Phillip](#).

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

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**1674**

[Major Daniel Gookin](#) created his HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND, which would not be published until 1792.<sup>18</sup>

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

**DANIEL GOOKIN, 1792, 1806**

18. Actually, [Daniel Gookin](#) wrote two works on the native tribes: not only this HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND completed in 1674 and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1792, but also THE DOINGS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS (completed in 1677, published in 1836). — A postscript informs us that as early as this year he had “half finished” a HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, ESPECIALLY OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS, “in eight books” (only portions of this third work have survived).

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## KING PHILIP.



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Here is what [Henry Thoreau](#) would copy into his Indian Notebook from the version that appeared in the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS:

Their houses, or wigwams, are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent and fastened together with barks of trees oval ... on the top. The best sort of their houses are covered very neatly, tight, and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies at such seasons when the sap is up; and made into great flakes with pressures of weighty timber, when they are green; and so becoming dry, they will retain a form suitable for the use they prepare them for. The meaner sort of wigwams are covered with mats, they make of a kind of bulrush, which are also indifferent tight and warm, but not so good as the former. These houses they make of several sizes, according to their activity & ability; some twenty, some forty feet long and thirty feet [crossed out] broad. some I have seen of sixty or a hundred feet long and thirty feet broad. In the smaller sort they make a fire in the center of the house; and have a lower hole on the top of the house, to let out the smoke. They keep the door into the wigwams always shut, by a mat falling thereon, as people go in and out. this they do to fire-vent air coming in, which will cause much smoke in every(?) [Thoreau's question mark] windy weather. If the smoke beat down at the lower hole, they hang a little mat in the way of a skreen [sic], on the top of the house, which they can with a ... turn to the windward side, which prevents the smoke. In the greater houses they make two, three, or four fires at a distance one from another, for the better accommodation of the peoples belonging to it. I have often lodged in their wigwams, and have found them as warm as the best English houses.

This, of course, has particular relevance, on account of [Emerson's \(Thoreau's\) shanty](#) at Walden Pond.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Thoreau would derive the following material for A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS from Daniel Gookin:

A WEEK: In these parts dwelt the famous Sachem Pasaconaway, who was seen by Gookin “at Pawtucket, when he was about one hundred and twenty years old.” He was reputed a wise man and a powwow, and restrained his people from going to war with the English. They believed “that he could make water burn, rocks move, and trees dance, and metamorphose himself into a flaming man; that in winter he could raise a green leaf out of the ashes of a dry one, and produce a living snake from the skin of a dead one, and many similar miracles.” In 1660, according to Gookin, at a great feast and dance, he made his farewell speech to his people, in which he said, that as he was not likely to see them met together again, he would leave them this word of advice, to take heed how they quarrelled with their English neighbors, for though they might do them much mischief at first, it would prove the means of their own destruction. He himself, he said, had been as much an enemy to the English at their first coming as any, and had used all his arts to destroy them, or at least to prevent their settlement, but could by no means effect it. Gookin thought that he “possibly might have such a kind of spirit upon him as was upon Balaam, who in xxiii. Numbers, 23, said ‘Surely, there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.’” His son Wannalancet carefully followed his advice, and when Philip’s War broke out, he withdrew his followers to Penacook, now Concord in New Hampshire, from the scene of the war. On his return afterwards, he visited the minister of Chelmsford, and, as is stated in the history of that town, “wished to know whether Chelmsford had suffered much during the war; and being informed that it had not, and that God should be thanked for it, Wannalancet replied, ‘Me next.’”

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

THOMAS HUTCHINSON  
REVEREND WILKES ALLEN



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

And here is how [Gookin](#)'s material would appear in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#):

[WALDEN](#): A comfortable house for a rude and hardy race, that lived mostly out of doors, was once made here almost entirely of such materials as Nature furnished ready to their hands. Gookin, who was superintendent of the Indians subject to the Massachusetts Colony, writing in 1674, says, "The best of their houses are covered very neatly, tight and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies at those seasons when the sap is up, and made into great flakes, with pressure of weighty timber, when they are green.... The meaner sort are covered with mats which they make of a kind of bulrush, and are also indifferently tight and warm, but not so good as the former.... Some I have seen, sixty or a hundred feet long and thirty feet broad.... I have often lodged in their wigwams, and found them as warm as the best English houses." He adds, that they were commonly carpeted and lined within with well-wrought embroidered mats, and were furnished with various utensils. The Indians had advanced so far as to regulate the effect of the wind by a mat suspended over the hole in the roof and moved by a string. Such a lodge was in the first instance constructed in a day or two at most, and taken down and put up in a few hours; and every family owned one, or its apartment in one.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

DANIEL GOOKIN

June: [Metacom](#) attended a church worship held in the home of the Reverend John Cotton, Jr. in [Plymouth](#). (The Reverend had begun, in 1667, to preach twice a month in various [Wampanoag](#) villages.)

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1675

In the coming race war in New England, one or two hundred white colonists would be killed and hundreds of outlying pieces of property destroyed from a total white population probably at this point approaching 40,000.<sup>19</sup>

[The race war which we term King Philip's War was] a war before television, before film, before photography ... even crude wood engravings were rare and printed books an uncommon commodity. When the English and Algonquian peoples of seventeenth-century New England went to war in 1675, they devastated one another. In proportion to population, their short, vicious war inflicted greater casualties than any other war in American history. Yet a single image of the fighting survives: half a dozen tiny, crouching figures shooting at one another along the creases of John Seller's map of New England printed in an English atlas in 1675. It tells us precious little.... [N]ot even Christian Indians loyal to the English were spared; in the fall of 1675 most were removed from their towns and imprisoned on barren islands, where many died of cold or hunger during the long winter. Always brutal and everywhere fierce, King Phil[ilip]'s War, as it came to be called, proved to be not only the most fatal war in all of American history but also one of the most merciless.



19. The total native American population of which they professed to be so fearful, including women and children, probably numbered at this point fewer than 20,000, and a very significant percentage of this native population was Christian or friendly or allied rather than in any way hostile.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Actually, to speak very coldbloodedly about the matter, the statistics indicate that merely one person out of every 400 would die at best and one person out of every 200 would die at worst, and such statistics compare nicely with today’s death rate due to peacetime automotive accidents! (A comparison statistic would be that four children die by having a heavy TV set fall on them in their home –perhaps while they are being thrilled by a videotape of “Jaws”– for every child that dies of a shark attack while swimming at the beach.) Face it, the genocide would turn out to be a really good deal from the standpoint of the white intrusives, despite what has been written about how “disastrous” “King Phillip’s War” had been. In fact, if you believe that such population simplifications can solve problems (I happen not to believe this, myself), then this amounted to minimal losses with maximal gains.

“The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians.”

– L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



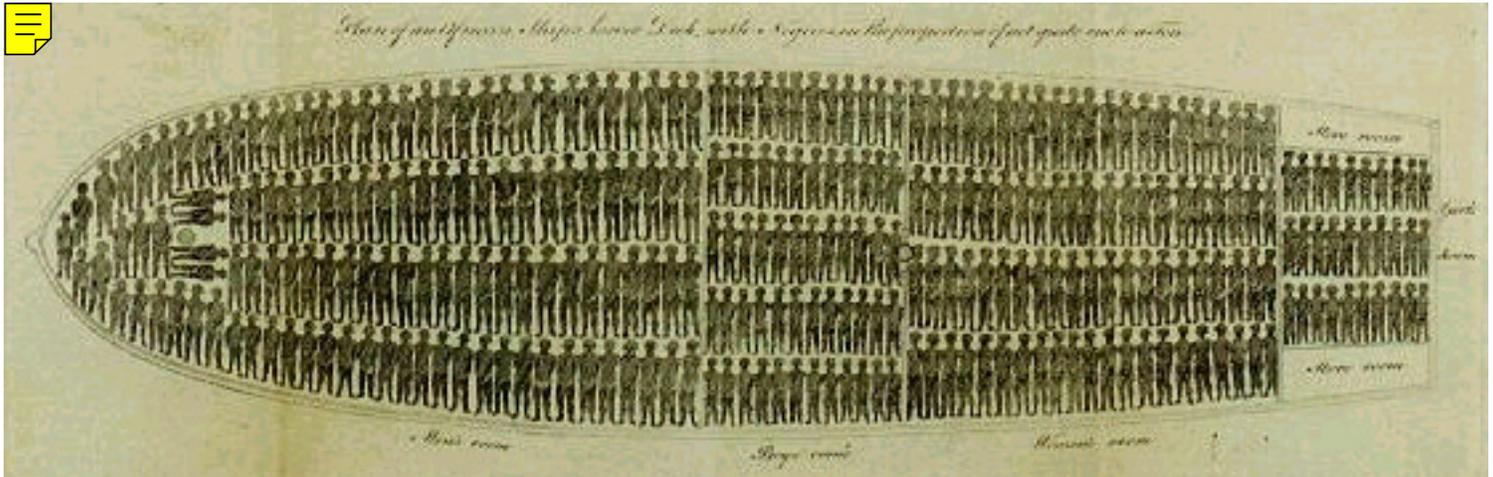
Mr. Trust Me,  
the White Man’s  
Ambassador

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The intrusive culture had reached critical mass and the native culture of the *Wampanoag* and *Narragansett*, with their “Welcome, Englishman, Welcome, Englishman,” and with their “What cheer, nehtop,” was at this point doomed to be virtually extinguished. Previously, they had been the white man’s valued allies against the Pequots, but the fact was, the English were white and delightsome and these people were red and unenlightened. Uncounted thousands of the red previous allies would be offed outright and then the remnants would become available to be sold into the [international slave trade](#) for foreign life slavery for approximately £3 per head after being transported in a vessel somewhat like this one, the *Brooke*:



Or, if young enough and congenial enough, they might avoid all this by being resituated into domestic indentured service to white families, or exiled to tribes farther toward the wilderness of the interior.

[Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#).]

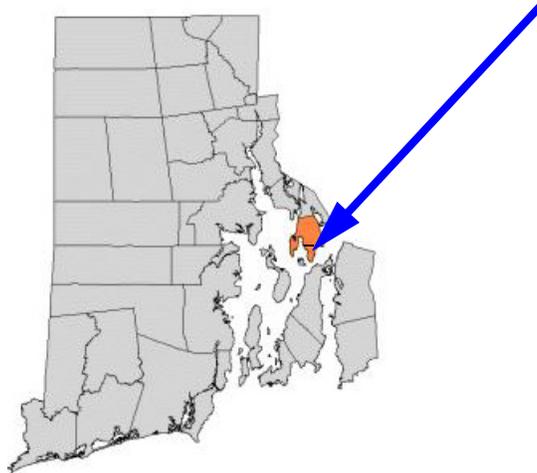


THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

By this point in time the promontory known as [Mount Hope](#) in the bay of [Rhode Island](#) was amounting merely to a little strip of de facto reservation land, approximately two miles wide and six long. The whites of [Swansea](#) had even erected “a very substantial fence quite across the great neck,” Bristol Neck, which was virtually preventing land access by the [Narragansett](#) to their little peninsula between Narragansett Bay and Mount Hope bay.





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

**AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN**

*The Present State of New-England*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

**The place where this King *Philip* doth dwell, is on a parcel of Land, called in *Engliff*, *Mount-Hope*, about twelve Miles long, and judged to be the best Land in *New England* : And it was about thirty five Miles off of this Place to the Northward, that the first *Engliff* that ever came there, Landed ; and by degrees built Houfes, and called the name of the place *New-Plimouth*, (becaufe *Plimouth* in *Old England* was the laft place they were at there).**

**[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Boston]**

After the coming race war Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, ancestor of the [Concord](#) reverend who would officiate at [Henry Thoreau](#)'s funeral, would be taking possession of this one last little strip, renaming it [Bristol](#)



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to [Concord](#) and entrusted to [John Hoar](#), who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

As you might imagine, the sachem *Metacom*'s take on the situation differed considerably from the attitude of the English in Plymouth and Boston.



**There are no authentic  
period depictions of  
this person.**



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

Here I think that the attitude expressed by the amateur historian Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#) of [Concord](#) is considerably more accurate and cogent than the attitude expressed by any of the professional historians of this period:

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Read Philip's pathetic story recorded in Arnold's history [Arnold's RHODE ISLAND, Volume I, page 394] and you will know how it looked to the conquered. Said he to John Borden of Rhode Island:—

“The English who came to this country were but a handful of people, forlorn, poor, and distressed. My father was then Sachem. He relieved their distresses. He gave them land to build and plant upon. He did all in his power to serve them. Their numbers rapidly increased. My father's counsellors became uneasy and alarmed. They advised him to destroy them before they should become too strong. But my father was also the father of the English. His advice prevailed. It was then concluded to give victuals to the English. Experience had taught that the fears of my father's counsellors were right. By various means they got possessed of a great part of his territory. My elder brother became Sachem. They pretended to suspect him of evil designs. He was seized and confined, and thrown into sickness and died. After I became Sachem they disarmed all my people. They tried them by their own laws, assessed damages which they could not pay, and their land was taken. Thus tract after tract is gone. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. **I am determined not to live till I have no country.**”

So it is evident that life and death grapple, called King Philip's War, had to come. I am with those who doubt the accepted theory about it. Our fathers excited by natural, and for the most part well founded fears, exaggerated both the capacity and plans of Philip. They believed that he had formed a gigantic Indian Confederacy. This theory rested on slender foundations. The King Philip of the annals is certainly a creature of the imagination. The real Philip had not head enough to plan such a confederacy, nor courage enough to carry it into effect. His commanding influence, if he ever had any, began with the attack on Swanzy and closed with his flight to the Nipmucks. From that moment as a great figure he disappears. Indeed, if we suppose the affair at Swanzy to be the culmination of years of plotting, what further proof of Philip's weakness is needed? There was no preparation whatever for defense. A few hundred hasty levies in forty-eight hours swept his tribe out of existence. There is very slight evidence that he was in command at any of the later undertakings. He certainly fled for a time to the Mohawks. Had not a certain Nemesis brought him back to die on his own hearthstone, and so lent pathos to life's close, he might almost have been forgotten.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Mary McCarthy, writing in 1946,  would term Hiroshima “a hole in human history.”

There is such a hole in human history, it would seem, at every point at which an atrocity has been committed by some group which then “won.” For instance, the hole in [Concord](#) history which resulted from the racial mass murder on Mount Misery at the watershed of Walden Pond as of the Massachusetts race war in 1675-1676, and the hole in human history which would result from the use of the Christian Dakota as hostages during the race war of 1863.



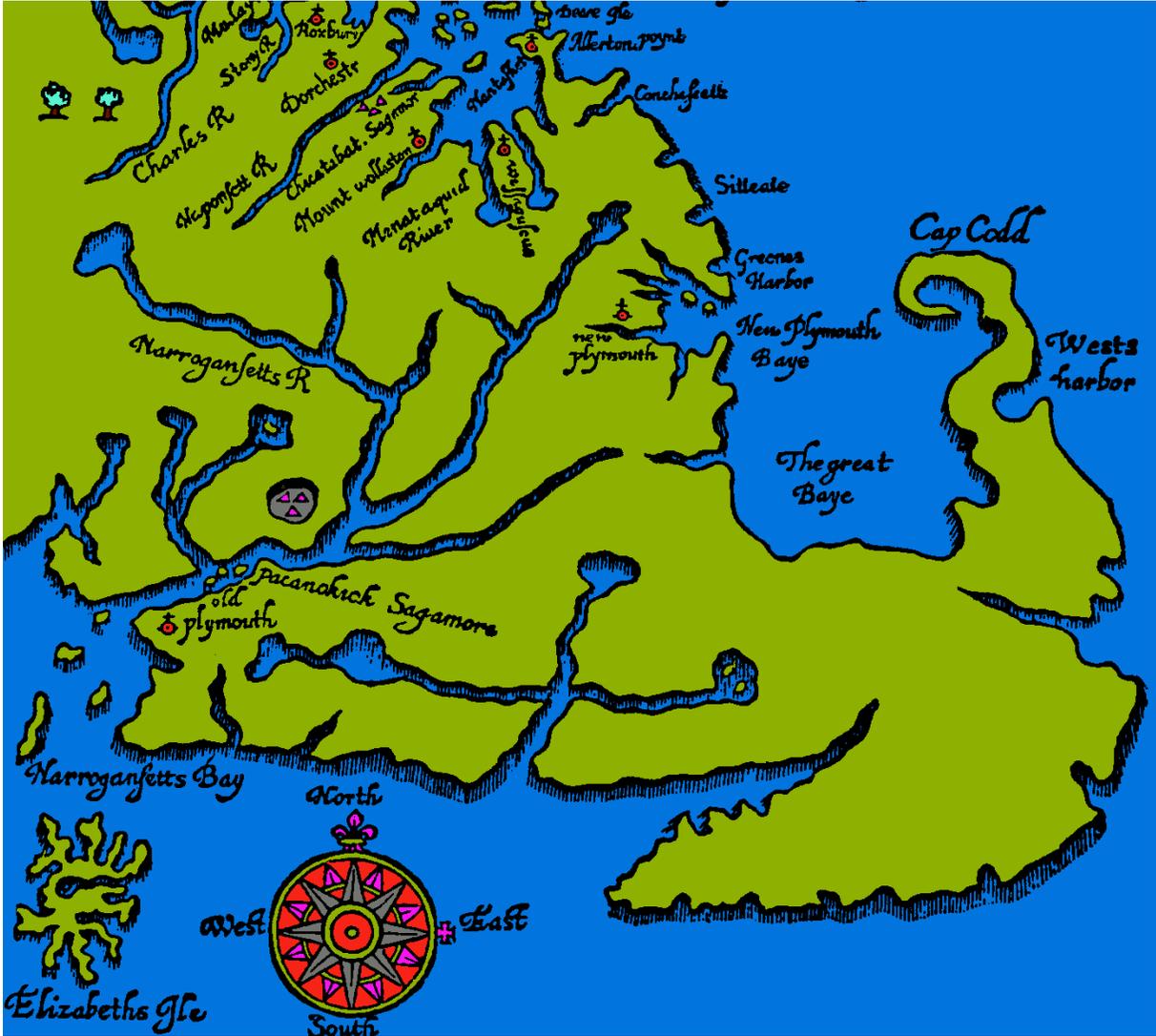
Writing thirty years after the fact of [Hiroshima](#) and [Nagasaki](#), Ralph Lapp, who had worked on the [A-bomb](#), would ask “If the memory of things is to deter, where is that memory?” He would add that “Hiroshima has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated.”

With much of their territory sold or “mortgaged,” the sachems of the [Narragansett](#) became embroiled in the conflict that was intensifying between the English of Plymouth Colony and the [Wampanoag](#) sachem [Metacom](#) of [Mount Hope](#). However, when the United Colonies demanded Wampanoag women and children as hostages, they attempted to refuse.

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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The following is the manner in which this sad history of hostaging is reflected in [Henry Thoreau's A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#):

[Daniel Gookin](#), who, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Boyle, apologizes for presenting his

matter clothed in a wilderness dress,

says that on the breaking out of Philip's war in 1675, there were taken up by the Christian Indians and the English in Marlborough, and sent to Cambridge, seven

Indians belonging to Narragansett, Long Island, and Pequod, who had all been at work about seven weeks with one Mr. Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, upon Merrimack River; and, hearing of the war, they reckoned with their master, and getting their wages, conveyed themselves away without his privity, and, being afraid, marched secretly through the woods, designing to go to their own country.

However, they were released soon after. Such were the hired men in those days.

(Bear in mind, in excuse for [Henry Thoreau](#) here, that he did not have the unbiased, culture-independent historical materials available to him which we wonderful people have made so freely available today. All he had available were such materials as above, which he was able to cite and pay proper attention to despite their biased, culturally determined nature.)

At some point during this year, Peter Folger's poem "A Looking Glasse for the Times," of which no printed copy has survived, would comment upon the hostilities.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted a special levy of the towns, to pay for the general race war. There were 49 towns. The tax for "Mendham," for instance, was £16 6s. 2d.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The sovereign council of [Canada](#) was this year increased to 9 members and its powers extended.

At the beginning of King [Phillip](#)'s uprising, only the Nashua and Wachusett (most of whom, oddly enough, had converted to Christianity) were involved in the fighting. Two of the [Penacook](#) subtribes joined Metacom's alliance but most resettled in Canada at Saint-François-du-Lac, while some resettled at Schaghticoke in Rensselaer County, New York. However, to keep some of the Pennacook neutral, their headman [Wannalancet](#) was advising many of them to travel toward the north. Refusing English demands in the fall of 1675 to have his people return from [Canada](#), Wannalancet withdrew to the upper Merrimack and spent the winter at Lake Winnepesaukee. During the winter of 1675/1676, French Jesuits would encounter a band of Pennacook as far away as the shore of Lake Huron.

#### “KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

At the age of 70, [Major Simon Willard](#) took charge of the Middlesex soldiers for “[King Phillip's War](#)” (it would be he who would rescue Captain Thomas Wheeler and Lieutenant Simon Davis from their predicament at Brookfield).

Captain Samuel Mosely was hired by the General Court of Massachusetts to hunt down Captain Jurrian Aernous and his assistant John Rhoades. With the help of a French [privateer](#), Mosely captured the *Flying Horse* and the Dutch fort at Machias and brought these men back to Boston. There's more than one way to skin a cat: after being condemned to death for [piracy](#) they volunteered to assist the colonists in “[King Phillip's War](#)”.

It appears possible that the record of a [John Ellis, Senior](#) of Dedham MA and Medfield MA from the Savage Genealogy is for an entirely different [John Ellis, Senior](#) from the man who was a [Quaker](#) backslider of Sandwich, since there is a report that both [Friend John Ellis, Senior](#) and his son [John Ellis, Junior](#) died during the period of “King Phillip's War” — that presumably [Ellis](#) was killed while actively fighting because his widow would be granted land in Sepican and such lands in what was to become Rochester were being granted to war veterans.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### JANUARY

Late January (1674, Old Style): The Reverend John [Sassamon](#) took information as to native preparations for war to the Plymouth settlement — where the whites would not believe him. He asked for protection, which was of course not extended to him.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

January 29, Friday (1674, Old Style): The Reverend John [Sassamon](#), or Indian John, either was murdered or fell through the ice of Assawampsett Pond. He had been behaving, prior to his demise, one might say, in a manner to provoke suspicion. This man had been a Christian schoolteacher in [Natick](#), known among the whites as a “very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English Language, and bred up in the Possession of Christian Religion, imployed as a Schoolmaster at Natick, the *Indian* town.” He had, however, defected to become one of [Metacom](#)’s counselors, and then re-defected and attempted to return to his Christian community of Natick, “where he was baptised, manifested publick Repentance ... and made a serious Profession of Christian Religion.” Not only had this indecisiveness raised the suspicions of the white people, it had caused him to be suspected as a double agent by the Native American government. In fact, just before he had disappeared that winter, he had informed Governor Josiah Winslow that he had come to believe that the sachem *Metacom* now regarded him as having divided loyalties, and that indeed he feared for his life.

Jill Lepore comments on her page 43 that “[I]n some ways, Eliot’s missionary program died with Sassamon.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Although [Rhode Island](#) colonists would attempt an arbitration between the [Pokanoket](#) and Plymouth to avoid a race war, Plymouth would resolve to use force to conform Philip.



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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

About five or six Years since, there was brought up (amongst others) an *Indian* in the Colledge at *Cambridge*, named *Sofoman*, who after some time he had spent in Preaching the Gospel to *Unkus*, a Sagamore Christian in his Territories, was by the Authority of *New-Plimouth*, sent to Preach in like manner to King *Philip*, and his *Indians* : But King *Philip* (Heathen-like) instead of receiving the Gospel, would immediately have killed this *Sofoman*, but by the persuasion of some about him, did not do it, but sent him by the hands of three of his Men to Prison ; who as he was going to Prison, Exhorted and Taught them in the Christian Religion ; they not liking his Discourse, immediately Murdered him after a most Barbarous manner : They returning to King *Philip*, acquainted him what they had done. About two or three Months after, this Murder being discovered to the Authority of *New-Plimouth*, *Josiah Winflow* being then Governour of that Colony, care was taken to find out the Murderers ; who upon search were found and apprehended, and after a fair Trial were all Hanged. This so Exasperated King *Philip*, that from that day after, he studied to be Revenged on the *English*, judging that the *English* Authority have nothing to do to Hang any of his *Indians* for killing another.

*The Present State of New-England,*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Boston]



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### FEBRUARY

February (1674, Old Style): The body of the Reverend John [Sassamon](#) was found beneath the ice of Assawampsett Pond near his home. It was not clear whether he had been murdered, or had fallen through the ice.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

End of February (1674, Old Style): [Metacom](#) went to Plymouth to reassure the whites as to the intentions of his [Wampanoag](#) warriors.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

February 28, Sunday (1674, Old Style): [Samuel Sewall](#) and Hannah Hull were married before Simon Bradstreet. Hannah was the daughter of John Hull, the mint-master of the Massachusetts-Bay Colony. The newlyweds took up residence in the Hull family home on what is now Washington Street in [Boston](#), which would become their life-long residence. The bridegroom determined at this point to “follow Merchandize.”

A placard threatening the lives of [Daniel Gookin](#) and Thomas Danforth was posted about [Boston](#). It would eventually appear that the threatener had been Richard Scott, whose complaint was that he and two or three others had designed to go out to Deer Island and there “cut off all Gookin’s brethren” –that is, slaughter the disarmed Praying Indians there interned– their plot had been discovered by “some English dog” and their agenda of genocide had been forestalled:

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## "KING PHILLIP"

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Boston, February 28, 1675

Reader thou art desired not to suppress this paper but to promote its designe, which is to certify (those traytors to their king and countrey) Guggins and Danford, that some generous spirits have vowed their destruction; as Christians wee warne them to prepare for death, for though they will deservedly dye, yet we wish the health of their soules.

By y<sup>e</sup> new society  
A.B.C.D.



Boston February 28, 1675 193

Reader thou art desired not to suppress this paper, but to promote its designe, which is to certify (those traytors to their king and countrey) Guggins and Danford, that some generous spirits have vowed their destruction, as Christians wee warne them to prepare for death, for though they will deservedly dye, yet we wish the health of their soules.

By y<sup>e</sup> new Society A.B.C.D.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**MARCH**

March 1, Monday (1674, Old Style): Trying to figure out what was going on, feeling threatened, the Plymouth whites began to interrogate native Americans widely.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



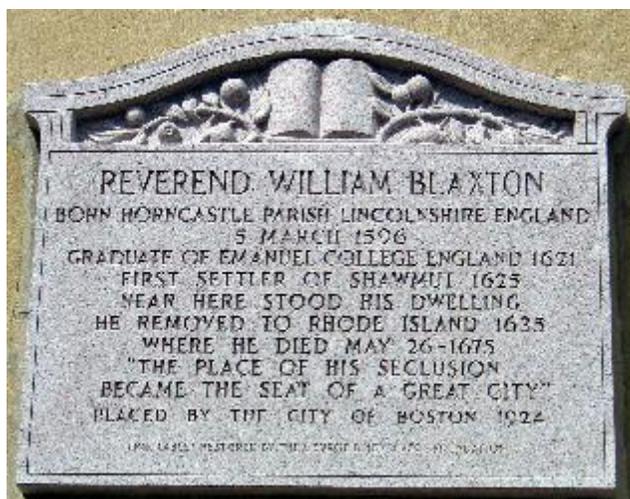
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### MAY

May 22, Saturday or 26, Wednesday (Old Style): The Reverend [William Blaxton](#), after leaving the Shawmut peninsula in 1634 in favor of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), had removed later to [Cumberland](#), and removed later to [Boston](#) again. On this day he died (on Broad Street in Cumberland a granite marker guesstimates the site of the grave). The Blaxton plantation in Providence would soon after be destroyed during the war against headman Phillip.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

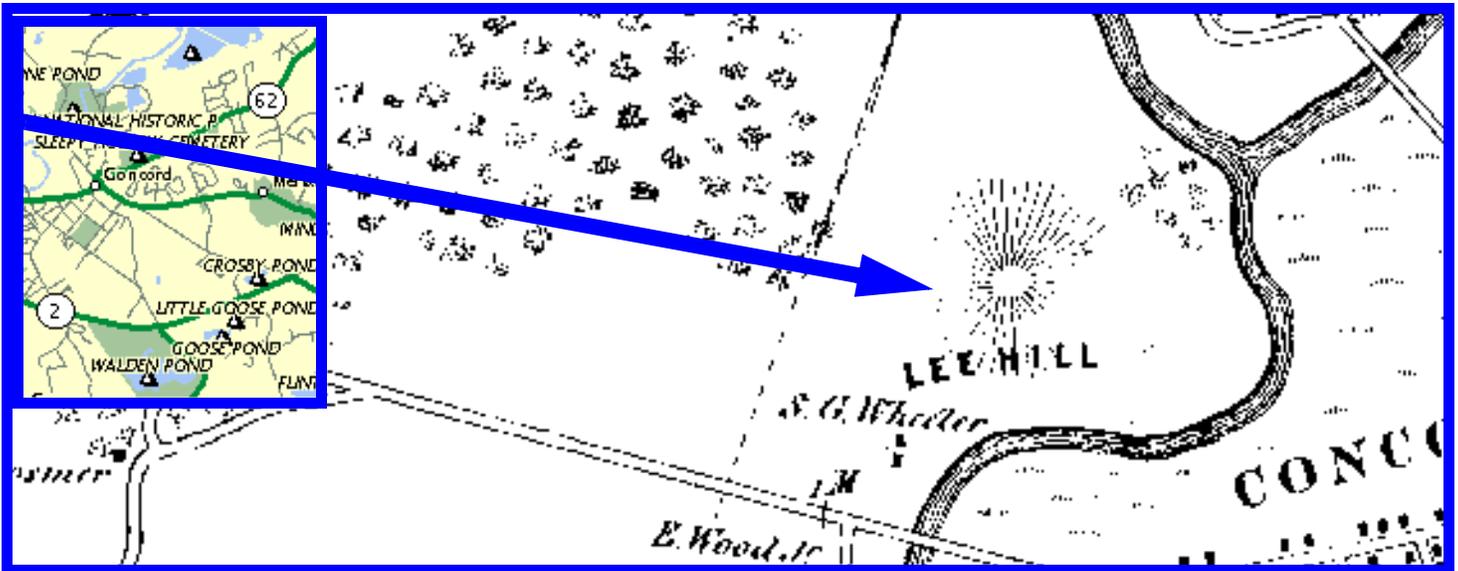
## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### JUNE

June: News of troubles reached Concord. The Wampanoag, under Metacom the 2nd son of Ousamequin Yellow Feather the Massasoit, had killed six Europeans at Swansea on Narraganset Bay.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The native villages of “Praying Indians” were Punkapaog, Natick, Magunkaquog, Hassanemesit, Nashoba, and Wamesit, situated more or less in a half circle around Concord. Their closest village was Nashobah, which was six miles from Concord, on Nagog Pond. The leaders there were Tahattawan, and Waban, and the Squaw Sachem to whom the armed white men had presented their hostess gifts and from whom the English town of Concord had “purchased,” allegedly, its land. The tribal remnant of the epidemics of 1617 and 1633 had moved from Nawshawtucl Hill at the junction of the Assabet and the Musketaquid to beyond Nagog.



# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

By 1675, possession and use of firearms was complete. Therefore:



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to Concord and entrusted to John Hoar, who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].



The Reverend John Eliot jotted in his diary that:

*When the Indians were hurried away to an iland at half an hours warning, pore soules in terror thei left there goods, books, bibles, only some few caryed thier bibles, the rest were spoyled & lost.*

Nearly a mile long and 210 acres in extent, this inner island Deer Island is the 2d-largest in Boston Harbor. Our National Park Service now refers to these detainees of “King Phillip’s War” (a name designating the



blame for its initiation as his rather than ours) as “prisoners” and as “captives,” evidently in order to create the false suggestion in the minds of current visitors that these people had been captured hostile warriors rather than what they actually were, the innocent families of the Christian allies of the white people. However, the National Park Service does acknowledge that of the approximately 500 nameless persons whom they denominate “prisoners” and “captives,” the few who survived the 1675-1676 winter of exposure and starvation had been subsequently enslaved on the mainland.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Awashonks, the Squaw Sachem of the *Wampanoag* band at Sakonnet, held a dance and invited [Benjamin Church](#), a notable English settler of Little Compton, [Rhode Island](#) who during the coming genocide would make himself a white hero. When Church arrived at the dance he found six Wampanoag of *Metacom*'s band were attending in their war gear. Awashonks's husband told Church he feared that Metacom's band was preparing itself for a war which it had come to consider inevitable. Church persuaded Awashonks that she needed to remain loyal to the English.



Notice the disparity here. Church, because he was a white man, could show up armed for this meeting (below is his actual rough-and-ready sword, with a grip made out of ash wood and a guard made out of a piece of bent iron by a local blacksmith) and that wasn't warlike and alarming — but when Indian braves attend this meeting in similar attire according to their own culture, because they are not white men that is warlike and alarming.)



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



June 1, Tuesday (Old Style): The three native Americans who were suspected of the murder of the informing Reverend John *Sassamon* were formally charged.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Their names (as would later be recalled in a stage comedy in which they would function as three buffoons) were Wampapaqan, Mattashunannamo, and Tobias.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 8, Tuesday (Old Style): Three Native Americans were being [hanged](#) one after the other at Plymouth on suspicion of having murdered the Reverend John [Sassamon](#), or Indian John of Harvard.



[L]iterate Indians like John Sassamon, those most likely to record their version of the events of the war, were among its earliest casualties.... Because the acquisition of literacy, and especially English-language literacy, was one of the last steps on the road to assimilation, Indians who could read and write placed themselves in a particularly perilous, if at the same time a powerful, position, caught between two worlds but fully accepted by neither.... Can literacy destroy?.... Can literacy kill?

There was at the very least this proof of their guilt, that one other native had testified against them, and also that when the three suspects had been brought near the corpse of their victim, the corpse had begun again to bleed. And then there would be a last-minute willingness to talk, after a frayed cord had parted while the last one of this trio of suspect natives was hanging and strangling, while the white people were readjusting the noose to try again: this third to leave our stage, Wampapaquan, attempted to save himself by a report in which he implicated, among others, the sachem [Metacom](#). (This would save his life for a week or so and then he would be shot.) The white people felt they had obtained all the evidence they needed.<sup>20</sup>

According to Friend John Easton of [Rhode Island](#), sachem Metacom would list among his reasons for having gone to war that

if 20 of there onest indians testefied that an Englishman had dun them rong, it was as nothing, and if but one of ther worst indians testefied against ani indian or ther king when it plesed the English that was suffitiant.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

20. Having the strangle-cord part in this manner does not seem to have saved this pleading third party’s life, for although they spared him temporarily while his information was being discussed, he was “afterward shott to death within the same month.” But perhaps confession was good for his soul, who can tell?

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 11, Friday (Old Style): The women and children of the promontory known as [Mount Hope](#) in the bay of [Rhode Island](#) were taken across the bay for sanctuary in the [Narragansett](#) country. Braves started appearing more frequently in the neighborhood of the smaller outlying hamlets. There was a report that the [Wampanoag](#) near [Swansea](#) ([Swanzy](#)) were under arms.



The English, who were of course under arms, were of course greatly alarmed that any other than themselves would be under arms. Even Quaker adherents of the Peace Testimony were preparing for the coming race war:

#### [THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

In 1675, King Philip's War erupted, between native Americans and the English of the United Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. A 14-month war of exceptional loss of life, much of it fought on Rhode Island soil....

It is conventional wisdom that the Quaker government participated in the war only with great reluctance and minimal measures. But contradictory evidence modifies this view. While it is clear that large-scale troop mobilisations did not occur ... the Quaker government directed military activities of both an offensive and defensive nature....

At the beginning of the war, in June 1675, the Quaker governor was John Easton, supported by five Quaker assistants and at least four Quaker deputies. All of the men were early and substantial leaders within the Rhode Island meeting. The [Newport Monthly Meetings](#), for example were held at Governor [William Coddington](#)'s house, where indeed George Fox attended [Yearly Meeting](#) in 1672.

The legislative records, noting the "dangerous hurries with the Indians,"<sup>21</sup> show that the government engaged in mobilising councils of war in the towns, ordering ammunition, mounting "great guns" and transporting Plymouth soldiers.<sup>22</sup> Quakers were specifically commissioned to oversee watches in Rhode Island, to evaluate whether to fund a garrison in Providence, to procure

21. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 531

22. Friend [Walter Clarke](#)'s letter to the magistrates at Providence, 19th day of 9th month, 1675



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

and manage the deployment of four boats, each with five or six men, and to patrol the waters of Narragansett Bay.<sup>23</sup> The Assembly appointed a major to command the military forces of the colony, thereby centralizing the war power. Governor Coddington signed the major's commission "to use your utmost endeavor to kill, expulse, expell, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this his Majesty's Collony."<sup>24</sup> [Meredith Baldwin Weddle, "Early Quaker Peace Testimony," in Mullett's NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX, pages 92-93]

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

23. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, pages 531-537, passim

24. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 538

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 14, Monday-25, Friday (Old Style): Convinced as they were that an attempt was being made to set up an Indian Confederacy against them in destruction of their hegemony, the authorities of the [Rhode Island](#) plantation, Plymouth colony, and Massachusetts Bay colony attempted to negotiate a continued peace with the Sachem [Metacom](#) of the [Wampanoag](#), and meanwhile sought to obtain fresh guarantees of alliance with the *Nipmuc* and the [Narragansett](#) against the Wampanoag, just in case.

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:



But confederacy is a large term to apply to such desperate struggles. In fact there was no simultaneousness in the outbreak. It began in June with the raid on Swanzy. The Nipmucks rose in July ; the tribes along the Connecticut River in August ; those of New Hampshire and Maine in September and October. The Narragansetts never rose at all ; but were attacked and destroyed in mid-winter, because they did not deliver up fugitives ; and because their loyalty was suspected ; – and, as it would seem from the testimony of the Indian spy employed by the English, unjustly.

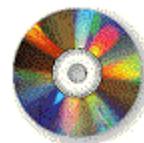
One of the deep-seated originary reasons for the “[King Phillip’s War](#)” was that in the vicinity of what is now [Warren, Rhode Island](#), which at that time was being referred to as Sowams, the Europeans had begun to farm on rich fields at the margin of the Narragansett Bay, fields which had previously been planted every year by native Americans. Tribal law had been first come first serve: who-ever was able to plant where-ever. But these white people had developed the idea that if they planted someplace one season, the next season when they went there, nobody else better be planting on **their land**. “What’s mine is mine (what’s yours is mine, too).”



Short of war, the native American culture simply had no mechanism for dealing with such greediness.



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,





**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 17, Thursday (Old Style): On this day Friend John Easton, a high government official of the [Rhode Island](#) Plantation who was also something of a mediator, this [Quaker](#) who only a few years before had had personal interaction with Friend [George Fox](#) during his visit to the New World, decided to try to prevent the coming race war in a traditional Quaker way “by removing the occasion for it.” He and four other unarmed white men rowed across Narragansett Bay to [Metacom](#)’s ceremonial center on the [Mount Hope](#) promontory, and walked up the path to the top of the hill. Metacom had put aside his arms although the approximately 40 other warriors who were present did not, and so they all sat around talking about how to arrange a conciliation of grievances by agreed impartial third parties, red and white. As Easton later reconstructed the conversation:<sup>25</sup>



*We sat veri friendly together. We told him our bisness was to indever that they might not receve or do rong. ... We told them that our desire was that the quarrel might be rightly decided in the best way, not as dogs decide their quarrels. ... [The Native Americans] owned that fighting was the worst way, but they inquired how right might take place without fighting. **We said by arbitration.** They said that by arbitration the English agreed against them, and so by arbitration they had much rong. ... We said they might chuse a Indian King and the English might chuse the Governor of New Yorke, that neither had case to say that either wear parties to the difference. They said they had not heard of this way. We were persuaded that if this way had been tendered they would have accepted. ... [[Metacom](#) pointed out that his father the [Massasoit](#),] when the English first came, was a great man and the English as a littill child. He constrained the other Indians from ronging the English, and gave them corn and shewed them how to plant it and was free to do them ani good. ... But their King’s brother [Metacom/[Phillip](#)’s brother “Allexander”], when he was King came miserably to dy, being forced to court, and as they judged poysoned. ... Another Greavance was, if 20 of their onest Indiands testified that an Englishman had dun them rong it was nothing, but if one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian, or their King, when it pleased the English, it was suficiant. ... [The English were so] eager to sell the Indians lickens that most Indians spent all in drynknes and then raved upon the sober Indians! ... I am persuaded of New England Prists they are so blinded by the spirit of Persecution and to maintain their hyer that they have been the case that the law of Nations and the Law of Aremms have been violated in this war. The war would not have been if ther had not bine hyerlings.*

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

According to the Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#)’s KING PHILIP’S WAR IN HISTORICAL SKETCHES:  
25. Hough edition of Deputy-Governor John Easton’s “A Relacion of the Indyan Warre, by Mr. Easton, of Roade Isl., 1675”, pages 7-31 passim.

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

My ancestor, Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, was one of the original settlers, who after the war took possession of Mount Hope, the home of the Wampanoags, and named it [Bristol](#).... The whole of Plymouth County was then [1681] settled, except this territory, which was the only spot left uncovered in the western march of English population.... Of this great tract all they [the [Wampanoag](#)] retained in 1675 was a little strip, called then [Mount Hope](#), scarcely six miles long and two miles wide. The southern line of English possession had been drawn right across Bristol Neck, enclosing, and almost imprisoning, the tribe in a little peninsula, washed on all sides, except the north, by the waters of Narragansett and Mount Hope bays. As if to emphasize this fact, their neighbors, the people of Swanzy [sic], “set up a very substantial fence quite across the great neck.”

At this point [Metacom](#) had a little more than a year to live. Before the fall of the next year his wife and son would have been captured for sale into foreign slavery,

*My heart breaks; now I am ready to die.*



he would have been hunted down and shot in a nearby swamp, his body would have been cut in quarters and hung in a tree there, his withered hand would have been severed and carried around to be displayed as a curiosity in bars, his skull would have been installed for display atop a pole in Salem, and eventually his jawbone would wind up in the personal collection of the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) (all in all, not a whole lot to

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

look forward to, I suppose you'd agree).

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 20, Sunday (Old Style): There seems to have been a significant level of interracial tension in [Swansea](#):

**AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN**

*The Present State of New-England*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

**Seven or Eight of King *Philip*'s Men came to *Swanfey* on the Lords Day, and would Grind a Hatchet at an Inhabitants Houfe there ; the Mafter told them, it was the Sabbath Day, and their God would be very angry if he fhould let them do it. They returned this anfwer, They knew not who his God was, and that they would do it for all him, or his God either : from thence they went on to another Houfe and took away fome Victuals, but hurt no Man. Immediately they met a Man travelling on the Road, kept him in Cuftody a fhort time, then difmift him quietly ; giving him this Caution, that he fhould not Work on his God's Day, and that he fhould tell no Lies.**

**[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Bofton]**

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 21, Monday (Old Style): Some Wampanoag began looting [Swansea](#) homes that had been abandoned as the frightened English colonists drew together into defended garrison houses. It is unclear whether Metacom ordered this in order to provoke the English, or whether some of the more aggressive warriors of the tribe were taking such actions in order to force his hand, or whether this was merely individual opportunistic criminal activity, garden-variety house burglary complicated by differences in race. According to a tradition, [Metacom](#) was reluctant to begin the war and would weep when he heard of the first deaths of colonists. Another credible tradition suggests that some of the natives superstitiously believed that they would inevitably win if the English were to be the ones to draw first blood, and that therefore they were deliberately provoking the English by harassing them without directly attacking them.<sup>26</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



3rd week in June: The English settlers of [Warwick](#), [Rhode Island](#) had become alarmed enough at the news of violence to hold a town meeting to discuss how they ought to respond.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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.<sup>27</sup>

“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



26. The “score” at this point: 9 out of 10 Commandments still operational. Within a couple of days one of the white boys at Swansea would be righteously shooting at and killing one of the red looters, so if this was a trap, it had been cunningly devised.  
 27. The “score” at this point: 8 out of 10 Commandments still operational.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 24, Thursday (Old Style): The *Wampanoag* attack on *Swansea* began, as the Plymouth colony observed a Fast Day.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 26, Saturday (Old Style): The troops of the Massachusetts Bay colony marched to the assistance of the Plymouth colony troops at *Swansea*. There was a total *eclipse* of the *moon*, which was understood by the whites to be a natural event but nevertheless was nothing that made them feel any better about anything, and was understood by the reds to be an omen of bloodshed.<sup>28</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

SKY EVENT

“Nothing was more common, in those days, than to interpret all meteoric appearances, and other natural phenomena that occurred with less regularity than the rise and set of sun and moon, as so many revelations from a supernatural source. Thus, a blazing spear, a sword of flame, a bow, or a sheaf of arrows seen in the midnight sky, prefigured Indian warfare. Pestilence was known to have been foreboded by a shower of crimson light. We doubt whether any marked event, for good or evil, ever befell New England, from its settlement down to revolutionary times, of which the inhabitants had not been previously warned by some spectacle of its nature. Not seldom, it had been seen by multitudes. Oftener, however, its credibility rested on the faith of some lonely eye-witness, who beheld the wonder through the coloured, magnifying, and distorted medium of his imagination, and shaped it more distinctly in his after-thought. It was, indeed, a majestic idea that the destiny of nations should be revealed, in these awful hieroglyphics, on the cope of heaven. A scroll so wide might not be deemed too expensive for Providence to write a people’s doom upon. The belief was a favourite one with our forefathers, as betokening that their infant commonwealth was under a celestial guardianship of peculiar intimacy and strictness.”

— *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, THE SCARLET LETTER



28. From Sachem *Metacom*’s standpoint, this lunar *eclipse* was straightforwardly an omen of war. It sure didn’t produce the war, any more than a strange obscurement of the sun in February 1831 would produce Nat Turner’s rebellion, but, in both cases — these sky events would definitely impact on the **timing** of the hostilities.

SKY EVENT



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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”

June 28, Monday (Old Style): Benjamin Batten, a Boston merchant, reported to the Navy Office in London that “thaire was 300 of the English of Plimoth & Road Iland besides our forces which ware just gott up” to the Wampanoag settlement at [Mount Hope](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

RHODE ISLAND



June 29, Tuesday (Old Style): The Bay colony observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.<sup>29</sup>

When Captain Moseley's company sighted some warriors on this day, instead of fighting they decamped in the direction of the remote region of Worcester. (They would make this movement unimpeded except that in passing the town of [Rehoboth](#) on August 1, 1675, the “home guards” would be called out and, with the aid of some native allies who were passing through, would be able to kill one of Metacom's chief men, a warrior whom the English called Nirnrod. Oneko, son of Uncas, had been to Boston and had there engaged to fight for the English, and being with some Mohegan and Natick Indians en route for Swansea, happened to be in Rehoboth just as the alert was sounded by the Reverend Noel Newman.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

29. Here's a poser for you: in a polarizing situation, does staging such a “day of humiliation” amount to an attempt to **de-escalate** the polarization, or does it amount to an attempt to **totalize** the polarization?

In other words, where's the focus of this “humiliation” typically placed, is it placed upon **a dedication to reconciliation** or is it placed upon **the building of fantasies of vengeance**? (I don't know, I'm asking.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

 June 30, Wednesday (Old Style): Benjamin Batten, Boston merchant, added to his report of the [Rhode Island](#) goings-on to the Navy Office in London that “they of Road Iland had newly sent a hundred quakers men well apinted with Carnall weapons to fight the Infidells, most of them and Road Iland being such.”

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

Some 300 white men had come together at [Swansea](#) and, after having been delayed by storms, on this day they marched onto the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula, only to discover that it had been abandoned (the [Wampanoag](#) had several days before gone into hiding in a swamp in the Pocasset country). The white men withdrew to Swansea where they would content themselves with more or less ineffective patrol duty.

[“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”](#)



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

SUMMER

~~Summer: The sale of captured Algonquians into foreign slavery began at this point.~~

Under the leadership of Sagamore Sam, the Nipmuc allied with the forces of *Metacom*. Their warriors would raid Brookfield twice and in September would join with the Pocumtuck in an attack on Deerfield. During September, also they would join in the battle at Bloody Brook near Hadley MA in which the command of Captain Thomas Lothrop would be destroyed. The few Nipmuc who would manage to remain neutral throughout this conflict would then be rounded up by the English and sent off to the “plantation of confinement” at Nashoba.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### JULY

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”

July 8, Thursday (Old Style): Captain Goulding of [Portsmouth](#) was in his sloop on the bay when he saw that Benjamin Church of Plymouth and 19 other Englishmen had taken refuge behind a rock in a “pease field” at Pocasset, and were being besieged by about 300 natives. He used the canoe of his sloop to pluck the white men out of their great peril two at a time.

A treaty was accomplished between Massachusetts and Connecticut on the one hand, and [Narragansett](#) headmen on the other, in [Rhode Island](#) territory on the west coast of the [Narragansett Bay](#). The Narragansett agreed to look on the [Wampanoag](#) as their enemies and turn them in alive, or deliver their heads to the English. Four of the [Wampanoag](#) were taken to Boston as hostages. In these negotiations, the rights and prerogatives of the Rhode Island whites, and the charter of Rhode Island, were entirely disregarded and ignored. It was as if Rhode Island did not exist. When Thomas Gould ventured to verbalize a suspicion that was being entertained by the governor of Rhode Island, Friend [William Coddington](#), that what the Massachusetts troops intended to do was seize Rhode Island territory and make it part of Massachusetts, he was taken under arrest, and would wind up in Connecticut in prison.



The Bay colony observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation as attacks were being staged by the [Wampanoag](#) on Middleborough, and upon Dartmouth, on this day and on the following one.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

July 14, Wednesday (Old Style): There was an attack on Mendon, but it wasn't by the *Wampanoag* — the *Nipmuc* had joined in the hostilities. The attack was led by the warrior Matoonas, who had previously been installed by the Apostle Eliot and [Major Daniel Gookin](#) as constable at Quinsigamond. The Reverend Cotton Mather reports that four or five whites were slain, and a petition by Matthias Puffer in the State archives affirms that his wife and eldest son were among the slain. Upon the alarm reaching Boston, a unit under Captain Henschman would be immediately sent out to relieve the town, and Mendon would be declared a frontier town and its inhabitants forbidden to abandon their settlement. The houses there would, however, be abandoned at the approach of the winter, and would soon after be torched by the native Americans.

The sachem of Quinsigamond would soon become disappointed of the war and, to make his peace with the English, would have Matoonas bound with withes and delivered to Boston. The warrior would there be summarily tried and sentenced to be shot, with other native Americans volunteering their services as his executioners. His head would be stuck on a pole on Boston Common near the head of his son, who had a year before been hung for murder.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

July 15, Thursday (Old Style): The [Narragansett](#) signed a peace treaty with the Connecticut colony and the Massachusetts troops marched back to [Swansea](#) to join up with the Plymouth militia.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 16, Friday (Old Style): Ephraim Curtis returned to Boston and reported that the Quabaug native Americans had gathered at a great island in a swamp beyond Brookfield under the leadership of Muttaump, and were displaying a defiant and hostile spirit. The Council dispatched Captain Edward Hutchinson, escorted by Captain Thomas Wheeler and his mounted company, and a number of friendly [Natick](#) native Americans, with Ephraim Curtis as their guide, to locate this native group and arrange an accommodation.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 16, Friday-24, Saturday (Old Style): An envoy of the English colony on the Massachusetts Bay was attempting a negotiation with the Nipmuc.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 19, Monday (Old Style): The Massachusetts and Plymouth militias attacked the Wampanoag at [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton](#)) but a full day of skirmishing resulted in only a single prisoner. They called off the attack, sent some troops home, and began to construct the sort of forts that they presumed would keep sachem [Metacom](#) and his warriors bottled up. As might have been expected, the warriors proceeded to slip away into the Nipmuc territory.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 21, Wednesday (Old Style): The church at [Plymouth](#) observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 27, Tuesday (Old Style): Captain Edward Hutchinson took Captain Thomas Wheeler and Lieutenant Thomas Wheeler (his son) of [Concord](#) and their troop of 24 Middlesex men (from Chelmsford, Billerica, and Sudbury), including Samuel Smedley the son of one of the early (supposedly Huguenot) settlers of Concord, Baptiste Smedley who was farming near where the later resident Franklin Daken would establish a farm, and one Boston man (Zachariah Phillips), and marched off toward Quabaug where there was an encampment of some 200 Nipmuc. They would arrive at Brookfield, some ten miles from the Americans, at about noon on Sunday, August 1st.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

July 28, Wednesday (Old Style): Captain Thomas Wheeler and his company came through [Concord](#) on their way to battle at Brookfield, and his group included Joseph and Sampson *Petuhanit*, Praying Indians from [Natick](#), and a relative of theirs, George *Memecho*.<sup>30</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

At this time the number of warriors in the five nations of Indians in the immediate vicinity of the English settlements, as has been noticed in the commencement of this history, was estimated at about 1,800; the whole number of English inhabitants in New England at 120,000; and the effective military force of the four United Colonies at 16,000, of which Massachusetts had nearly three fourths. She had twelve troops of cavalry of 60 men each. The county of Middlesex then contained 17 incorporated towns,<sup>31</sup> and its militia was embraced in one regiment. A majority of these towns were but recently settled by inhabitants living remote from each other, without even tolerably good roads to facilitate their intercourse. Concord then contained a foot and part of a horse company.<sup>32</sup> ... At Wamesit (Lowell), Nashobah (easterly part of Littleton), Okommokamesit (Marlborough), and several other places near the frontier, English settlements were incorporated Indian towns, containing in 1676 about 500 inhabitants, including women and children, who had ostensibly embraced Christianity, and were friendly to the whites. At length jealousies arose among the unfriendly Indians against these and against the English; and Philip, the bold chief of the Wampanoags at [Mount Hope](#), determined to destroy their infant settlements and exterminate the inhabitants. To aid him in this barbarous conspiracy, he endeavoured to obtain the alliance of all the neighboring tribes; and in most instances he effected his designs. The government ordered that garrison-houses should be erected in the several towns, or that dwelling-houses already built should be fortified, which were to serve as a kind of fortress into which the inhabitants, by districts or companies, might collect at night, or in case of an attack. Houses were also erected for the accommodation of military watches, which were maintained in each town to perform patrol duty, and forewarn the

30. Captain Wheeler would later issue a sworn certificate, that his Praying Indian guides had been faithful and invaluable. Evidently there was need of such a certificate, in view of the race hatred that was endemic among the whites, and evidently, this certificate would be somewhat less than totally successful in attaining its objective of protecting its bearers from abuse. For instance, of the two brothers Joseph and Sampson *Petuhanit*, Joseph would be killed fighting loyally alongside his white friends, and Sampson would survive the war and receive said certificate of gratitude from his white commander — only to find himself then sold into lifelong slavery. After this war there would simply be no place available anywhere in New England social life, for any free red native, their faith and their faithfulness notwithstanding.

31. Charlestown, Watertown, Medford, Cambridge, Concord, Sudbury, Woburn, Reading, Malden, Lancaster, Chelmsford, Billerica, Groton, Marlborough, Dunstable, Mendon, and Sherburne. Worcester County was not incorporated until 1731.

32. The former was organized in 1636, when Sergeant Simon Willard was appointed to exercise it. He was appointed Captain in 1646 and promoted to be Major in 1654. In 1662, the County Court made the following appointments in this company: Timothy Wheeler, Captain.; Joseph Wheeler, Lieut.; William Buss, Ensign; Richard Rice, Thomas Bateman, and Thomas Wheeler, sen. Sergeants; William Buttrick, Samuel Stratten, and John Scotchford, Corporals. The Horse Company was organized Oct. 13, 1669, embracing some soldiers in the adjoining towns. Thomas Wheeler was appointed 1st Captain; Thomas Henschman, Lieut.; and Henry Woodhouse, Quarter Master. This was the second and western horse company in the county and from it the present Concord Light Infantry descended.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

inhabitants of danger.

We have no other means than tradition to ascertain the number or situation of the garrison houses in Concord. The house now [1835] occupied by Dr. Hurd was originally one; another stood near John Flint's; another near Meriam's corner; two others within the present limits of Bedford; another near John Hosmer's; and another near Silas Holden's. An Indian fort was built near Nashobah Hill in Littleton, then in Concord. These were not all. The number and situation varied, at different times, for the subsequent twenty years.

Though several acts of hostility had been committed in Plymouth Colony, the Nipmuck Indians residing near the centre of the present limits of Worcester County, had not fully united with Philip in his blood-thirsty designs of extermination. And since some of these were Praying Indians, the government flattered themselves that they might be reclaimed and enlisted permanently on their side. Having professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English, a mission was sent forth to meet these Indians at Quabaug (Brookfield). Capt. Edward Hutchinson was commissioned to negotiate a treaty; and Capt. Thomas Wheeler of Concord with 20 or 25 of his company, was ordered to go with him as a guard, and to assist in the objects of the expedition. Two sons of old Robin Petuhanit of Grafton, Sampson and Joseph,<sup>33</sup> and George Memecho, three Christian Indians, accompanied them as guides and interpreters. They marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28th, 1675; and arrived at Brookfield 1st August, when they found the Indians were assembled about ten miles distant. Four messengers were sent to acquaint them with the intentions of the English, but an alarm was raised, and the Indians assumed a warlike attitude. The messengers endeavored to convince the Sachems of their peaceful intentions; and they promised to meet the English the next morning a short distance from Brookfield. They doubted whether to proceed; yet, being urged to go by the inhabitants of Brookfield, they marched to the place assigned for holding the treaty. Finding no Indians there, the company continued their march, contrary to the advice of their guides, four or five miles further near to a swamp, when they were suddenly attacked by 200 or 300 Indians. Eight were killed by the first fire and three wounded, among whom were Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler. Capt. Wheeler had two horses shot under him and received a ball through his body. Seeing this, his son, whose arm was then fractured by a ball, dismounted and placed his wounded father upon his own horse; and himself mounting another whose rider had been killed, they both escaped. The surviving English retreated to Brookfield and had scarcely entered the town, before it was set on fire in various places by the pursuing enemy. All the house (twenty) were consumed excepting one, in which the inhabitants and the company were gathered. In this distressing situation, Capt. Wheeler appointed Lieut. Simon Davis of Concord and two others to take the command, being disabled himself; and gave orders to Ephraim Curtis of

33. Sampson was afterwards killed near Wachusett. Joseph was taken and sold as a slave to go to the West Indies. His wife and two children, taken captive with him, were redeemed by Rev. Mr. Eliot; and she was employed two years after to teach a school among the Indians at Concord. She is represented as being a very sober Christian woman — [Major Daniel Gookin](#)'s MS.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Sudbury, and Henry Young of Concord to proceed to Boston to give information of these lamentable occurrences to the Council. After two unsuccessful attempts to proceed, in which they were driven back by the Indians and Henry Young was killed, Ephraim Curtis escaped. On his arrival at Marlborough, he met Major Simon Willard and Capt. James Parker of Groton with 46 men, who had been despatched to scout between Marlborough, Lancaster and Groton. On hearing of the sufferings of the people at Brookfield, he altered his course and rushed on immediately to their relief. He arrived late in the evening of the 4th of August, just in time to save the lives of a few of the English, who still survived; when the engagement was renewed with vigor, and continued most of the night. Towards the morning of the 5th, the Indians were compelled to retreat. They lost 80 men killed and wounded. The inhabitants of Brookfield suffered the total loss of their houses and property. Twelve of the fifteen of the English fell in this hard-fought battle, of whom Samuel Smeadly, Henry Young and some others belonged to Concord.<sup>34</sup>

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”

July 31, Saturday (Old Style): The English caught up to [Metacom](#)’s group and after a short fight the Wampanoag took refuge in a swamp. The English planned to attack the next day but during the night the warriors would steal away to join the Nipmuc.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

34. The assertion first published by Rev. Mr. Fiske, and by many writers since and recently with additions to the author of the History of Plymouth Colony, in relation to the conduct of Major Simon Willard at Brookfield, in August 1675, is entirely destitute of truth. He was in commission in February and March 1676 and in a letter from the secretary of the colony now before me, dated February 11, 1676, he was requested “to be in readiness if he should have a full command over the forces to be sent forth from this colony.” He also received, just before his death in April, the highest number of votes but two in the choice of eighteen gentlemen for magistrates. These honors would not have been conferred had the other assertion, resting *entirely* on tradition, been true.

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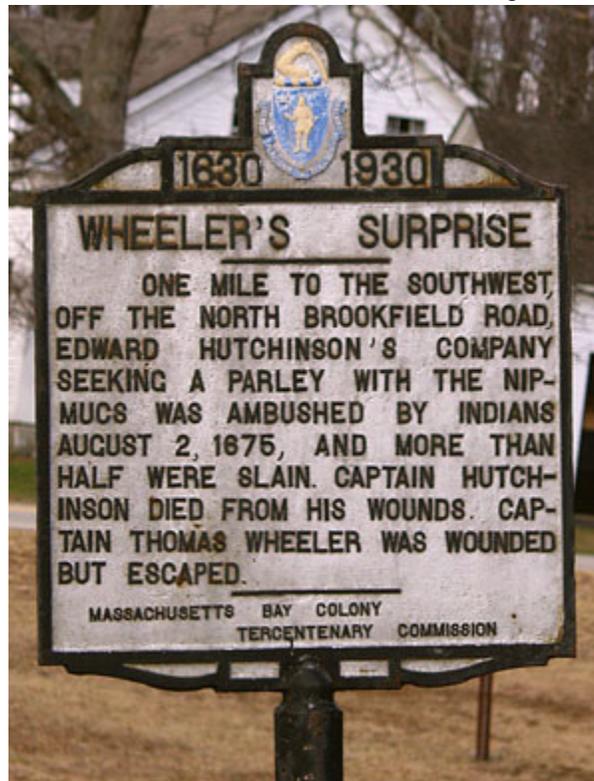
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 2, Monday (Old Style): That morning the company of English soldiers under Captains Edward Hutchinson and Thomas Wheeler from [Concord](#) and elsewhere in Middlesex County, with three of the chief men of Brookfield and with their native guides, rode out to the plain some three miles from Brookfield to which the Quabaug group under Muttaump had agreed to come, but there was no-one there. Urged by the Brookfield men, but against the earnest remonstrance of the [Natick](#) native Americans, they rode on toward the place where Ephraim Curtis had met with them on the previous day. They were ambushed while riding single file along a narrow passageway between a high rocky hill and an impenetrable swamp. Eight of the white soldiers were killed and five wounded, including Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler, Hutchinson mortally. The English retreated, fighting, up the hill; and, guided by the friendly native guides, were able to retreat to Brookfield, where they gathered the people and fortified a house. Then there was a native attack on the village, lasting several days until Major Willard and Captain Parker came with a company and reinforced the garrison. After the return of Captain Thomas Wheeler and his horsemen from Brookfield, the Reverend Edward Bulkeley would preach a sermon in commemoration, which sermon would see publication in 1676.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 3, Tuesday, 4, Wednesday, and 5, Thursday (Old Style): Even after the attack on Mendon the [Boston](#) authorities were hoping to make peace with the Nipmuc. They selected Captain Edward Hutchinson to lead the mission, with an escort of 20 men under Captain Thomas Wheeler of [Concord](#).<sup>35</sup> On August 3rd the mission was ambushed on its way to the native village just outside Brookfield. With three men killed, the other 17 retreated to Brookfield to warn the town. The survivors along with 80 or 90 men, women, and children of Brookfield garrisoned themselves into the largest and strongest house. The warriors attacked the village, torching all unoccupied houses before turning their attention to the garrisoned house. All through the 4th, some 300 warriors attacked the house and were held off. On the evening of the 4th, 46 troopers under the command of Major Simon Willard and Captain James Parker rode into the devastation and right past the Nipmuc to the garrison house. Although the Nipmuc continued to attack through the night, on the morning of the 5th they decided that the cost would be too high, and gave up the attack. The whites would linger for some days in the silence and the stillness, trying to make up their minds what to do, before deciding that it really made no sense at all to attempt to defend a smoking pile of ashes.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

At some point during this month, there being fear that the natives were going to make a direct attack upon [Boston](#), the Boston militia was mobilized. A number of the white men of Boston, some of whom were [Quakers](#), refused to “go out on command” and in consequence were “forced to run the gauntlet.” (Would this have taken place on the town Common? We do not have information as to whether any of these citizens who were thus “forced to run the gauntlet” for refusing to take up arms against the race enemy were killed or seriously injured, and if there had been any such injustices, the Quakers would surely have made a record of it, so I think we can reasonably surmise that this militia gauntlet was a hazing accomplished without such serious harm.)

At this time the number of warriors in the five nations of Indians in the immediate vicinity of the English settlements, as has been noticed in the commencement of this history, was estimated at about 1,800; the whole number of English inhabitants in New England at 120,000; and the effective military force of the four United Colonies at 16,000, of which Massachusetts had nearly three fourths. She had twelve troops of cavalry of 60 men each. The county of Middlesex then contained 17 incorporated towns,<sup>36</sup> and its militia was embraced in one regiment. A majority of these towns were but recently settled by inhabitants living remote from each other, without even tolerably good roads to facilitate their intercourse. Concord then contained a foot and part of a horse company.<sup>37</sup> ... At Wamesit (Lowell), Nashobah (easterly part of Littleton), Okommokamesit (Marlborough), and several other places near the frontier, English settlements were incorporated Indian towns, containing in 1676 about 500 inhabitants, including women and children, who had ostensibly embraced Christianity, and were

35. Captain Wheeler kept a diary from July 28th to August 21st of this year, as his unit ventured “into the Nipmuc Country and also to Quabaug alias Brookfield.” He would die on December 10, 1676.

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 13, Friday (Old Style): By order of the Massachusetts Counsel, all Christian Indians were to confine themselves to the close vicinity of their praying towns. The woodlands were to be a free-fire zone. The Reverend [John Eliot](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. and the Council of the Bay Colony, in opposition to the sale of Indians “unto the Ilands for perpetual slaves,” because “to sell soules for mony seemeth to me a dangerous merchandize.” He proposed instead that the dangerous ones simply be executed: “To put to death men that have deserved to dy, is an ordinance of God, & a blessing is promised to it.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

August 22, Sunday (Old Style): In Lancaster, an unidentified group of native Americans killed seven whites. Except for this, after the fighting near Brookfield there had been a considerable lull in hostilities near the coast, and the center of the fighting pretty much shifted to the upper Connecticut Valley where seven white settlements lay spread out along the river like beads loosely tied on a string, from Springfield to Squakeag (now Northfield). Overall military command of this theatre was given to John Pynchon. Connecticut sent a strong force under Major Robert Treat and Massachusetts sent two companies, one under Captains Lathrop and Beers and the other under Captain Samuel Mosely. The fight broke out in this new region when the English demanded of a small band outside Northfield that they hand over their firearms and then, during the night, the band disappeared. On the next day the Massachusetts companies had cornered these people in a swamp but, after a hot fight, both sides had been willing to break off.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

In approximately this timeframe, to find out whether it was true as rumored that native American children, little animals, could swim at birth, some sailors tipped a native canoe on the Saco River on the coast of Maine. The white men disproved their hypothesis but they also gotten into trouble, because the mother of the child managed to retrieve her child and escape, and the child died, and it was the child of the sagamore Squando in Maine.<sup>40</sup>



Squando was so provoked, that he conceived a bitter antipathy to the English, and employed his great art and influence to excite the Indians against them.



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



40. Professor Mary Beth Norton of Cornell University points out in her *IN THE DEVIL’S SNARE: THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT CRISIS OF 1692* that the girls who were initially affected by “witchcraft” in Salem, Massachusetts were refugees from the Indian wars of Maine. She points out that two little-known wars were fought, one between this year and 1678 and the other between 1688 and 1699, with the English residents suffered greatly at the hands of the Wabanaki and their French allies. She avers that in 1676 and again in 1690, the English settlements of Maine were virtually abandoned, and that that area would not again be settled for decades. With that as the context, she suggests, we do not need to resort to ergot poisoning to explain the erratic behavior of these refugee children.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

In the Reverend William Hubbard’s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM PASCATAQUA TO PEMMAQUID,<sup>41</sup> the Reverend would comment mildly on this inverted canoe episode that

The child might have died in any case.

He would add that



Surely, if their Hearts had not been secretly filled with Malice and Revenge before, they might have obtained Satisfaction for the Wrong done.

He would assert also that the death of the sachem’s baby



was only an Occasion to vent the Mischief they formerly had conceived in their Hearts.

I don’t know, I have raised four children myself, and, thinking back to when my kiddies Cara, Michelle, Greg, and Guy were small and defenseless in the 1965-1975 period of our lives, and thinking back to where my head and heart were at that time –as frightened as I was due to my limited ability to protect them from things that were going down in our society in San Jose, California at that time– I suppose I’d probably have over-reacted also in such a circumstance, and I suspect that I would have begun to nurse a deep grudge, and this would have been so even if the men who had conducted such a spontaneous scientific experiment weren’t of another race from my family, and even if I hadn’t already been harboring a racial hatred for them on account of previous bad experiences. So I just can’t find it in my heart to agree with the Reverend Hubbard here. I really think it would have been, like, politic, for him to have displayed here at least a polite amount of concern for this Squando who lost his child, or for this unnamed squaw who lost her baby, or for this unnamed child who was drowned by jesting sailors.

41. Pascataque (Piscataqua) River:





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 30, Monday (Old Style): The posting on the following screen was nailed up throughout the Bay Colony by fiat of the Massachusetts Council: “*all those Indians that are desirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations.*”<sup>42</sup> That is, to Hassanamesitt, Maquonkaquog, Nashobah, [Natick](#), Okammakamesit, Punkapaog, Wamesit, or perhaps one or another of the seven inland villages being considered as refuges for the Nipmuc of the interior. Establishing almost the totality of the colony as a Vietnam-style free-fire zone, the council warned that any Native Americans discovered “*above one Mile from the Center of such of their Dwelling, unless in Company with some Englifh, or in their Service near their Dwellings*” would be assumed to be hostiles and were placing themselves “*on Peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors*” and “*on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.*” Furthermore, again by fiat, the white people would “*account themselves wholly Innocent*” of the consequences, for “*their Blood or other Damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads.*” On the next page is an attempt to mimic a version of this lost printed broadside we have, as it was circulated in England for the information of white readers, in the closest computer fonts available to me (not really very close, as the original is in an Old-English font and is justified).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

42. For those of us who find this sort of thing interesting, an interesting question for discussion would be, in what respects would this be similar to, and in what respects would this be different from, the Executive Order 9066 which [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) would sign on February 19, 1942 authorizing the Secretary of War to designate certain inland areas where Americans identified as “Japanese” might be safely interned for the duration of WWII?

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

## AT A COUNCIL Held in BOSTON,

August 30, 1675.

**T**he Council judging it of absolute Necessity for the Security of the English, and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Refrained their usual Commerce with the English, and Hunting in the Woods, during the Time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies,

Do Order, that all those Indians that are defirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations underwritten, until the Council shall take further Order; and that they do order the setting of their Wigwams, that they may stand Compact in some one Part of their Plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own Provision and Defence. And that none of them do presume to Travel above one Mile from the Center of such their Dwelling, unless in Company with some English, or in their Service near their Dwellings; and excepting for gathering and fetching in their Corn with one Englishman, on Peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors : And in Case that any of them shall be taken without the Limits above said, except as above said, and do lose their Lives, or be otherwise damnified, by English or Indians; The Council do hereby Declare, that they shall account themselves wholly Innocent, and their Blood or other Damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads. Also it shall not be lawful for any Indians that are in Amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder, but shall from Time to Time make Discovery whereof to some English, that shall be Appointed for that End to sojourn among them, on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.

Also, whereas it is the Manner of the Heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the Practice of all Civil Nations, to Execute their bloody Infolencies by Stealth, and Sculking in small Parties, declaring all open Decision of their Controversie, either by Treaty or by the Sword.

The Council do therefore Order, That after the Publication of the Provision above said, It shall be lawful for any Person, whether English or Indian, that shall find any Indians Travelling or Sculking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the Limits above named, to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to Kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, That it will be most acceptable to them that none be Killed or Wounded that are Willing to surrender themselves into Custody.

The Places of the Indians Residencies are, *Natick, Punguapaog, Nafhoba, Wamefit, and Haffanemefit*: And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to Repair to some one of these.

By the Council.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### SEPTEMBER

September 1, Wednesday (Old Style): At this point the Connecticut colony began to set aside one day each week as a Fast Day.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

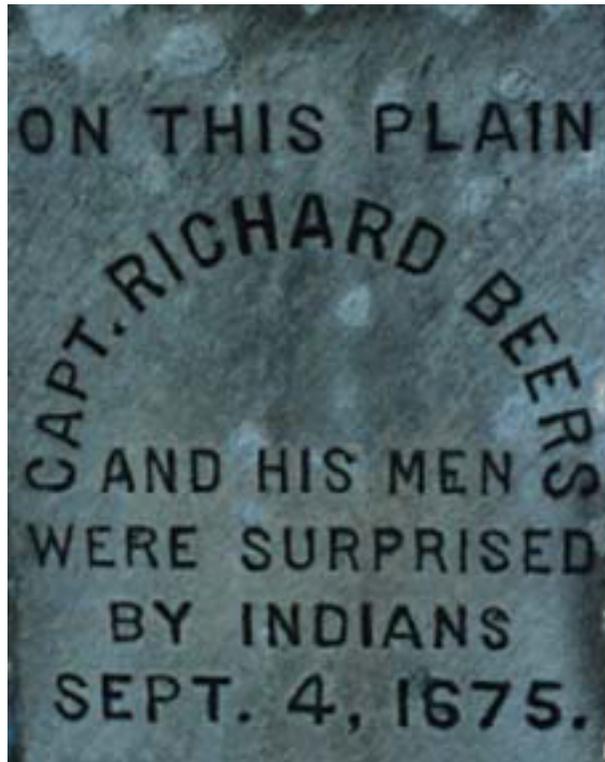
September 1, Wednesday-2, Thursday (Old Style): There was an attack on Deerfield by *Wampanoag* and *Nipmuc*. There was an attack on *Pennacook* by the English under Captain Samuel Mosely.<sup>43</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

43. At the beginning of Metacom’s uprising, only the Nashua and Wachusett (most of whom, oddly enough, had converted to Christianity) had been involved in the interracial fighting. However, to keep some *Pennacook* neutral, their headman Wanalancet had been advising many of them to travel toward the north. Refusing English demands in the fall of 1675 to have his people return from Canada, Wanalancet would withdraw to the upper Merrimack and spend the winter at Lake Winnepesaukee. During the winter of 1675-1676, French Jesuits would be encountering a band of Pennacook as far away as the shore of Lake Huron.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 3, Friday/4, Saturday (Old Style): In August, Northfield MA had sent an appeal to the military garrison in Hadley MA, but no more soldiers had arrived. In the meadows, the men harvesting grain, and the few soldiers who had been assigned to the settlement, eight in total, were ambushed. When the shots were heard, the women and children scurried for the safety of the garrison house. However, unbeknownst to the survivors, Hadley had responded to their plea. A troop of 38 soldiers had chosen a route on the east side of the Connecticut River, through almost continuous forest via Sunderland, Montague, and Erving, in order to stay out of the sight of the native warriors whom they assumed to be on the west side of the river. When the relief troop had come to within four miles of Northfield, they stopped for the night, and early the next morning continued on foot, leaving a guard behind with the horses. Captain Richard Beers and 21 others were killed and the survivors fled back to Hadley. On September 5, 1675, a relief troop of 100 soldiers would escort the surviving whites of Northfield to Hadley.



Through the rest of September minor skirmishes would occur all over the Connecticut Valley. Northfield would lie abandoned, with its abandoned cattle and unharvested crops, and would be burned, and then Deerfield, attacked a 2d time, would also lie abandoned.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

September 12, Sunday (Old Style): The English settlers abandoned their homes in Deerfield, Squakeag, and Brookfield as indefensible.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 17, Friday (Old Style): Boston observed another fast day or Day of Humiliation.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

September 18, Saturday (Old Style): In Boston, envoys of the [Narragansett](#) signed a treaty with the English.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

September 19, Sunday (Old Style): During September, bands of warriors had been roaming the valley of the Connecticut River. The military garrison at Hadley MA had been growing, and provisions for these troops needed to be sent from the individual villages. On this day, while Captain Thomas Lathrop with 80 men were riding convoy for a wagon train from Deerfield loaded with threshed wheat on its way to the mill just north of the Hadley garrison, the convoy needed to traverse a narrow, swampy thicket with a brook, near what is now [Northampton](#). During the extended period of time that it took to get the heavily laden carts across the brook, the soldiers had tossed their rifles atop the loads. Some were gathering the grapes that grew alongside the brook. Hundreds of warriors lay in concealment. When they opened fire, the captain fell immediately and only 7 or 8 of the whites would escape; not one of the Deerfield men who were driving the carts would survive. Captain Moseley and his troop of 60 soldiers were close enough to hurry to the scene. In among the corpses, one of the wounded, Robert Dutch of Ipswich, had been able to successfully play dead:



Captain Mosely came upon the Indians in the morning; he found them stripping the slain, amongst whom was one Robert Dutch, of Ipswich, who, having been sorely wounded, by a bullet that raised his scull, and then mauled by the Indian hatchets, was left for dead by the savages, and stript by them of all but his skin; yet, when Captain Mosely came near, he almost miraculously, as one raised from the dead, came towards the English, to their no small amazement; by whom being received and clothed, he was carried off to the next garrison, and is living, and in perfect health at this day.

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

For approximately six hours, neither side could gain the upper hand. Finally a troop of 100 Connecticut soldiers with a band of Mohegans arrived on the scene, whereupon the ambushers faded into the forest. The surviving soldiers straggled back to Deerfield and that night would be taunted by warriors who from a safe distance would wave items stripped from English corpses.<sup>44</sup> The surviving soldiers returned the next day to dig a mass grave. The sluggish stream would be known as Bloody Brook. Shortly afterward, Deerfield would be abandoned and would be torched by Phillip’s warriors. In the town of South Deerfield MA a stone shaft marks the edge of the swampy area in which this ambush occurred.

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



(However, [Samuel Sewall](#) has it in his diary that “Sept. 13. Saturday, was that lamentable fight, when Capt. Latrop with sixty-four killed.”)

44. Among the corpses was that of Samuel Crumpton of Salem. His widow Jane Crumpton would remarry with Captain Richard More and help him keep his tavern.

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# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



...THE WOUND  
 Capt THOMAS GATHROD  
 and eighty four men  
 under his command  
 including eighteen  
 teamsters from Deer  
 field, conveying stores  
 from that town to  
 Hadley, were ambus-  
 caded by about 700  
 Indians, and the Cap-  
 tain and seventy six  
 men slain, September  
 18<sup>th</sup> 1675. (old style)

The soldiers who  
 fell, were described  
 by a cotemporary  
 Historian, as "a choice  
 Company of young  
 men, the very flower  
 of the County of Essex  
 none of whom were  
 ashamed to speak with  
 the enemy in the gate."

"And SANGUINETTO tells you  
 where the dead  
 Made the earth wet and turned  
 the unwilling waters red."

"The Same of the slain is  
 marked by a stone slab,  
 21 rods southerly of this  
 monument."

TO THE COURAGE AND FORTITUDE  
 OF THE FIRST SETTLERS

THE FIRST CORN MILL AND DAM ON THIS MILL RIVER WAS  
 BUILT ABOUT 1670, OWNED BY HOPKINS SCHOOL AND OPERATED  
 BY ROBERT BOLTWOOD. IN 1673 OUT OF 84 DEERFIELD MEN  
 COMING TO HADLEY WITH SUPPLIES, 76 WERE KILLED IN  
 BLOODY BROOK MASSACRE OF THAT TOWN, SOME WERE COMING  
 TO THIS MILL WITH GRAIN. THE MILL WAS BURNED BY INDIANS  
 IN 1677 AND REBUILT BY THE OWNER, SAMUEL, SON OF ROBERT  
 BOLTWOOD. THE MILLS AND DAM HAVE BEEN DESTROYED SEVERAL  
 TIMES BY FIRE AND FLOOD, AND OWNERSHIP HAS ALTERNATED  
 BETWEEN HOPKINS SCHOOL AND INDIVIDUALS. THE LAST CORN  
 MILL ON THIS SITE WAS BURNED IN 1925. BUILDING OF THE  
 PRESENT CONCRETE DAM WAS STARTED IN 1918 BY THE OWNER  
 ARTHUR C. HOWE AND RESUMED AT INTERVALS UNTIL 1947  
 WHEN THE TOWN, DESIRING AMPLE WATER FOR FIRE PROTECTION,  
 JOINED WITH THE OWNER IN ITS COMPLETION. THE MILL AND A  
 HOUSE FOR THE MILLER WERE THE FIRST BUILDINGS AT THIS  
 END OF THE TOWN THEN CALLED HADLEY UPPER MILLS.

THIS MARKER ERECTED BY ARTHUR C. HOWE IN 1952



# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### OCTOBER

October 4, Monday (Old Style): A small force under Lieutenant Thomas Copper was sent out to investigate whether some of *Metacom*'s warriors were in the vicinity of Springfield. This force was ambushed and all were killed except Cooper, who although wounded, rode to Springfield to spread the alarm. The people of Springfield moved to various garrison houses.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 5, Tuesday (Old Style): The Pocumtuck warriors found the garrison houses of Springfield too strongly defended to attack. However, over 30 abandoned homes along with their outbuildings and barns were undefended and were of course put to the torch. John Pynchon resigned his command to Captain Samuel Appleton.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 7, Thursday (Old Style): The Bay colony observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 13, Wednesday (Old Style): At the meeting of the Massachusetts Council on this day it was determined that if there was going to be a race war, the Christian Indians were not to be trusted and must immediately be concentrated and isolated on Deer Island in Boston Harbor.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

October 13, Wednesday (Old Style): At midnight the white government began to transport some Christian Indians, of the Natick group, to Deer Island in Boston Harbor.<sup>45</sup>



This must have been all right because, we are informed,

The Indians made no opposition.

It seems that they were interned for the error of having entered into a legal boundary dispute between their village and the neighboring white town of Dedham, Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Council warned that it would be lawful for any white person



to destroy those that they shall finde stragling off from the said places of their confinement.

In other words, as we would later find ourselves joking about the “slants” in Vietnam, “Let’s kill ’em all, let God sort ’em out!”



“As the star of the Indian descended, that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES, NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



45. We know that a Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, a Boston councillor, owned Noddle Island and Deer Island and “all Beacon Hill” as well, but when he would die on February 8, 1697/8 he would leave this in the harbor and take none of it with him to wherever it was he was going to.

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Here are Hog Island (now Spinnaker Island) and Noddle Island (now East Boston) as they appear later, on a map of Boston Harbor dated 1775:



The Praying Indian captives were embarked at midnight at a place called “The Pines” at the Arsenal Grounds near Mt. Auburn, one source says on October 13th, another on October 30th, and were transported to Deer Island in Boston Harbor. Another group was transported later to Long Island, so, just maybe, that accounts for the two differing dates given in different source documents.<sup>46</sup>

46. Although Long Island’s white farmers submitted a petition for removal of Indians, I do not know whether the Indians they were asking be removed were long-term Long Island natives or were these detainees from the mainland.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

We can learn about Deer Island in Boston Harbor in a 19th-Century Boston guidebook.<sup>47</sup> Or, rather, we can learn everything about Deer Island that Bostonians **care** to have us learn, which is that Deer Island is a site at which good white people practice their studied and magnificent benevolence toward the lower orders:



We shoot past Deer Island, on which stands the ALMSHOUSE. The form of this structure is that of a “Latin Cross,” having its four wings radiating at right angles from a “central building.” The central building is four stories high; the lower story (on a uniform level with the cellars or work rooms of the north, east, and west wings) contains the bathing rooms, cleansing rooms, furnace, and fuel rooms; the two next stories contain the general guard room, to be used also as a work room; the next story is the chapel; and the upper story is the hospital. The south wing is four stories high; the lower one contains the family kitchens and entry of the superintendent’s family; the second is appropriated for the family parlors of the superintendent, and a room for the use of the directors, together with the entrances and staircases, and the opening or carriage way for receiving the paupers. The staircases communicating with the guard room, and with the cleansing rooms in the lower story of the central building, are also located in this story. The two remaining stories are used for the family sleeping rooms, superintendent’s office, officers’ rooms, and bathing rooms, together with the entries, passages, closets, and staircases. Each of the north, east, and west wings is three stories high, with basements and attics over the whole surface of each wing. The basements are for work rooms. The remaining stories, including the attics, contain the wards, hospitals, and day rooms for the inmates, together with the sleeping and inspection rooms for the nurses and attendants. There is a chapel, with a gallery, occupying seventy-five by seventy-five feet, on the third floor of the central building, equal in height to two stories. The floor of the chapel is on a level with the attic floors of the wings. It is well lighted, in a central position, of convenient access from all parts of the establishment, and is commodious enough for those who are able to attend religious worship, out of even a larger population than twelve hundred.

The paupers, as they arrive, are received at a central point, under the eye of the superintendent, in his office, as they approach; thoroughly cleaned, if necessary, in the basement central apartments for cleansing; and distributed, when prepared for distribution, to those parts of the building assigned to the classes to which they belong.

47. R.L. Midgley’s 1856 volume BOSTON SIGHTS, AND STRANGER’S GUIDE, also titled SIGHTS IN BOSTON AND SUBURBS, OR GUIDE TO THE STRANGER, page 193.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The munificent Alms House was built to shelter the victims of charity of a later generation, white-skinned it goes without saying.



October 16, Saturday (Old Style): On this date, or slightly before, Captain Samuel Mosely’s troops captured a native American woman near Springfield, Massachusetts. Although the white militia under his command was under strict orders by the financially strapped government to “kill none that he took alive, but secure them in Order to a Transportation,” this specimen was so old and decrepit as to be obviously unmerchandizable.



VALUES TO DEFEND!

So the captain decided to have some fun, and had his troops unleash their Indian-killing mastiffs on the woman. She was



torn in peeces by Doggs.

She was “soe dealt with all,” the Captain bragged in an extant letter to the governor.<sup>48</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

October 18, Monday (Old Style): The Narraganset sachem Nanuntenoo, known also as Canonchet, was well connected in the tribal world, being a son of Miantunnomoh, a grandson of Mascus, a grand-nephew of Canonicus, and a nephew of Otash, Mossup, and Canjanaquond. In 1675 this Nanuntenoo/Canonchet was chief sachem of the Narraganset tribe and thus controlled a fighting force of 4,000 warriors. Had he allied with the Wampanoag warriors of the great sachem Metacom of Pokonoket against the English when hostilities broke out at Swansea, instead of with the English against them, the outcome of “King Phillip’s War” would have been very much in doubt. According to Drake’s Book of the Indians, page 61:

In the beginning of Philip’s war, the English army, to cause the Narragansets to fight for them, whom they had always abused and treated with contempt since before the cutting off of Miantunnomoh’s head, marched into their country, but could not meet with a single sachem of the nation. They fell in with a few of their people who could not well secrete themselves, and who concluded a long treaty of mere verbosity, the import of which they could know but little, and, doubtless, cared less.

After entering into this accord with these locals who did not represent the leadership of the tribe, the English had taken four hostages to ensure compliance. However, subsequently, at Boston on this day, Nanuntenoo/Canonchet put his mark on a supplemental accord pledging that in ten days his people would deliver to the English every one of the hostiles who had taken refuge or were sojourning in their country, whether these hostiles belonged to the group of Metacom of Pokonoket, or the group of Weetamoo the squaw sachem of Pocasset, or the group of Awashonks the squaw sachem of Sogkonate, or the groups at Quabaug or Hadley, or any other hostile groups. The English amanuensis spelled this sachem’s name “Quananchett” and alleged that he had made his mark not only on his own behalf but also on behalf of “Conanacus” (Canonicus), “Old Queen” (would this have been Weetamoo the squaw sachem of Pocasset, or would it have been Awashonks the squaw sachem of Sogkonate?), “Pomham,” and “Quaunapeen.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 19, Tuesday (Old Style): At Hatfield, an attack by the Americans was repelled by the English.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

48. In an interesting inversion, a modern historian named Clifton Johnson has determined on general principles (that is to say, on the basis of what he knows must be true about white people, who are clean and decent) that this letter from Captain Samuel Mosely to the governor dated October 16, 1675 is **incredible**. Incredible in spite of the fact that we had been warned about this Mosely by a historian of his own era, the Reverend William Hubbard writing in 1677, warned that the man “wanted Humanity”:



Mosely was so connected with the first People of the Colony that his Exposure and just Censure could not be published without offending them.

So Clifton Johnson rewrote the incident, in his book of local history, as one in which some Native American woman, suspected by “her own people” of friendship with the whites, seemed to have been “torn in peeces by the Doggs” — but the Doggs were those of the Indians. Refer to HAMPDEN COUNTY, 1636-1936 (NY: American Historical Society, Inc.), Volume I, page 148.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

October 21, Thursday (Old Style): Part of Captain Thomas Wheeler’s company had remained at Brookfield nearly a month after their ambush by the native American forces, but by this point the majority of them had returned from Nipmuk territory toward the coast.

The 21st of October, 1675, was kept in [Concord](#) by Capt. Wheeler and those who returned with him, as a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable and safe return, when the Rev. Edmund Bulkeley preached a sermon to them from Psalm cxvi. 12: ‘What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me?’<sup>49</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

 October 27, Wednesday (Old Style): The General Assembly of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations met to hear a petition from Captain John Cranston for the “settling” of a “mallicia” that would put the colony “in a Sutable posture of defence.” Most of the representatives who were present were [Quakers](#). They determined to leave all such decisions of war up to the [Newport](#) and [Portsmouth](#) town councils. Anything these councils decided would be deemed “Authentick.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 28, Thursday (Old Style): In early October a new treaty had been signed with the [Narragansett](#). This treaty differed very little from the one signed in July except that the signatories had become obligated to turn over the [Wampanoag](#) and others who had taken refuge among them within ten days. October 28th had been the day agreed upon for the handing over of these refugees, but this day came –and went– without any such degrading fulfillment. This along with other reports enabled the commissioners in Boston to persuade themselves that the Narragansett might go to war at any moment.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

49. A narrative of this expedition, written by Capt. Wheeler was published, from which the foregoing facts are principally taken. It was reprinted with notes, by John Farmer, Esq., in Vol. II of the New Hampshire Historical Collection from the original edition in the library of the Essex Historical Society, where may also be found a copy of Mr. Bulkeley’s Sermon above alluded to.

[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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### NOVEMBER

November 1, Monday (Old Style): On approximately this day a number of Christian Indians, among them [James Printer](#), were being taken captive at Magunkaquog, Chabanakongkomun, and Hassanamesitt (today's Grafton MA) by about 300 Nipmuc warriors who had enlisted in this race war after three of their fellows had been executed in Plymouth MA, and marched off into the forest. You are red people, you are out people: come fight these white fiends with us or we will have to kill you.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

In retaliation, the English attacked the remainder of the town of Hassanamesitt. A battle was fought on Keith Hill, and the story is that the English were better at keeping their powder dry because they were wearing garments which could be used to cover their gun locks in the rainstorm.

November 2, Tuesday-12, Friday (Old Style): Having convinced themselves that war with the [Narragansett](#) was inevitable, the Commissioners of the United Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut declared war and called for an army of 1,000 men that would march against the native stronghold under the command of Josiah Winslow. Of these the Bay Colony mustered 527 under the command of Major Samuel Appleton, Plymouth mustered 158 under the command of Major William Bradford, and Connecticut mustered 300 under the command of Major Robert Treat.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

November 12, Friday (Old Style): The Commissioners of the United Colonies notified [Rhode Island](#) that an army would be marching into its territory to attack its [Narragansett](#) allies, who were “fals and perfideouse.” Not only was permission not requested, but Rhode Island was advised that “god calls all the Colloneys to use their utmost indeavers to defend his Majestys intrest and their owne.” The letter fails to explicate in what manner the Commissioners of the United Colonies had been able to get in touch with God.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

November 30, Tuesday (Old Style): Mark Batchelder and Caleb Kimball of Wenham MA were killed, while Thomas Abby and John Fiske were among the wounded, in the bloody Narragansett Battle. About the last of November,

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

the Nashobah Indians removed to [Concord](#); and December 13th, Major Simon Willard, the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, and [Major Gookin](#), were appointed to order their settlement. They were placed under the care and superintendence of Mr. John Hoar, “the only man in Concord,” says Gookin, “who was willing to do it.” He was compensated by being exempted from impressment and taxation. This man was very loving to them, and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or danger by them.”<sup>50</sup> The excitement generally was so great, that the Natick Indians had been previously carried to Deer Island for fear of being attacked by the English. From this time depredations continued to be frequently committed by the unfriendly Indians on the frontier settlements; and notwithstanding the precautions of the government, the friendly Indians occasionally suffered unjustly from the enmity of the whites. Companies of soldiers were often sent for the relief of these suffering towns, in which Concord was usually represented.<sup>51</sup>

50. [Major Daniel Gookin](#)’s MS.

51. Soldiers often volunteered on these occasions. When they could not be obtained in this manner, they were impressed into service. Precepts were issued by the committees of militia in the several towns to the constable; and none were freed from his arbitrary will, except by a special act of the government. Nathaniel Pierce, with several others of [Concord](#), were pressed in September, 1675, went to Springfield, and continued in the service nearly a year, till they were thus liberated. Daniel Adams belonged to a party which went from Concord to Groton when that town was destroyed. He fired from Willard’s garrison and killed an Indian. It is impossible, however, to ascertain the names of all those who were engaged in this bloody war; but it is said that nearly all the able-bodied men bore arms in defence of their homes, at some time during this conflict.

[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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### DECEMBER



December 2, Thursday (Old Style): In preparation for the coordinated extermination campaign that was about to begin, the United Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Plymouth observed a combined Fast Day and Day of Humiliation. (Preparation for genocide involves making certain that God is on your side, otherwise the consequences might be problematic.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 7, Tuesday (Old Style): On this date the Massachusetts Council ordered a broadside printed, to explain the case against the [Narragansett](#). (It is good to make a written record of these things, so that later on your descendants can be assured that their ancestors had been upright and righteous. :-)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 9, Thursday (Old Style): The Massachusetts troops mustered at Dedham and a proclamation was read “that if they played the man, took the Fort, & Drove the Enemy out of the Narragansett Country, which was their great Seat, that they should have a gratuity in land besides wages.” That afternoon, full to the gills with expectation of reward, they marched 27 miles toward the [Narragansett](#) territory, to Woodcock’s Garrison (now Attleboro).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 10, Friday (Old Style): The Massachusetts army arrived in Seekonk in the evening and found vessels with supplies waiting for them.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

December 11, Saturday (Old Style): The Massachusetts army reached [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and joined with another army from Plymouth colony.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



December 12, Sunday (Old Style): The combined armies of the Massachusetts colony and the Plymouth colony marched into “Ponham’s Country,” which is now the area around [Warwick, Rhode Island](#), but failed to capture headman Ponham.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



At least one [Quaker](#) was a high officer among these armed men:



“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

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

December 13, Monday (Old Style): After a night of milling about, the Massachusetts/Plymouth army arrived at Smith's garrison-house at [Wickford, Rhode Island](#).



Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, Major Simon Willard, the Reverend [John Eliot](#), and [Major Daniel Gookin](#) were being put in charge of the resettlement the Christian Indians of the Nashobah community with [John Hoar](#) in [Concord](#), in a workshop and stockade built next to his Orchard House.

About the last of November, the Nashobah Indians removed to Concord; and December 13th, Major Simon Willard, the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, and Major Gookin, were appointed to order their settlement. They were placed under the care and superintendence of Mr. John Hoar, "the only man in Concord," says Gookin, "who was willing to do it." He was compensated by being exempted from impressment and taxation. This man was very loving to them, and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or danger by them."<sup>52</sup> The excitement



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

generally was so great, that the [Natick](#) Indians had been previously carried to Deer Island for fear of being attacked by the English. From this time depredations continued to be frequently committed by the unfriendly Indians on the frontier settlements; and notwithstanding the precautions of the government, the friendly Indians occasionally suffered unjustly from the enmity of the whites. Companies of soldiers were often sent for the relief of these suffering towns, in which Concord was usually represented.<sup>53</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW-ENGLAND, With Respect to the INDIAN WAR.

Wherein is an Account of the true Reason thereof, (as far as can be Judged by Men.)

Together with most of the Remarkable Passages that have happened from the 20th of June, till the 10th of November, 1675. Faithfully Composed by a merchant of Boston, and Communicated to his Friend in LONDON. Licens’d Decemb. 13. 1675. Roger L’Estrange. LONDON.

Printed for Dorman Newman, at the Kings-Arms in the Poultry, and at the Ship and Anchor

at the Bridg-foot on Southwark side. 1676. As faithfully reproduced in KING PHILIP’S WAR NARRATIVES.

March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966<sup>54</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

~~December 17, Friday (Old Style): After several days of anxious waiting for the soldiers from the Connecticut colony to join them, the Massachusetts/Plymouth army waiting at Smith’s garrison-house at [Wickford, Rhode Island](#) learned that these detachments had been waiting for them at Pettaquamscutt.~~

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

52. Gookin’s MS.

53. Soldiers often volunteered on these occasions. When they could not be obtained in this manner, they were impressed into service. Precepts were issued by the committees of militia in the several towns to the constable; and none were freed from his arbitrary will, except by a special act of the government. Nathaniel Pierce, with several others of Concord, were pressed in September, 1675, went to Springfield, and continued in the service nearly a year, till they were thus liberated. Daniel Adams belonged to a party which went from Concord to Groton when that town was destroyed. He fired from Willard’s garrison and killed an Indian. It is impossible, however, to ascertain the names of all those who were engaged in this bloody war; but it is said that nearly all the able-bodied men bore arms in defence of their homes, at some time during this conflict.

[Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company;

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(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.)

54. Now known to have been authored by the Boston merchant Nathaniel Saltonstall.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

 December 18, Saturday (Old Style): The army of the United Colonies came together. They bivouacked that night during a bitter snowstorm, in an open field without blankets near [South Kingstown](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. that it was necessary to attack the [Narragansett](#) because they were “barbarous men of Blood.” He 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 those among the [Quakers](#) who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will.

### READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Near a native stonework known as “Queen’s Fort” on the border of Exeter and [North Kingstown](#) in [Rhode Island](#), said to have been the stronghold of sachem Quaipen and her adherents, on this day the native named Peter who would betray the native fort in the Great Swamp Fight was captured by the English.

December 19, Sunday (Old Style): [Samuel Sewall](#) has it in his diary that “Decem. 19. Sabbath day, that formidable engagement at Narraganset, 34 English put in one pit, 3 after”

RHODE ISLAND

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

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”

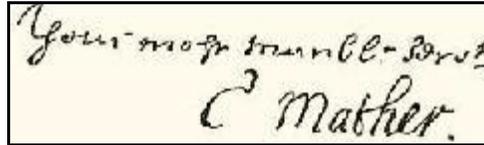


## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The bloody-minded Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) would remember this Great Swamp Fight as the tailgate party at which the [Narragansett](#) tribe had been “Berbikew’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 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





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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.”



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**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

(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.





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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](#).<sup>55</sup>

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55. 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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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*





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*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, credilbly informing us, under a strong guard.*





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



*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.*



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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.





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



*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*

[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).



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1676

[Friend](#) John Easton’s “A RELACION OF THE INDYAN WARRE, BY MR. EASTON, OF ROADE ISLD., 1675”<sup>56</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
RHODE ISLAND

Elizur Holyoke was killed during “[King Phillip’s War](#)”.

[Friend](#) John Underhill, son of the English soldier of fortune John Underhill, was packed off to prison for refusing “to train in the militia” and then refusing “to work on the fort.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The English began moving into the vacated [Narragansett](#) lands and the surviving tribespeople submitted to what would prove to be long periods of indenture to colonial families. Those [Narragansett](#) tribespeople who had survived the war were merging with a small neighboring group, the Niantic, with whom their dominant families had extensively intermarried. The combined population eventually would come to be termed [Narragansett](#). Neither [Rhode Island](#) nor Connecticut would exercise much control over the affairs of this now powerless tribe and it would be allowed to remain on more-or-less unwanted land between [Kingston](#) and [Westerly](#) under the hereditary leadership of a lineage of [Narragansett](#)/Niantic sachems.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

“HUCKLEBERRIES”: The largest Indian huckleberry party that I have heard of is mentioned in the life of Captain Church who, it is said, when in pursuit of King Phillip in the summer of 1676, came across a large body of Indians, chiefly squaws, gathering whortleberries on a plain near where New Bedford now is, and killed and took prisoner sixty-six of them – some throwing away their baskets and their berries in their flight. They told him that their husbands and brothers, a hundred of them, who with others had their rendezvous in a great cedar swamp nearby, had recently left them to gather whortleberries there, while they went to Sconticut Neck to kill cattle and horses for further and more substantial provisions.

Old Dartmouth suffered greatly in the race war. All was lost except one or two outly [NEW BEDFORD MA](#) of John Russell, known as Russells’ Garrison.

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

 An act for y<sup>e</sup> Better Regulating y<sup>e</sup> Militia  
& for Punishing offend<sup>ers</sup> as Shall not Conform to y<sup>e</sup> Laws there  
unto Relating

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouver<sup>nor</sup> Councill & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sefsions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mand of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there Respective Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>mand<sup>ers</sup> in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

.....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*  
That y<sup>e</sup> Respective Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow<sup>er</sup> & authority during y<sup>e</sup> time of their being in Armes on y<sup>e</sup> training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth<sup>er</sup> occasion w<sup>h</sup>soev<sup>er</sup> to Punish any Private Sentinall y<sup>t</sup> Shall Misbehaue him self w<sup>th</sup> Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y<sup>e</sup> wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y<sup>e</sup> Difcrefsion of s<sup>d</sup> Commision Officers notw<sup>th</sup>standing y<sup>e</sup> Afore recited Acts Relateing y<sup>e</sup> militia it Shall be in y<sup>e</sup> pow<sup>er</sup> & Authority of y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P<sup>er</sup>sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being w<sup>th</sup>in their list & y<sup>t</sup> they Cannot bare arm's in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Allarums &c y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>er</sup>sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y<sup>t</sup> may be Iudged Conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> Preferuation of his maj<sup>estys</sup> Interest y<sup>t</sup> it Shall be then in y<sup>e</sup> Pow<sup>er</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers as afores<sup>d</sup> to remit y<sup>e</sup> fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms accord<sup>ing</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Afore p<sup>re</sup>mifed Act



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Mary Pittom was born in [Boston](#).

The [Boston](#) poet Benjamin Tompson wrote an epic account of the current race war, NEW ENGLANDS CRISIS, in nine cantos. This 20-page effort included a couplet on the topic of how what goes around comes around,

All cruelties which paper stained before  
Are acted to the life here o'er and o'er.

regardless of how carefully our previous atrocities have been chronicled.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

In [Concord](#), Peter Bulkeley was again deputy and representative to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony continued to levy taxes:

A colony tax of £1,200 was assessed in 1640, £800 in 1642, £616 in 1645, and another tax in 1676. The following table shows the relative proportions which a few of the towns paid.<sup>57</sup>

Towns	1640	1642	1645	1676
Boston	£179	120	100	300
Cambridge	100	67	45	42
Charlestown	90	60	55	180
Watertown	90	55	41	45
Concord	50	25	15	34
Sudbury	—	15	11	20

These difficulties hastened the settlement of other towns. About half of the original petitioners of Chelmsford were citizens of Concord. All of them, however, did not remove thither. Groton, Lancaster, and other towns, received some of the early inhabitants when they were settled.

57. [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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The Pennacook's region had been the Merrimack River valley of southern and central New Hampshire, including parts of northeastern Massachusetts and southern Maine. At this point, however, they found themselves forced to abandon the lower Merrimack. While some Pennacook villages would continue along the upper Merrimack until 1730, most of the tribe would move north to the Abenaki in Maine or the Sokoki (Western Abenaki) at St. Francois du Lac in [Québec](#).

Here are the names of the praying native American villages as per D.E. Leach's map of Massachusetts and Connecticut *circa* 1676, as recorded in 1957:

- Ashquoash
- Chabanakongkomun
- Hassanemesit
- Magunkaquog
- Manchage
- Menamesit
- Nashobah on Nagog Pond near Nashoba Hill in Littleton
- [Natick](#)
- Paquoag
- Peskeompscut
- Punkapaug
- Senecksig
- Wamesit at the juncture of the Concord and Merrimack Rivers
- Washaccum to the southeast of Mount Wachusett

This Nashoba was the 6th of the Praying Indian towns and was made up of 10 families amounting to about 50 souls. [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) would mention that at the instance of the Reverend [John Eliot](#), in 1651, the desire of the Christian native Americans to continue to reside near Concord “was granted by the General Court, and Nashobah, lying near Nagog Pond, now partly in Littleton, partly in Acton, became an Indian town, where a Christian worship was established under an Indian ruler and teacher.... Such was, for half a century, the success of the general enterprise, that, in 1676, there were five hundred and sixty-seven praying Indians, and in 1679, twenty-four Indian preachers, and eighteen assemblies.”<sup>58</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

**“HUCKLEBERRIES”**: Early in August, in a favorable year, the hills are black with them. At Nagog Pond I have seen a hundred bushels in one field – the bushes drooping over the rocks with the weight of them – and a very handsome sight they are, though you should not pluck one of them. They are of various forms, colors and flavors – some round – some pear-shaped – some glossy black – some dull black, some blue with a tough and thick skin (though they are never of the peculiar light blue of blueberries with a bloom) – some sweeter, some more insipid – etc., etc., more varieties than botanists take notice of.

58. This has nothing to do with Fanny Wright's Nashoba settlement of former slaves in western Tennessee.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### JANUARY

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January (1675, Old Style): Sachem *Metacom* was traveling in Mohawk territory, attempting in desperation to obtain an alliance with these hitherto-enemies against the white intrusives. He would of course fail.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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January 5, Wednesday (1675, Old Style): The church in *Plymouth* observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

January 14, Friday (1675, Old Style): The English captured Joshua Tift among the savage enemy, presumed the man to have “gone native,” and hanged and quartered him for this presumed race treason.<sup>59</sup>

AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

*The Present State of New-England,*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

**Our Scouts brought in Prifoner one *Tift*, a Renegadoe Englifh man, who having received a deferved punifhment from our General, deferted our Army, and fled to the Enemy, where he had good entertainment, and was again fent out by them with fome of their Forces ; he was fhot in the Knee by our Scouts, and then taken before he could difcharge his Musket, which was taken from him and found deep charged, and laden with Slugs : He was brought to our Army, and Tryed by a Counfel of War, where he pretended that he was taken Prifoner by the *Indians*, and by them compelled to bear Arms in their Service ; but this being proved to be falfe, he was Condemned to be Hanged and Quartered, which was accordingly done.**

*[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Bofton]*

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

59. This presumption was as much a piece of gender politics as of race politics. What actually had happened, to the best of our understanding, was that when Tift had been captured by the native Americans, to save his skin at least for the time being he had agreed to be a sachem’s slave. In precisely the same manner [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#), to save herself, during her captivity agreed to serve the [Narragansett](#) leader Quinnapin and the squaw sachem [Weetamoo](#) of Pocasset (now [Tiverton](#)). What was legitimate for a white female to do, as consonant with the submissiveness expected of a woman, it appears was not considered legitimate for a white male.



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

~~January 27, Thursday (1675, Old Style):~~ [Narragansett](#) warriors raided [Pawtuxet](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### FEBRUARY



February 2, Wednesday (1675, Old Style): The church in [Plymouth](#) observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

On the first of February, 1676, the Indians burnt the house of Thomas Eames of Framingham and £330. 12s. worth of property, and either killed or carried into captivity his wife and nine children. The next day orders were given to Major Simon Willard to raise a party of troops to scour the country between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough. Similar orders were given to [Major Daniel Gookin](#) in relation to the country between Marlborough and Medfield.<sup>60</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

February 5, Saturday (1675, Old Style): [Boston](#) observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[Friend](#) John Easton, deputy governor of [Rhode Island](#), wrote in his journal that:

For 40 years time, reports and jelosys of war had bin veri frequent that we did not think that ... war was breking forth.

He added the thought that at this point:

we had Case to think it wold

because:

the English wear afraid and Philop was afraid and both incresed in arems.

February 9, 10PM Wednesday (1675, Old Style): Job Kettenanet, a Christian Indian spy, sought out [Major Daniel Gookin](#) to pass along military intelligence he had obtained, that a war party of 400 Nipmuc warriors had departed from Menemese with the intention of attacking the white people at Lancaster.

Intelligence was brought to Major Gookin, Feb. 9th at 10 o'clock in the evening, by Job Kettenanet, one of the Christian Indians who had been sent out as spies, that 400 of the enemy were at Menemese and had already marched forth intending to burn Lancaster the next day. He immediately sent orders to Marlborough, [Concord](#), and Lancaster, mustering forces for the defence of Lancaster forthwith; and 40 soldiers were collected

60. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

and marched from Marlborough under Capt. Wadsworth by break of day. But notwithstanding they succeeded in getting possession of one of the garrisons, they could not prevent the Indians from carrying their threats into execution. Lancaster then contained about 50 families, out of which the Indians killed and captured forty persons. Among the latter were Mrs. Rowlandson and her children, the family of the minister. By the bold and successful exertions of Mr. John Hoar of Concord, the connexion with Tom Doublet and Peter Conaway, Christian Indians of Concord, they were subsequently redeemed from captivity.<sup>61</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

February 10, sunrise Thursday (1675, Old Style): In the absence from Lancaster of her minister husband Joseph, [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) and her family were attacked in their garrison house there by some 400 Nipmuc who had enlisted in this race war after three of their fellows had been executed in Plymouth MA. These were the same warriors who had marched into the Praying Indian villages on November 1st of the previous year and taken, among others, [James Printer](#). (Printer eventually would help produce Rowlandson’s narrative at the Cambridge Press. Was he a willing participant in this attack? Does it matter?)



Printer realized that his future lay with her (and hers with him). In the coming weeks Printer served as scribe during negotiations for Mary Rowlandson’s redemption. Then, when amnesty was offered to Christian Indians who had joined the enemy, Printer turned himself in to colonial authorities, bringing with him, as required by special instruction, the heads of two enemy Indians – testaments to his fidelity. Eventually Printer returned to his work at the press in Cambridge and, in 1682, in one of the most sublime ironies of King Philip’s War, James Printer set the type for *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*. Mary Rowlandson and James Printer are indeed a curious pair. Their intricately linked stories are at once uncannily similar and crucially divergent. Before the war, Mary’s husband, Joseph Rowlandson, was the minister of her town, while James’s brother, Joseph Tukapewillin, was the minister of his. Both Rowlandson and Printer spent the winter of 1675-1676 with enemy Nipmucs. Both returned to Boston months later to live, again, among the English. But while Rowlandson came to terms with her time among enemy Indians by writing a book, Printer supplied body parts.

Of the 50 white families resident at Lancaster, 37 whites had taken refuge in this particular garrison house. The first alert was hearing the sound of shots, as attacks were made on three of the other four garrison houses in the settlement. Four of the five fortifications would be able to withstand the attack,<sup>62</sup> but from her own garrison house and its surroundings, none of the pack of “six stout Dogs belonging to our Garrison,” she

61. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiome, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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62. These surviving colonists of Lancaster, including the family of Daniel Hudson (1), would seek shelter in [Concord](#).



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

would complain, would be willing to stir,<sup>63</sup>



though another time, if any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord thereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him.

#### CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

After two hours of assault, the attackers managed to set the house ablaze. Of the occupants, 12 would be killed, one would escape, and 24 would be held for ransom.



By now, Indian captivity is just another roadside attraction. In Lancaster MA, a sign recounts where hostage [Mary Rowlandson](#) camped with Indians after they burned the town in 1676. In Letchworth State Park (NY) is a statue of Mary Jemison... Virginia's Hungry Mother State Park... In eastern Kentucky, Jenny Wiley State Resort Park... Texas marks the spot where, in 1836, Cynthia Ann Parker was grabbed... You don't have to drive far in America to find the roadside story of a white woman in distress.

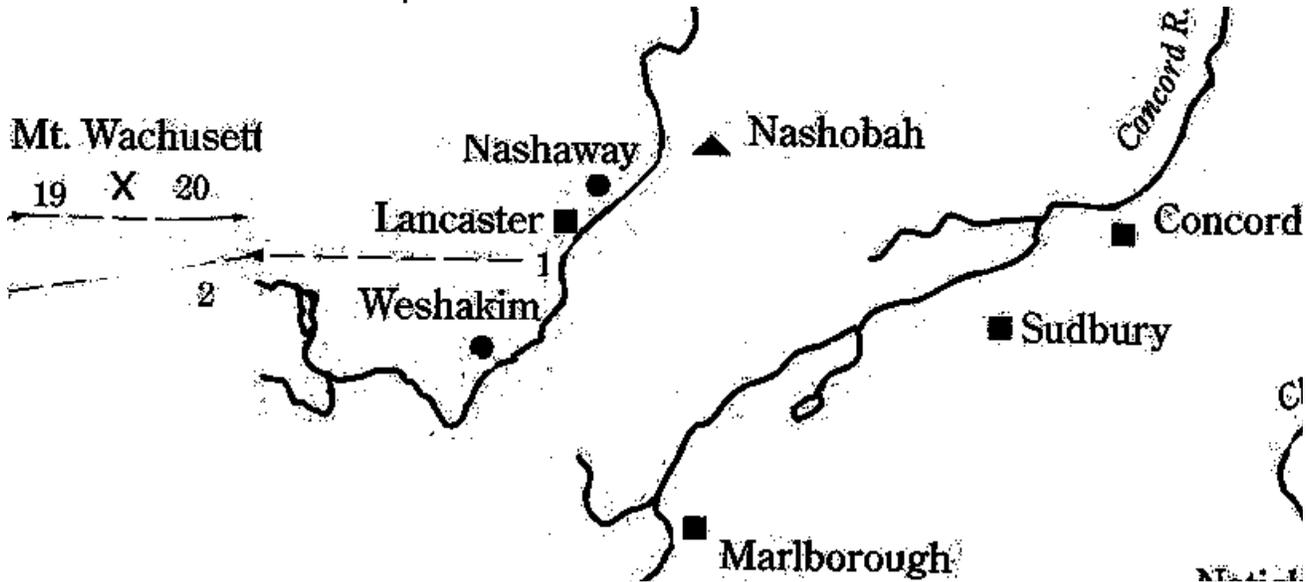
63. You can consult [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#)'s captivity narrative THE SOVERAIGNTY AND GOODNESS OF GOD, TOGETHER WITH THE FAITHFULNESS OF HIS PROMISES DISPLAYED; BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE [CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#) OF MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON most conveniently (on paper) in Richard VanDerBeets's edition HELD CAPTIVE BY INDIANS: SELECTED NARRATIVES, 1642-1836 (Knoxville TN: U of Tennessee P, 1973). Also see Slotkin, Richard and James K. Folsom, ed., SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT: PURITAN RESPONSES TO KING PHILIP'S WAR, 1676-1677 (Middletown OH: Wesleyan UP, 1978). Those of us who interest themselves in this sort of thing will be interested to learn that, according to Friend [William Edmundson](#)'s journal, pages 79-80 (Dublin, 1715), some [Quakers](#) of that period were carrying the doctrine of nonresistance to evil to such a point that when the Indian alarm was given, they were refusing to take refuge in the community blockhouses. Our history books tell us that this refusal to play war was very annoying to the other white people, to the point of beginning to persecute these refusers for their persistent utterly selfish refusal to stand guard in the common defense — strangely our history books do **not** inform us that nothing of the sort actually happened, because in fact despite what Friend William asserted, the Quakers did indeed seek refuge in blockhouses protected by guns. ~~just like all the other white people!~~

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Refer to “1” on the map below:



Mistress Rowlandson would relate, “Then I took Children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house: but as soon as we came to the dore and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bulletts rattled against the House, as if one had taken an handfull of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back.” Finally she was forced to leave the burning house. Immediately she saw her brother-in-law fall, dead from wounds; her nephew, whose leg was broken, killed, and her sister shot. She herself was shot through the side, the child she carried in her arms being struck by the same bullet. There were 13 killed and 24 taken captive. According to her account, “I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along ... then that moment to end my days....” Mary Rowlandson would sojourn as a servant with her captors for almost three months, as they journeyed westward to the Connecticut River and northward into Vermont and New Hampshire. Wounded in her side and carrying the wounded child, for the first three days there would be not only no roof over their head, but nothing whatever to eat. At times a warrior would carry the child for her, but when she and the child were put on a horse she fell off, not knowing how to ride bareback. Finally she and her feverish child would be able to ride behind a warrior.

On the fourth day, Mistress Rowlandson would meet Robbert Pepper, who had been captured during the ambush at Beers Plain in Northfield the previous September. He would suggest that she put a poultice of oak leaves on her wound, as that had earlier cured a wound on his own leg. On February 18th, Mary’s child would die in her arms and be buried by the warriors on a hillside. Her other daughter was in the custody of another warrior and she would soon learn that her son was alive, in a nearby encampment. Although she was a captive, the natives would make no attempt to prevent her from seeing her children. They would give her a Bible to read. At the end of February, Mary Rowlandson and her master and mistress would leave the main body of warriors behind, so she would not see her daughter again until she was ransomed. In March the small warrior band with which she traveled moved on to Miller’s River (Baquaug) in Orange, Massachusetts, followed closely by a troop of English. Again, according to her account, “... then they made a stop, and chose some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English Army in play whilst the rest escaped: And then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old, and with their young: some carried their old decrepit mothers, some carried one, and some another.” When the group would reach Miller’s River, everyone would begin



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

cutting dry trees to make rafts to cross the stream on that very cold day. Mistress Rowlandson would rejoice at being able to cross without chilling her feet. “The chief and commonest food was [Ground-nut](#): They eat also Nuts and Acorns, Harty-choaks, Lilly roots, Ground-beans, and several other weeks and roots, that I know not. They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joynts, and if they were full of wormes and magots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boile them, and drink up the Liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a Morter, and so eat them. They would eat Horses guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild Birds which they could catch: also Bear, Vennison, Beaver, Tortois, Frogs, Squirrels, Dogs, Skunks, Rattle-snakes; yea, the very Bark of Trees; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English.” Rowlandson would be part of a very large Amerindian encampment at Squakeag (Northfield, Massachusetts). While the group remained there, her son Joseph would be able to come for a short visit. During her stay in this area, she would meet Metacom and he would offer her a pipe of [tobacco](#), which she would decline “though I had formerly used Tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a Bait, the Devil layes to make men loose their previous time: I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is. But I thank God, he has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to ly sucking a stinking Tobacco-pipe.” Mrs. Rowlandson would make clothes and barter them to her captors. In this way, for instance, she would obtain a broth thickened with the bark of a tree, and a knife. When Metacom would give her a shilling for making a shirt for his boy, she would offer the shilling to her master and he would allow her to keep it. From Squakeag, the tribe would move up into New Hampshire near the Ashuelot valley and then up to Chesterfield. During this period of her captivity, Mistress Rowlandson would see her son several times, but then he would be sold to a new master and she wouldn’t see him again until he would finally be ransomed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Finally, when she thought she would never be taken eastward again, the group began to retrace its route to Miller’s River, then to Petersham, and finally to Mount Wachusett. Here negotiations for her ransom would begin toward the end of April. On May 2, 1676, Mary Rowlandson would be exchanged at Redemption Rock for a ransom of twenty English pounds. When she would return to Lancaster, there would be not a single English to be seen and not a single house still standing.

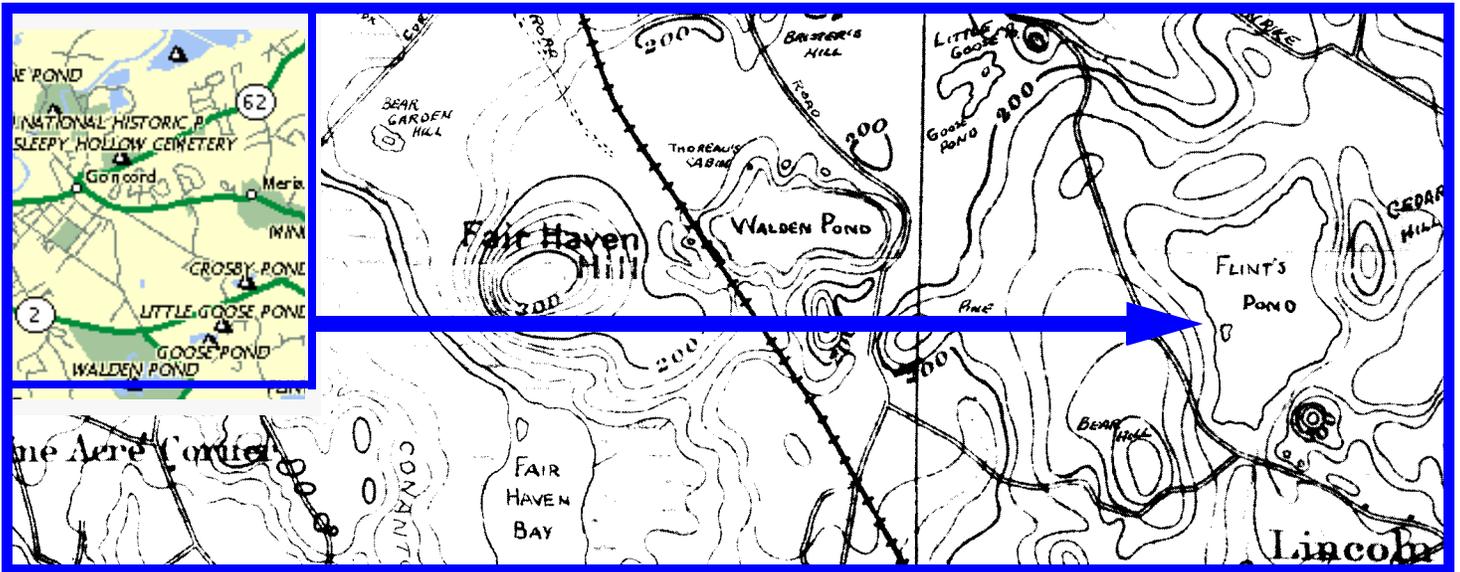
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

On this same date, or perhaps a week later than this: When the Praying Indians of [Concord](#), who were Nashobah, were restricted to within a mile of their settlement on Flint's Pond or Sandy Pond,

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



(or to within a mile from the outskirts of beautiful downtown [Concord](#), for it doesn't seem to be clear where the white people intended their local free-fire zone to begin and end) one of the things this meant was that they would starve. For this restriction prevented them from cultivating their cornfields. During a period of heavy snow the Native American villages of the Concord area, praying-ized by the Reverend John Eliot<sup>64</sup> and not, were surrounded while in their lodges by troops from Marlborough led by Captain Samuel Mosely, roped together at the neck, and herded through Concord to what can only be described as a concentration camp on barren Deer Island, a site chosen of course because no white people had been able to subsist there.<sup>65</sup>

“Tis Satan's policy, to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration.” Most of the hostages would die there of exposure and starvation. There were only 58 of the Reverend Eliot's Praying Indians left in the Concord area, mostly Nashobah women and children. [John Hoar](#) of Concord delegated himself to supervise these people, and built a stockade for them, with workshops, near his home south of the millpond.<sup>66</sup>

64. The Reverend John Eliot was doing what he could to shield his flock “when some of the people of Massachusetts, actuated by the most infuriate spirit, intended to have destroyed them” (ALLEN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY), but his position was inevitably a compromised and therefore a compromising position. It was much easier to make them be Christians than it was to force Christians to treat them like Christians.

65. A concentration camp for Praying Indian hostages would also be set up on Clark's Island, off Plymouth MA.

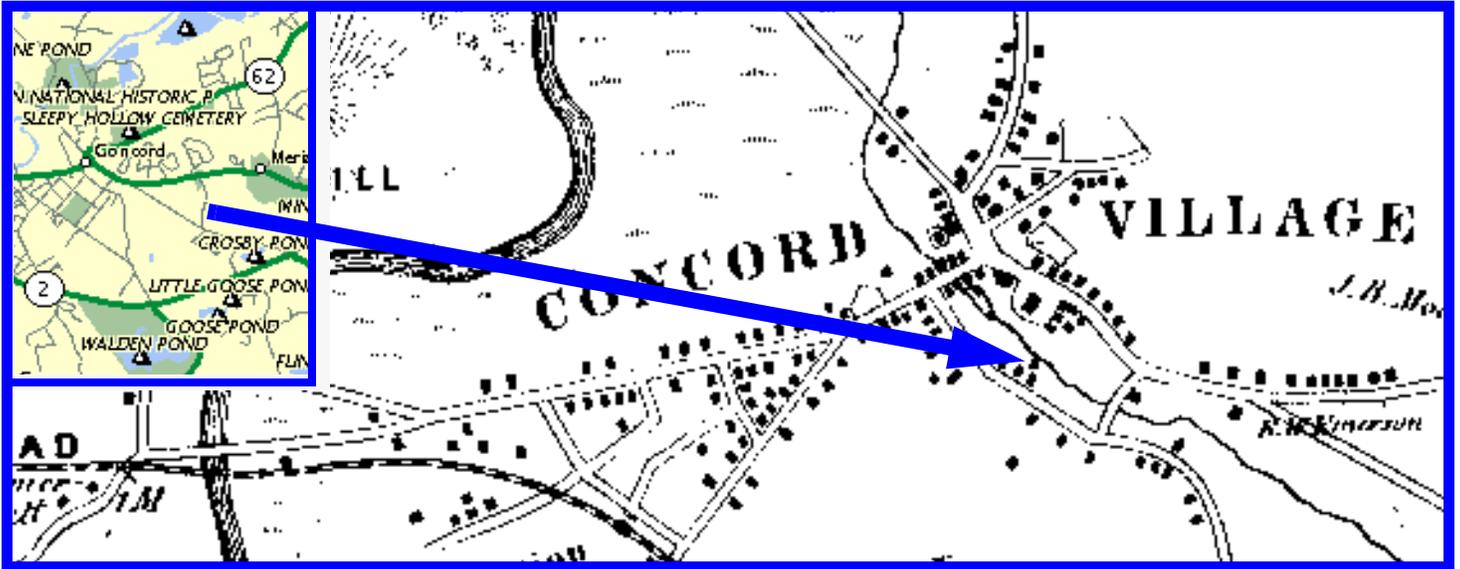
66. The [John Hoar](#) stockade was near where the Alcott home known as “Orchard House” would one day stand.

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These people worked during the day and were locked into the stockade at night, at least in part for their own defense. At one point [John Hoar](#) hitched up an ox team and went back the eleven miles to Nashobah Plantation, to retrieve some of the supply of corn that had been laid by for their winter sustenance. Because of this, these people would be in the very last of the detachments sent out to Deer Island. However, some townspeople were not in favor of this, and surreptitiously sent word to the infamous Captain Samuel Mosely.



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to [Concord](#) and entrusted to [John Hoar](#), who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].

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One Sunday soon afterward Captain Samuel Mosely, acting on his own authority, came with his soldiers to [Concord](#) worship, and afterward addressed the congregation. He then marched out to the Hoar stockade, followed by a rabble of townspeople, and demanded that [John Hoar](#) allow him to “inspect” the remaining Praying Indians. He placed his soldiers on guard around the stockade that night, and the next morning caused the Native Americans to be assembled and marched between two files of horsemen to internment on Deer Island. His soldiers of course stripped the Nashobah even of their shirts and shoes, stealing anything worth taking.<sup>67</sup>



### VALUES TO DEFEND!

The town council of Concord did not reprove Mosely: of course not, for the Nashobah being gone meant more arable fields that could be seized by white farmers.

We have a note that the wife of Joseph Petuhanit<sup>68</sup> was in this group of hostages.

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

67. [Major Daniel Gookin](#), “An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677,” 1836 edition, pages 495-7; MASSACHUSETTS STATE ARCHIVES XXX, 185a.

68. She had a name, but we don’t know it, do we?



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In this timeframe [Nathaniel Wilder](#) and Mary Sawyer Wilder fled to Sudbury, near [Concord](#).

Meanwhile, it has been alleged, on February 10th at their farm near [Concord](#), the white brothers Isaac and Jacob Shepard were being killed by Americans, and their 15-year-old sister Mary Shepard was being kidnapped. —That, however, on the night of the 12th this intrepid Mary would be able to take a saddle from under her kidnapper’s head as he slept, and saddle a horse he had stolen in Lancaster, and swim the Nashua River to safety:



two Men were killed at a Farm about *Concord*, *Iaac* and *Jacob Sheppard* by Name, about the middle of *February*; and a young Maid that was fet to watch upon an Hill, of about 15 Years of Age, was carried Captive; who ftrangely escaped away upon an Horfe that the *Indians* had taken from *Lancafter* a little before.

[Lemuel Shattuck](#) tells us he obtained his information as to this incident from page 25 of “Hubbard. Foster’s Century Sermon”:

About the middle of February, Abraham and Isaac Shepherd were killed near Nashobah in Concord village while threshing grain in their barn. Apprehensive of danger, says tradition, they placed their sister Mary, a girl about fifteen years old, on a hill a little distance off to watch and forewarn them of the approach of an enemy. She was, however, suddenly surprised and captured, and her brothers were slain. She was carried captive into the Indian settlements but with great heroism made her escape. While the Indians were asleep in the night, probably under the influence of spiritous liquors, she seized a horse, which they had a few days before stolen at Lancaster, took a saddle from under the head of her Indian keeper, mounted, swam across the Nashua river and rode through the forest to her home.<sup>69</sup>

Unfortunate for this atrocity story, we can corroborate only that one such [Concord](#) farmer was killed, with the report of the brother seeming to have been merely a doubled report of that one killing, and, since Mary “got away from the Indians” so readily, and since no other traces of these marauding Americans ever turned up, there is a raw possibility, even a probability, that what we had here was a very ordinary family murder,

not interracial at all, involving no strangers at all — a very ordinary family murder of the too-familiar Susan “A Nigger Must Have Done It” Smith variety followed by a criminal fabrication, in which this Mary had offed her loving bro and then blamed the bleeding corpse on persons unknown of another race. (That’s problematic, of course, but please do note, it would be quite as problematic to accept at face value the “ftrangely escaped” above.)

69. [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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The same source lists under the date of March 10th what is apparently yet another version of or exaggeration of the same rumor, that:



At *Concord*, two Men going for Hay, one of them was killed.

We can see here how it has been, that the actual 100-200 white body count of this 18-month race war would become exaggerated over time and retelling, to the point that the war has been characterized as the bloodiest, in terms of percentage of deaths among the white population, of any war in our history, bloodier even than the US Civil War of 1862-1865!



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In 1947, Townsend Scudder told the story in the following manner, on pages 30-31 of his CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN, making the incident responsible for the willingness of the Concordians to have the Praying Indians they had been protecting roped together by the neck and marched down to the racial concentration camp that had been established on Deer Island:



At Nagog Pond, near the deserted Praying Indian village of Nashoba, Isaac Shepard, with his brother Abraham, was threshing grain in the barn. News of the attack on Lancaster had increased the household's caution. To warn of danger, the men posted their fourteen-year-old sister, Mary, on a boulder part way up the snow-covered hillside behind the house. But the pounding of the flails drowned the girl's shriek. A moment later, Isaac Shepard sprawled in death near the musket he had not had time to fire; his brother Abraham lay unconscious near him. From the barricaded house, the two men's wives saw Indians make off with the girl. Abraham Shepard rallied enough to set out through the snow with his dead brother's wife, his own wife, and his wife's small baby, for refuge at Concord. A week later the Shepard girl rode into the village. She told how the Indians had taken her on a three days' journey inland to Winnisimmet – their camp northwest of ruined Brookfield. Many Indians, she said, were at this place. She thought they had other prisoners with them. There, in the night, she had slipped from her captor's wigwam, untethered a horse, then followed her back track home. Concord felt no mood to temporize. The neighborhood was rife with rumors that Praying Indians still at large had taken part in the Lancaster massacre and raid on the Shepard farm. On the Sunday following Mary's return, just as the people were filing into meeting, a troop of horsemen clattered into town. At their head was Captain Samuel Moseley.... If the citizens wished it, he would take these vermin to Deer Island.



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Now more recently, on page 58 of John Hanson Mitchell's WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), an extrabogus version of the Mary Shepard story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations, the native Americans were under the influence of a Warrior Queen, a “renegade leader,” and had killed not two white men but three (the father, in addition to the two brothers), and the sister had been taken to a *wickiup* near Mt. Wachusett, from which she then escaped. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:



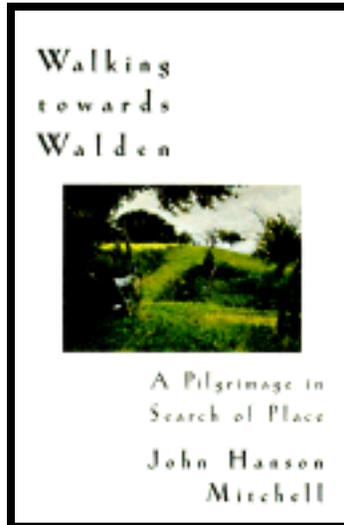
On the western slopes of the hill, in the place known as Quagana Hill, there was a farm held by a family from Concord named Shepard. There were three children in the Shepard family, the youngest of whom, Mary, in 1675 was a fair young woman of some fourteen years. According to the local histories, one February afternoon in 1676, during the hostilities of “King Phillip's War”, Isaac Shepard and his two sons went out to thresh wheat in the barn at the base of Quagana Hill. Mary was posted at the summit to watch for Indians. As subsequent events indicate, Mary was a feisty, independent young woman, but she was not a good guard. Sometime in the afternoon, a small raiding band of Indians fighting in alliance with the great renegade leader Queen Weetamoo attacked the Shepard family; they killed the father and brothers and took Mary prisoner. She was carried down to Weetamoo's camp at Weninessit near present-day Mount Wachusett and imprisoned in one of the wickiups, guarded by the women or one of the warriors, possibly Weetamoo's consort, Netus. That same night, the story goes, she stole a horse and a blanket and escaped. She fled through the primeval wilderness, swam the horse across the Nashua River, and some days later arrived in Concord to report the atrocity.



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According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

2 1676. Feb. 10, 7. Mr. Sanford dyes.

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

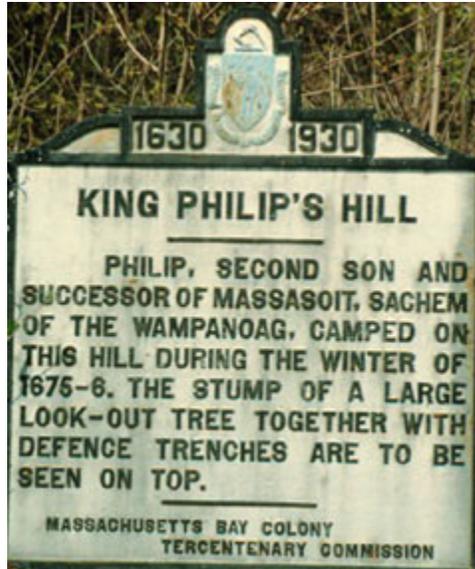


## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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February 14, Monday (1675, Old Style): [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat in the native encampment and waited out her period of affliction, with her sick child upon her knees.



CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

Sachem [Metacom](#), back from his failed diplomatic mission among the *Mohawk* to the west, led the remaining *Wampanoag* warriors in a desperate raid on [Northampton](#).

In Boston, the Massachusetts Council was in debate over the probable effectiveness and cost of a proposal to defend the city by the erection of a defensive wall of stone or wood eight feet in height all the way across from the Charles River to the bay.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



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February 19, Saturday (1675, Old Style): [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was attempting to deal with her distress: On this

In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead they sent for me home to my master's wigwam (by my master in this writing, must be understood Quinnapin, who was a Sagamore, and married King Philip's wife's sister; not that he first took me, but I was sold to him by another Narragansett Indian, who took me when first I came out of the garrison). I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone; there was no resisting, but go I must and leave it. When I had been at my master's wigwam, I took the first opportunity I could get to go look after my dead child. When I came I asked them what they had done with it; then they told me it was upon the hill. Then they went and showed me where it was, where I saw the ground was newly digged, and there they told me they had buried it. There I left that child in the wilderness, and must commit it, and myself also in this wilderness condition, to Him who is above all. God having taken away this dear child, I went to see my daughter Mary, who was at this same Indian town, at a wigwam not very far off, though we had little liberty or opportunity to see one another. She was about ten years old, and taken from the door at first by a Praying Ind. and afterward sold for a gun. When I came in sight, she would fall aweeping; at which they were provoked, and would not let me come near her, but bade me be gone; which was a heart-cutting word to me. I had one child dead, another in the wilderness, I knew not where, the third they would not let me come near to: "Me (as he said) have ye bereaved of my Children, Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin also, all these things are against me." I could not sit still in this condition, but kept walking from one place to another. And as I was going along, my heart was even overwhelmed with the thoughts of my condition, and that I should have children, and a nation which I knew not, ruled over them. Whereupon I earnestly entreated the Lord, that He would consider my low estate, and show me a token for good, and if it were His blessed will, some sign and hope of some relief. And indeed quickly the Lord answered, in some measure, my poor prayers; for as I was going up and down mourning and lamenting my condition, my son came to me, and asked me how I did. I had not seen him before, since the destruction of the town, and I knew not where he was, till I was informed by himself, that he was amongst a smaller parcel of Indians, whose place was about six miles off. With tears in his eyes, he asked me whether his sister Sarah was dead; and told me he had seen his sister Mary; and prayed me, that I would not be troubled in reference to himself. The occasion of his coming to see me at this time, was this: there was, as I said, about six miles from us, a small plantation of Indians, where it seems he had been during his captivity; and at this time, there were some forces of the Ind. gathered out of our company, and some also from them (among whom was my son's master) to go to assault and burn Medfield. In this time of the absence of his master, his dame brought him to see me. I took this to be some gracious answer to my earnest and unfeigned desire.



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day in [Concord](#), according to the Reverend [William Hubbard](#)'s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, a house was torched and three white people murdered by Indians — but, if that happened, it seems to have happened without coming to the attention of the proper local authorities:

Hubbard says the Indians burnt a house and murdered three persons in Concord on the 19th of February but who they were I know not.<sup>70</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The only [Concord](#) involvement that was happening in this timeframe, that we know of, was that the town was sending a company of men to the assistance of the burning towns of Medfield and Groton. According to [Lemuel Shattuck](#):

The latter part of this month they burnt Medfield, and killed 20 of the inhabitants; and on the 13th of March nearly all of Groton was reduced to ashes. Major Willard was engaged in this battle.<sup>71</sup> A company from Concord, and another from Watertown were also there.

70. [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.)

71. Major Willard and his company remained there several days. They were ordered on the 16th if they had “issued that business of Groaten, at least done what you can, and no likelihood of your reaching or engaging the enemy, that you with your forces thereabout keep so scouting or ranging towards Marlborough, as may seasonably give present relief and further prevent what increase may be.” Colony Files.



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February 20, Sunday (1675, Old Style): Nipmuc warriors raided Medfield.



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[Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was attempting to deal with her distress:

The next day, viz. to this, the Indians returned from Medfield, all the company, for those that belonged to the other small company, came through the town that now we were at. But before they came to us, Oh! the outrageous roaring and hooping that there was. They began their din about a mile before they came to us. By their noise and hooping they signified how many they had destroyed (which was at that time twenty-three). Those that were with us at home were gathered together as soon as they heard the hooping, and every time that the other went over their number, these at home gave a shout, that the very earth rung again. And thus they continued till those that had been upon the expedition were come up to the Sagamore's wigwam; and then, Oh, the hideous insulting and triumphing that there was over some Englishmen's scalps that they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them. I cannot but take notice of the wonderful mercy of God to me in those afflictions, in sending me a Bible. One of the Indians that came from Medfield fight, had brought some plunder, came to me, and asked me, if I would have a Bible, he had got one in his basket. I was glad of it, and asked him, whether he thought the Indians would let me read? He answered, yes. So I took the Bible, and in that melancholy time, it came into my mind to read first the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, which I did, and when I had read it, my dark heart wrought on this manner: that there was no mercy for me, that the blessings were gone, and the curses come in their room, and that I had lost my opportunity. But the Lord helped me still to go on reading till I came to Chap. 30, the seven first verses, where I found, there was mercy promised again, if we would return to Him by repentance; and though we were scattered from one end of the earth to the other, yet the Lord would gather us together, and turn all those curses upon our enemies. I do not desire to live to forget this Scripture, and what comfort it was to me.

Now the Ind. began to talk of removing from this place, some one way, and some another. There were now besides myself nine English captives in this place (all of them children, except one woman). I got an opportunity to go and take my leave of them. They being to go one way, and I another, I asked them whether they were earnest with God for deliverance. They told me they did as they were able, and it was some comfort to me, that the Lord stirred up children to look to Him. The woman, viz. goodwife Joslin, told me she should never see me again, and that she could find in her heart to run away. I wished her not to run away by any means, for we were near thirty miles from any English town, and she very big with child, and had but one week to reckon, and another child in her arms, two years old, and bad rivers there were to go over, and we were feeble, with our poor and coarse entertainment. I had my Bible with me, I pulled it out, and asked her whether she would read. We opened the Bible and lighted on Psalm 27, in which Psalm we especially took notice of that, ver. ult., "Wait on the Lord, Be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine Heart, wait I say on the Lord."

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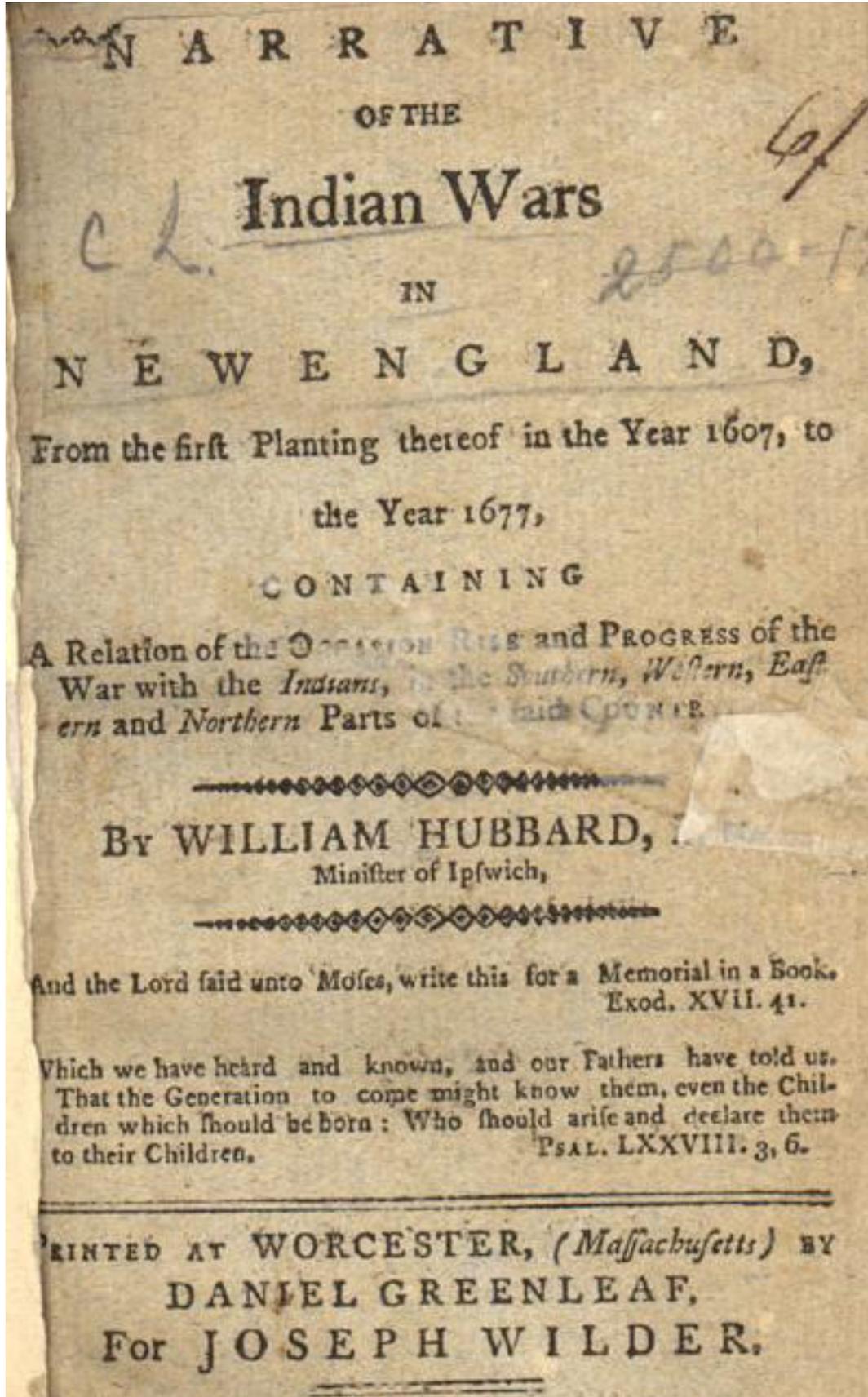
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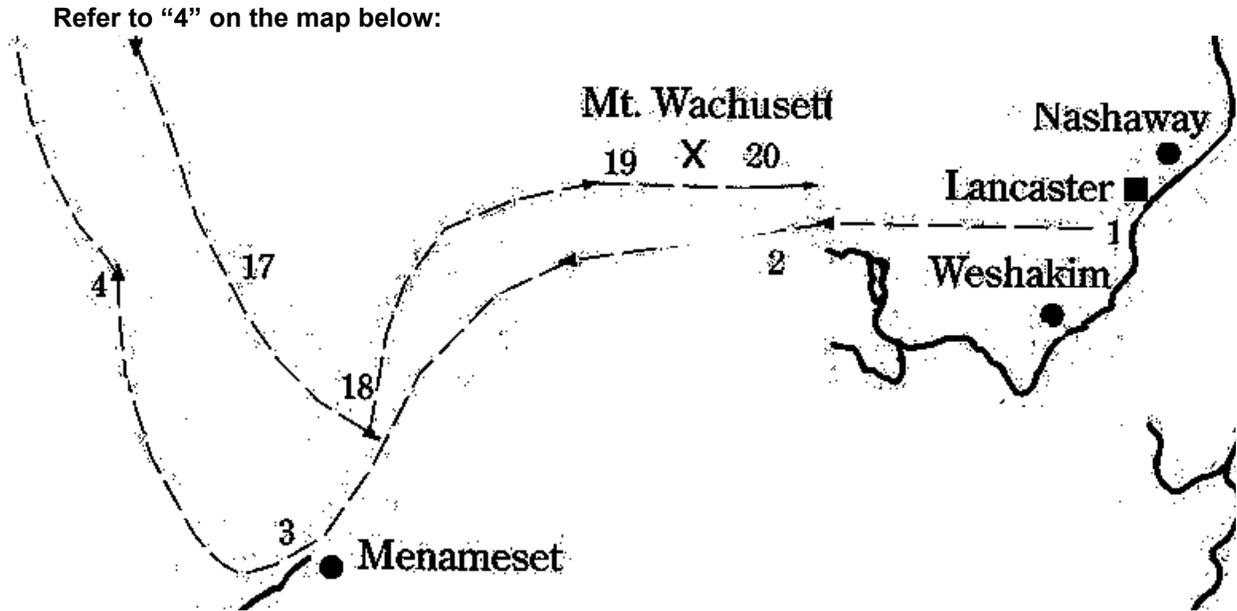
And now I must part with that little company I had. Here I parted from my daughter Mary (whom I never saw again till I saw her in Dorchester, returned from captivity), and from four little cousins and neighbors, some of which I never saw afterward: the Lord only knows the end of them. Amongst them also was that poor woman before mentioned, who came to a sad end, as some of the company told me in my travel: she having much grief upon her spirit about her miserable condition, being so near her time, she would be often asking the Indians to let her go home; they not being willing to that, and yet vexed with her importunity, gathered a great company together about her and stripped her naked, and set her in the midst of them, and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased they knocked her on head, and the child in her arms with her. When they had done that they made a fire and put them both into it, and told the other children that were with them that if they attempted to go home, they would serve them in like manner. The children said she did not shed one tear, but prayed all the while. But to return to my own journey, we traveled about half a day or little more, and came to a desolate place in the wilderness, where there were no wigwams or inhabitants before; we came about the middle of the afternoon to this place, cold and wet, and snowy, and hungry, and weary, and no refreshing for man but the cold ground to sit on, and our poor Indian cheer.

Heart-aching thoughts here I had about my poor children, who were scattered up and down among the wild beasts of the forest. My head was light and dizzy (either through hunger or hard lodging, or trouble or all together), my knees feeble, my body raw by sitting double night and day, that I cannot express to man the affliction that lay upon my spirit, but the Lord helped me at that time to express it to Himself. I opened my Bible to read, and the Lord brought that precious Scripture to me. “Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy” (Jeremiah 31.16). This was a sweet cordial to me when I was ready to faint; many and many a time have I sat down and wept sweetly over this Scripture. At this place we continued about four days.

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Be it duly noted that although Mrs. Rowlandson was offended over the “hideous insulting and triumphing that there was over some Englishmen’s scalps that they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them,” in fact Massachusetts was paying a bounty for native scalps. The reward a white man could get for a human scalp depended on whether he had taken it during service in the regular forces under pay, or as a volunteer in such service, or as an unpaid volunteer, and also on whether it was a man’s, a woman’s, or a child’s scalp that he had to offer. Presumably the officials could discriminate between the large scalp of an adult and the small scalp of a child, and presumably also they could determine by something about the cut of the hair whether the scalp was that of a male or of a female?<sup>72</sup>

In Boston a regiment of some 600 recruits mounted up, their intent being to range the Nipmuc country driving natives from their towns into the shelterless winter forests. Although Plymouth could not contribute its share to this punitive expedition, and Major Savage was able to muster but 300 at Brookfield, the available troops rode toward the town of Menamesit, forcing its inhabitants to flee north into what is now Vermont.

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

72. MASSACHUSETTS COLONY RECORDS, V, page 72; MASSACHUSETTS PROVINCE LAWS, I, pages 176, 211, 292, 558, 594, 600; MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, LXXI, pages 7, 89, 102

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*Dr. Gunning Bish[op] of Elie (Coram Rege) 20 Joh[n] 21.22.23. Chiefly against an anonymous Booke called Naked Truth, a famous & popular Treatise against the Corruption in the Cleargie, but not sound as to its quotations; supposed to have ben the Bish[op] Herefords; & was answered by Dr. Turner: it endeavoring to prove an Equality of Order of Bish[op] & Presbyter: Dr. Gunning asserted the difference of their functions, as divine & absolutely necessarie; implying that their antagonists were Sismatics: I received the B[lessed] Com[munion] at St. Jamess in the morning.*



February 21, Monday (1675, Old Style): Mistress Mary Rowlandson sat reading her BIBLE in the native encampment and waiting out her period of affliction.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

Matters were not nearly so settled on this day in the town of Concord. In particular, it seems nobody there was reading the Bible — or, if they were indeed reading that book, they were not reading it **very carefully**:



Near the end of 1675, John Hoar took a step that, although conforming to the interest of the colony's government, effectively sealed his marginality in Concord. In November, the General Court, having sent the Natick Indians to Deer Island, decided to pull the Nashobah Indians into Concord, "under such care and conduct as might quiet and compose men's minds in those parts." A committee composed of Gookin, Major Simon Willard, and John Eliot rode to Concord to inspect the Indians and find someone to supervise their care, but "there was no man in Concord appered [*sic*] willing to take care of and secure those Indians, but Mr. John Hoare [*sic*], whome [*sic*] the Counsell [*sic*] accepted and approved."

As someone on the community's margins, Hoar may have found it easier to sympathize with the Christian Indians, who were outside both Indian and English society. He soon found his



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decision sorely tested. Hoar had to feed the fifty-eight Nashobahs who pitched their wigwams on his land, and costs piled higher as he began building a “house sutable [*sic*] for to teach them in manufactures.” Like Eliot, Hoar apparently had plans to “civilize” the Indians under his protection by teaching them English skills. Unfortunately, his undertaking came at a time when his neighbors were more than usually unsympathetic to such a project. Writing to the General Court in January 1674/75, Hoar asked, “What way I shall be directed to save the Indians from the insolency of the English, being daily threatned [*sic*] to be shott [*sic*], and one snapt at thrice at my own dore [*sic*] by a Lankastsheir [*sic*] souldier [*sic*].”

The citizens of Concord soon found the presence of Indians intolerable. On February 21, 1676 [this day being described], some of them quietly sent for Samuel Mosely, a man well known for his hatred of Indians. Mosely came with a company of volunteers on the Sabbath, while the town was at worship. He entered the church, waited until the minister had finished speaking, then addressed the congregation: he had heard that the “heathen” living in Concord were a “trouble and disquiet,” and he offered to remove them. Taking a few voiced discouragements as general assent, as soon as the services were dismissed Mosely and his men marched to Hoar’s house, followed by most of the congregation – “a hundred or two of the people, men, women, and children, at their heels.” Hoar, absent from church again, was home when Mosely beat on his door. He permitted Mosely to enter and count the Nashobahs, all of whom were crowded indoors. Mosely said he would provide a corporal and soldiers to guard the Nashobahs, but Hoar insisted that they were secure with him. Nevertheless, Mosely left an armed mob outside the Hoar home that night, where they amused themselves with abusive speeches to the Indians. The next morning, Mosely returned and stated his intention to take the Nashobahs to Boston. Hoar insisted that Mosely produce an order from the Council for their removal. Mosely growled that “his commission to kill and destroy the enemy” was order enough. Hoar, in return, protested that the Nashobahs were not foes but friends and legally under his care. In response, Mosely ordered his men to break down the door and seize the Indians. In the process, Mosely’s crew made off with the Nashobahs’ clothing, dishes, shoes, and other belongings, despite their leader’s command to the contrary.

This scene is rife with examples of the wartime chaos that had replaced the orderly pattern of peacetime authority. Instead of appealing for relief to the Governor and Council at Boston or even to their local leaders, the people of Concord sent for a virtual vigilante, noted for animosity toward all Indians, Not only Mosely’s own volunteer company of former pirates, privateers, and boys too young for impressment, but also a crowd of two hundred men, women, and children lent support to his actions. Backed by Concord *en masse*, Mosely confronted Hoar, the Indians’ lawful guardian, broke down his door and carried the Nashobahs away to Boston and from there to Deer Island. Mosely’s flouting of legitimate authority was contagious: his men ignored his orders and helped themselves to the Indians’ belongings.



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Young Daniel Hoar must have witnessed this episode.... Six months later at Hurtleberry Hill, Daniel in one murderous act both embraced and rejected his father's ambiguous example. This is how the matter was recorded by [Daniel Gookin](#) in his HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND:

there befel another great trouble to the Christian Indians of Nashobah, who sojourned in Concord. The Council had by several orders empowered a committee, who with consent of the selectmen of Concord, settled those Indians at that town, under the government and tuition of Mr. John Hoar. The number of those Indians was about 58, of all sorts, whereof were not above 12 able men, the rest were women and children. These Indians lived very soberly and quietly and industriously, and were all unarmed, neither could any of them be charged with any unfaithfulness to the English interest. In pursuance of this settlement, Mr. Hoar had begun to build a large and convenient work-house for the Indians near his own dwelling, which stood about the midst of the town, and very nigh the town watch-house. This house was made, not only to secure those Indians under lock and key by night, but to imploy them and set them to work by day, whereby they earned their own bread; and in an ordinary way with God's blessing, would have lived well in a short time. But some of the inhabitants of the town, being influenced with a spirit of animosity and distaste against all Indians, disrelished this settlement, and therefore privately sent to a captain of the army (probably Captain Mosely), that quartered his company not far off at the time, of whom they had experience that he would not be backward to put in execution any thing that tended to distress the Praying Indians. For this was the same man that had formerly without order, seized upon divers of the Praying Indians at Marlborough, which brought much trouble and disquiet to the Indians, and was a great occasion of their defection. This captain accordingly came to Concord with a party of his men upon the Sabbath day, into the meeting-house, where the people were convened in the worship of God. And after the exercise was ended, he spake openly to the congregation to this effect: "that he understood, there were some heathen in the town committed to one Hoar, which, he was informed, were a trouble and disquiet to them; that if they desired it he would remove them to Boston." To which speech of his, most of the people were silent, except two or three that encouraged him, he took, it seems, the silence of the rest for consent, and immediately after the assembly were dismissed, he went with three or four files of men, and a hundred or two of the people [with] men, women and children at their heels, and marched away to Mr. Hoar's house; and there demanded of him to see the Indians under his care. Hoar opened the door and showed them to him and they were all numbered and found there. The captain then said to Mr. Hoar that he would have a corporal and soldiers to secure them; but Mr. Hoar answered there was no need of that for they were already secured, and were committed to him by order of the Council, and he would keep and secure them. But yet the captain left his corporal and soldiers there, who were abusive enough to the poor



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Indians by ill language. The next morning the captain came again to take the Indians and send them to Boston. But Mr. Hoar refused to deliver them unless he showed an order of the Council; but the captain could show him none but his commission to kill and destroy the enemy. Mr. Hoar said these were friends and under order; but the captain would not be satisfied with his answer, but commanded his corporal forthwith to break open the door; and take the Indians all away, which was done accordingly; and some of the soldiers plundered the poor creatures of their shirts, shoes, dishes, and such other things as they could lay their hands upon, though the captain commanded them to the contrary. They were all brought to Charlestown with a guard of twenty men. And the captain wrote a letter to the General Court, then sitting, giving them an account of his action. This thing was very offensive to the Council that a private captain should, without commission or some express order do an act so contradictory to their former orders, and the governor and several others spake of it at a conference with the deputies at the General Court, manifesting their dissatisfaction at this great irregularity in setting up a military power in opposition to the chief authority of the country. This thing was very offensive to the Council that a private captain should, without commission or some express order do an act so contradictory to their former orders, and the governor and several others spake of it at a conference with the deputies at the General Court, manifesting their dissatisfaction at this great irregularity in setting up a military power in opposition to the chief authority of the country, declaring of what evil consequence such a precedent was, instancing the evil effects of like practices in England in later times, urging that due testimony might be borne against the same, by the whole court. The deputies seemed generally to agree to the reason of the magistrates in this matter yet, notwithstanding, the captain who appeared in the Court shortly after upon another occasion, met with no rebuke for this high irregularity and arbitrary action. To conclude this matter, those poor Indians, about 58 of them of all sorts, were sent down to Deer Island, there to pass into the furnace of affliction with their brethren and countrymen. But all their corn and other provision, sufficient to maintain them for six months, was lost at Concord, and all their other necessaries, except what the soldiers had plundered. And the poor Indians got very little or nothing of what they lost, but it was squandered away, lost by the removal of Mr. Hoar, and other means, so that they were necessitated to live upon clams as others did, with some little corn provided at the charge of the Honorable Corporation for the Indians, residing in London. Besides, Mr. Hoar lost all his building and other cost, which he had provided for the entertainment and employment of those Indians, which was considerable.

A comment has been added to this by [Lemuel Shattuck](#):

It appears from a manuscript letter of Mr. Hoar in my possession,



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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that the English were very insolent to the Indians, and threatened to destroy them. One of the Lancaster soldiers, stationed at Concord, snapped his gun three times at one of them while standing at Mr. Hoar's door. It is believed, however, that this prejudice existed rather among the soldiers who had witnessed the horrid barbarities of the Indians in other places, and who did not distinguish justly between the friends and enemies of the English, than among the citizens generally. By the influence of this class of men, the unfortunate occurrences detailed above were brought about.<sup>73</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

73. [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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February 23, Wednesday (1675, Old Style): The Connecticut colony departed from its schedule of weekly Fast Days, and observed a day of Thanksgiving which in the midst of its troubles the previous fall, it had considered it necessary to postpone.



In [Boston](#), the Massachusetts General Court debated the fate of Christian Indians being held hostage at island concentration camps (Deer Island, Long Island in Boston Harbor, Clark’s Island, etc.): would it be necessary to slaughter them outright, or would it be better to transport them and sell them into useful slavery? In the end the Council decided to continue to abide in moderation<sup>74</sup> in accordance with the pact that had been entered into in 1644, of mutual protection and subjection between the English and the Indians.

The issue was fraught, as native American assaults were being staged on targets within ten miles of the city and the white people were terrified. The day was being proclaimed as a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat reading her Bible in a native encampment in the inland forest, waiting out her period of affliction.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

74. “Moderation” being of course a relative term, as more than half of these Christian Indians in these exposed island concentration camps were anyway in the process of dying of starvation, illness and exposure during that terrible winter.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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February 28, Monday (1675, Old Style): The native Americans had finally gotten all of their tribe across the swollen river, not an hour too soon, and [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with them in their flight from the English army, clutching her Bible and her faith in the swamp, while attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger:

The greatest number at this time with us were squaws, and they traveled with all they had, bag and baggage, and yet they got over this river aforesaid; and on Monday they set their wigwams on fire, and away they went. On that very day came the English army after them to this river, and saw the smoke of their wigwams, and yet this river put a stop to them. God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us. We were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance. If we had been God would have found out a way for the English to have passed this river, as well as for the Indians with their squaws and children, and all their luggage. “Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries” (Psalm 81.13-14).

On Monday (as I said) they set their wigwams on fire and went away. It was a cold morning, and before us there was a great brook with ice on it; some waded through it, up to the knees and higher, but others went till they came to a beaver dam, and I amongst them, where through the good providence of God, I did not wet my foot. I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own country, and traveling into a vast and howling wilderness, and I understood something of Lot’s wife’s temptation, when she looked back. We came that day to a great swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night. When I came to the brow of the hill, that looked toward the swamp, I thought we had been come to a great Indian town (though there were none but our own company). The Indians were as thick as the trees: it seemed as if there had been a thousand hatchets going at once. If one looked before one there was nothing but Indians, and behind one, nothing but Indians, and so on either hand, I myself in the midst, and no Christian soul near me, and yet how hath the Lord preserved me in safety? Oh the experience that I have had of the goodness of God, to me and mine!

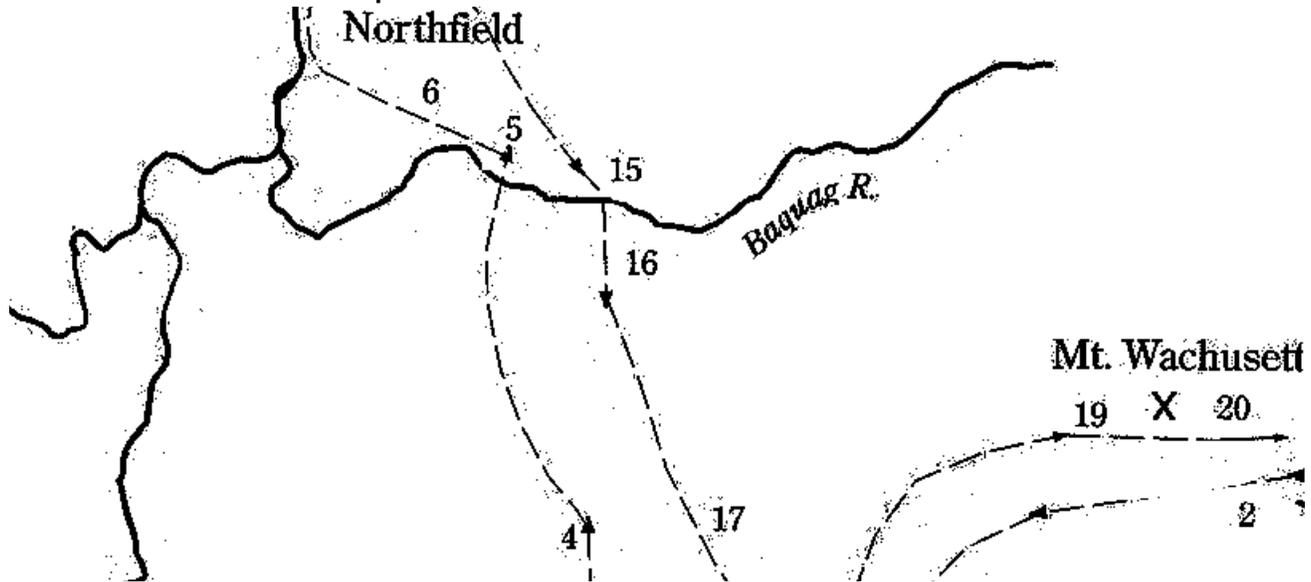
CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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Refer to “6” on the map below:



There were hearsay reports that [Major Daniel Gookin](#)'s life was being threatened on account of his insistence upon decent treatment for the Praying Indians on the barren islands in the harbor. Then a note was found posted around Boston, referring to him as a traitor and advising him “to prepare for deathe.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

February 29, Tuesday (1675, Old Style): The Massachusetts General Court declared itself in regard to the Christian Indians being held hostage on “deare Island” in Boston Harbor. The officer in charge, Captain Daniel HENCHMAN, was to take care to ensure that these natives were working hard and living “soberly & religiously.” The hostages must be guarded by six to eight “English men” to ensure that there were no escapes. They were to be put to work. The owners of Deer Island, Long Island, Potuck Island,<sup>75</sup> and the Brewsters were to be compensated for this public use of their property.<sup>76</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

In England, [John Evelyn](#) –whose family fortune had derived largely from the manufacture of gunpowder– participated in some experiments intended to create a theory of explosion:

*February 19 (Old Style): At the R[oyal] Society Experiments to prove that the force of gunpowder was from the compression of aire in the Cornes.*

75. This name is otherwise unattested, but there was a native headman named Potock, so perhaps this is a reference to his island? – The problem with this hypothesis would be that Potock was chief councillor to the squaw sachem of the Narraganset and his residence was not in the Boston vicinity but near Point Judith, the southerly tip of Rhode Island. Perhaps this island in Boston Harbor was merely some convenient place to which the English had been in the habit of rowing for their holiday potlucks, so that “Potuck Island” means simply “Potluck Island”!

76. Note that no other mention of the Brewsters having been used for such internment has as yet been located, but there has been mention that Clarks Island was so used. None of the documentation having to do with the islands of Boston Harbor, even the most exhaustive, ever mention the name “Potuck,” a name which seems to be Algonquian and seems to have to do with flowing water.



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March [20?] (*Old Style*): Dining at my La[dy] Sunderlands, I saw a fellow swallow a knife, & divers greate pibble stones, which shaking his stomach, would make a plaine rattling one against another: The Knife was in a sheath of horne to bend in:

March 24 (*Old Style*): Goodfriday St. Martines Dr. Doughty (the Dukes Chap[lain]) 1. Pet.2.21 incomparably describing the incomparable sorrows of our Saviours ... Note, that this was the first time Duke appeared no more in the Chappell, to the infinite grieffe and threatnd ruine of this poore Nation: I went to Says-Court.

April 4 (*Old Style*): I went to Lond[on] Visited my L[ord] Marshall, Lord Shaftsbery where I found the Earle of Burlington: I had now notice that Mrs. Godolphin was returning from Paris & landing the 3d at Dover; so I din'd with my L[ord] Sunderland expecting her:

April 6 (*Old Style*): Came my dearest Friend to my greate joy; whom after I had welcom'd, I gave accompt to of her buisnesse, & return'd home.



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#### MARCH

March: In Boston, there was a white riot against the “praying Indians.” There were approximately 400 people being held on Deer Island, trying to live on what they could scavenge at low tide. Some of few adult male Praying Indians in the Deer Island and Long Island and Clark’s Island concentration camps were allowed to go out as scouts, to advise the white soldiers of the disposition of [Metacom](#)’s forces. An attack having been made on an encampment of native Americans near Sudbury MA during the hours of darkness, one of the contemporary white men, a Reverend shepherd of the Gospel named [William Hubbard](#), described the night during which the attack on the sleeping Americans had been made as having been



so dark that an Indian could hardly be discerned from a better Man.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63





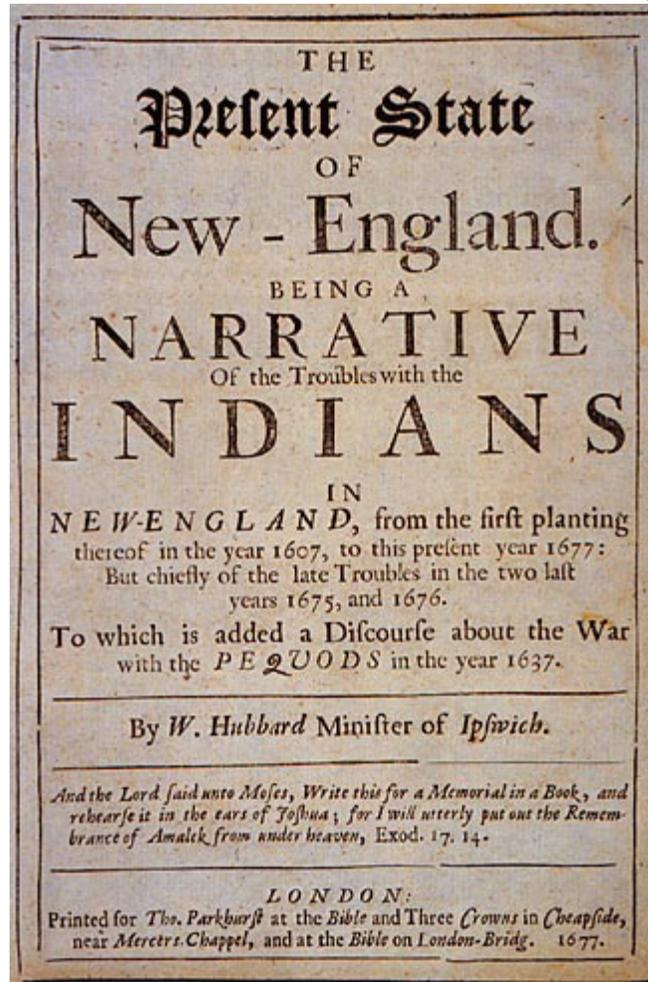
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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Boston, 1677, Volume I, page 208:

The Reverend [William Hubbard](#) Minister of Ipswich's THE *PREFENT STATE* OF NEW-ENGLAND. BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURSE ABOUT THE WAR WITH THE *PEQUODS* IN THE YEAR 1637.<sup>77</sup>



Here, then, was the solution to the colonists' dilemma ... wage the war, and win it, by whatever means necessary, and then write about it, to win it again. The first would be a victory of wounds, the second a victory of words.

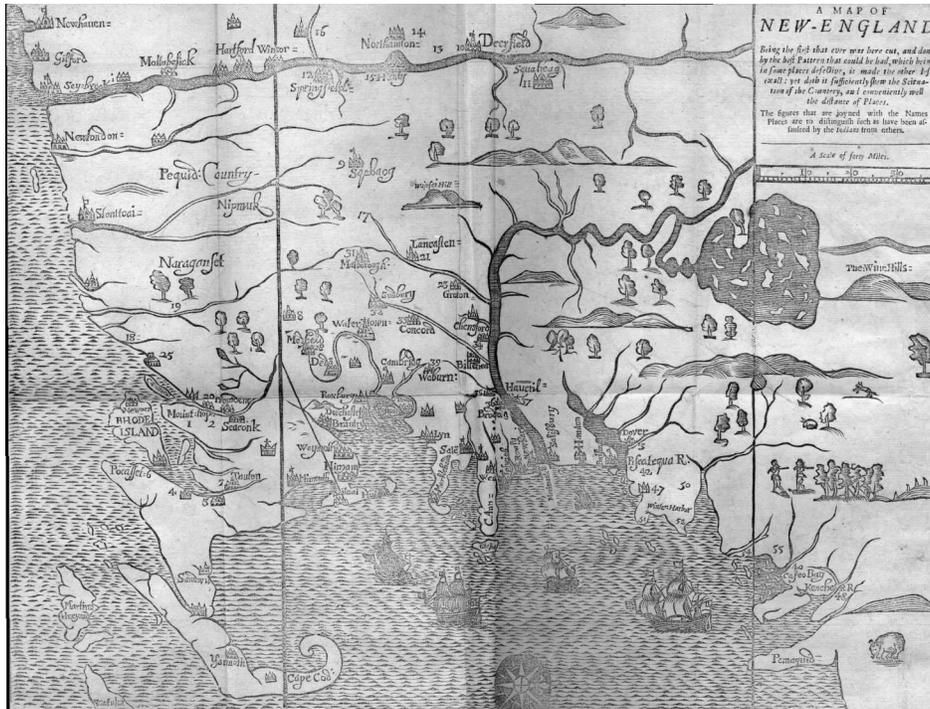
77. This was the title as printed in Boston. The book would be reprinted in England in the same year with a slightly different title.

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The volume contained a 31 x 40 cm. “map of New-England, being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: Yet doth it sufficiently show the situation of the country & conveniently well the distances of places.” The map was prepared by John Foster (1648-1681) and was oriented with north to the right, with relief pictorially depicted. “The figures that are joyned with the names of places are to distinguish such as have been assaulted by Indians from others.”



This map would be reissued in 1846 in Boston in conjunction with another early map, made in 1634 by William Wood, as a lithograph by William B. Fowle. These were the 1st maps to show both the Algonquian name “Musketaquid” and the English name “[Concord](#),” for the 1st inland settlement. Copies of the original maps are at the Boston Public Library and at the Boston Athenaeum.

I don’t have a copy of the 1677 edition to show you, but here is the title page of the 1801 reprinting that was done in Worcester, Massachusetts by David Greenleaf for Joseph Wilder:

Faced with this sort of race threat from the rampaging white folks, Andrew Pittimee volunteered to lead six of the native men from the Deer Island concentration camp as native escorts for the white men venturing into the forests, under Major Thomas Savage, and thus become acceptable to the whites as “improved in the service of the country.”

During this month a Quaker of Sandwich named Edward Perry was passing it around that he had received a message from God. He demanded that the governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies publish the message which he had received, which was to the effect that the current race troubles were a visitation from God, due to the general sinfulness of the white people. As you might imagine, God had specifically cited to him persecution of Quakers, as an instance of this rampant sinfulness which was being punished.<sup>78</sup>



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March 10, Tuesday (1675, Old Style): The [Plymouth](#) court fined 18 potential militiamen for “not going forth being pressed,” which is to say, for refusing to serve in the local military. Nine of these 18 were [Quakers](#) of Sandwich and Scituate:

- Friend Daniel Butler
- Friend Zacharia Jenkins
- Friend Ephraim Allen
- Friend William Allen
- Friend Zachariah Colman
- Friend Joseph Colman
- Friend Thomas Colman
- Friend John Rance
- Friend John Northy

Three other [Quakers](#) also were refuseniks, but evidently had refused even to make an appearance before this court:

- Friend Israel Gaunt
- Friend Increase Allen
- Friend Obadiah Butler

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

78. I like to imagine God here as he would be played by George Burns. Refer to Massachusetts State Archives, CCXLI, 284. We may note in the Cotton papers, Part VI, pages 25-6, some writings by the Reverend Thomas Walley of Barnstable which respond to this allegation: First, “A Quaker told me it [God’s wrathfulness] was for saying in my sermon they were blasphemers and idolators and for the persecution they have had from us but I judg we may as well feare its our suffering the publik exercise of their false worship.” A few days later, “I am not for cruelty yet I judg there should at lest be a restraint of all publik false worship.”

HDT

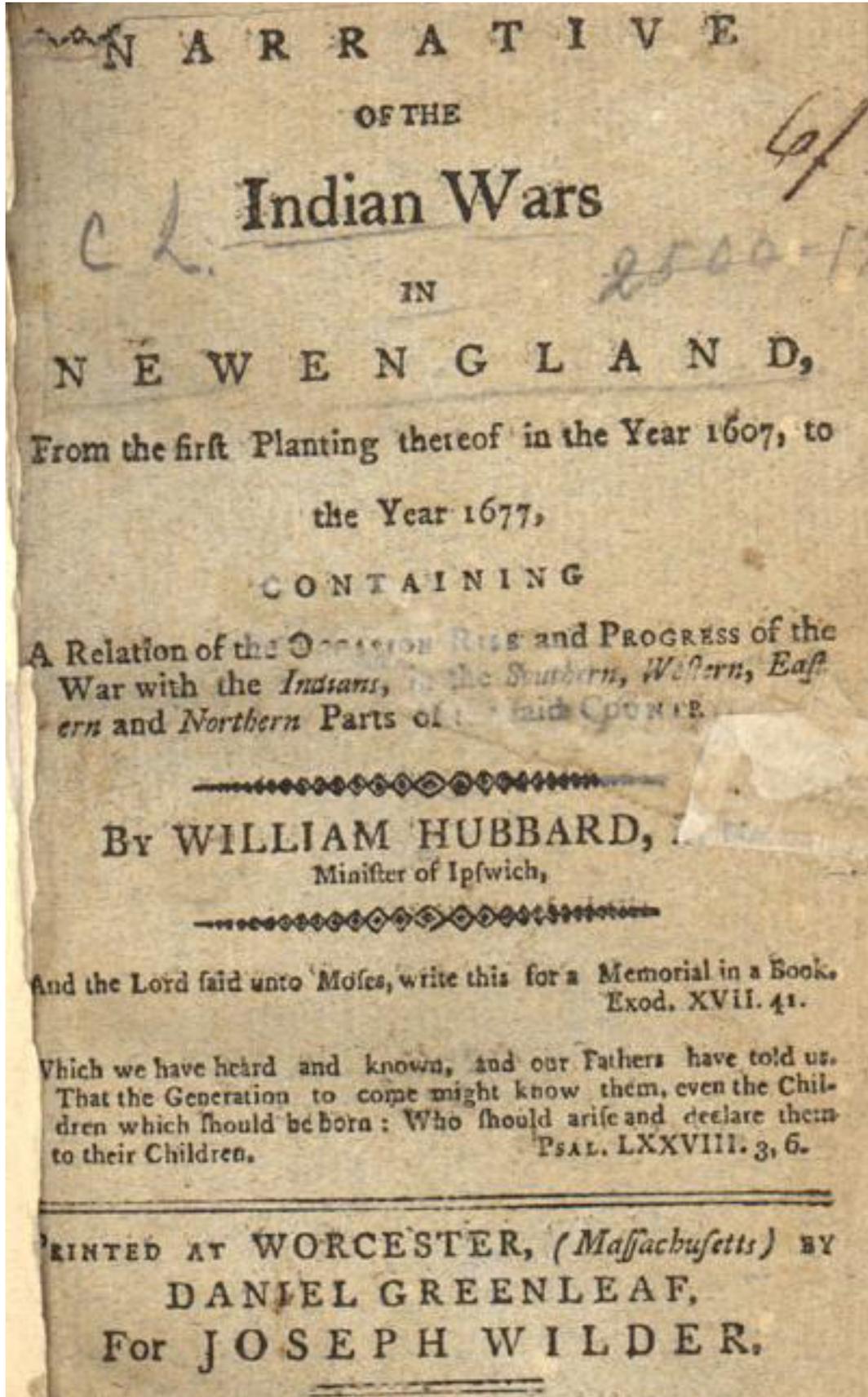
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### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Presumably, then, this would be one of the 13 town residents who are listed in the statistics as having died during this year:

	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1656	3	11	—
1657	3	11	3
1658	3	6	3
1659	2	10	4
1660	6	11	3
1661	2	12	6
1662	4	14	4
1663	5	14	4
1664	4	11	2
1665	7	13	6
1666	2	22	6
1667	8	15	6



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1668	4	21	5
1669	4	24	5
1670	2	21	2
1671	6	22	7
1672	5	20	3
1673	6	29	6
1674	3	20	5
1675	5	21	11
1676	4	13	13
1677	11	22	6

March 13, Monday (1675, Old Style): According to Dr. [Lemuel Shattuck's A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#), there was an attack on this day on Groton by a group of Nipmuc warriors led by One-Eyed John, and its white residents, abandoning their property to destruction, sought personal refuge at [Concord](#).

The latter part of this month they burnt Medfield, and killed 20 of the inhabitants; and on the 13th of March nearly all of Groton was reduced to ashes. Major Willard was engaged in this battle.<sup>79</sup> A company from [Concord](#), and another from Watertown were also there.

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### READ THE FULL TEXT

The Reverend [Samuel Willard](#) of Groton, however, relocated to [Boston](#), and eventually he would be installed at the Old South Church there as colleague pastor with the Reverend Mr. Thacher.

The Reverend William Hubbard's A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, had indicated that this attack occurred on March 2d, with the white soldiers arriving on March 3d:

They assaulted Groton: The next day (overnight) Major Willard with seventy horse came into town: forty foot (soldiers) also

79. Major Willard and his company remained there several days. They were ordered on the 16th if they had “issued that business of Groaten, at least done what you can, and no likelihood of your reaching or engaging the enemy, that you with your forces thereabout keep so scouting or ranging towards Marlborough, as may seasonably give present relief and further prevent what increase may be.” Colony Files.



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came to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled having first burnt all the houses in town save four that were garrisoned, the meeting house being the 2nd house they fired. Soon after, Capt. Sill was sent with a small party of dragoons of eight files to fetch off the inhabitants of Groton, and what was left from the spoil of the enemy, having under his conduct sixty carts, being in depth from front to rear above two miles, when a party of Indians lying in ambush at a place of eminent advantage fired upon the front and mortally wounded two of the first carriers, who both died the next night.... Soon after, this village was deserted, and destroyed by the enemy, yet it was a special providence that though the carts were guarded with so slender a convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.

I don't know how to account for the date discrepancy except to suspect that the Hubbard source, published in 1677, may have been using old style dates whereas the Shattuck source, published in 1835, would definitely have been employing new style dates. (However, making such an adjustment of ten days between the old calendar and the new calendar removes only most of the account discrepancy, not all of it.)

March 14, Tuesday (1675, Old Style): While [Major Simon Willard](#) was absent with his troops, 66 homes in Groton were burned including his home.

Captain Daniel Henchman reported to the Massachusetts Council that the Praying Indians concentrated on barren islands in Boston Harbor (the Deer Island, Long Island, and Clark's Island concentration camps) were “in great distress for want of food for themselves wives & children.”

March 14th, the Council ordered “that the committees of militia of [Concord](#) and Sudbury doe forthwith impress so many carts as may bee sufficient to bring off the goods and provisions belonging to the people left at Lancaster, unto Concord or any other towne, they desire to come unto; and for guarding the said carts it is ordered that Sargeant Lamson, commander of the garrison soldiers at Lancaster, do send two files of soldiers to guard the said carts up and down.” Besides the inhabitants of Lancaster, several of Groton and other frontier towns resided in Concord till after the peace.<sup>80</sup>

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

March 15 (1675, Old Style): A committee was appointed to plan for the safety of the frontier (interior) towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This committee was made up of Captain Hugh Mason of Watertown, Jonathan Danforth of Cambridge, and Richard Lowdon. This committee would make its report on March 28th.

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

80. [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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Anonymous: **A Continuation** Of the STATE of **NEW-ENGLAND** ; Being a Farther ACCOUNT of the **Indian Warr** , And of the Engagement betwixt the Joynt Forces of the United *Englilh* Collonies and the *Indians*, on the 19th of *December 1675*. With the true Number of the Slain and Wounded, and the Tranfactions of the *Englilh* Army fince the faid Fight. With all other Paffages that have there Hapned from the 10th. of *November, 1675*. to the 8th. of *February 167 $\frac{5}{6}$* . Together with an Account of the intended Rebellion of the *Negroes* in the *Barbados*. Licenfed *March 17. 1676*. *Henry Oldenburg*. LONDON, Printed by *T.M.* for *Dorman Newman*, at the *Kings Armes* in the *Poultry, 1676*.

March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Later on in March: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger:

[next screen]



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:****“KING PHILLIP”****PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

The Thirteenth Remove: Instead of going toward the Bay, which was that I desired, I must go with them five or six miles down the river into a mighty thicket of brush; where we abode almost a fortnight. Here one asked me to make a shirt for her papoose, for which she gave me a mess of broth, which was thickened with meal made of the bark of a tree, and to make it the better, she had put into it about a handful of peas, and a few roasted ground nuts. I had not seen my son a pretty while, and here was an Indian of whom I made inquiry after him, and asked him when he saw him. He answered me that such a time his master roasted him, and that himself did eat a piece of him, as big as his two fingers, and that he was very good meat. But the Lord upheld my Spirit, under this discouragement; and I considered their horrible addictedness to lying, and that there is not one of them that makes the least conscience of speaking of truth. In this place, on a cold night, as I lay by the fire, I removed a stick that kept the heat from me. A squaw moved it down again, at which I looked up, and she threw a handful of ashes in mine eyes. I thought I should have been quite blinded, and have never seen more, but lying down, the water run out of my eyes, and carried the dirt with it, that by the morning I recovered my sight again. Yet upon this, and the like occasions, I hope it is not too much to say with Job, "Have pity upon me, O ye my Friends, for the Hand of the Lord has touched me." And here I cannot but remember how many times sitting in their wigwams, and musing on things past, I should suddenly leap up and run out, as if I had been at home, forgetting where I was, and what my condition was; but when I was without, and saw nothing but wilderness, and woods, and a company of barbarous heathens, my mind quickly returned to me, which made me think of that, spoken concerning Sampson, who said, "I will go out and shake myself as at other times, but he wist not that the Lord was departed from him." About this time I began to think that all my hopes of restoration would come to nothing. I thought of the English army, and hoped for their coming, and being taken by them, but that failed. I hoped to be carried to Albany, as the Indians had discoursed before, but that failed also. I thought of being sold to my husband, as my master spake, but instead of that, my master himself was gone, and I left behind, so that my spirit was now quite ready to sink. I asked them to let me go out and pick up some sticks, that I might get alone, and pour out my heart unto the Lord. Then also I took my Bible to read, but I found no comfort here neither, which many times I was wont to find. So easy a thing it is with God to dry up the streams of Scripture comfort from us. Yet I can say, that in all my sorrows and afflictions, God did not leave me to have my impatience work towards Himself, as if His ways were unrighteous. But I knew that He laid upon me less than I deserved. Afterward, before this doleful time ended with me, I was turning the leaves of my Bible, and the Lord brought to me some Scriptures, which did a little revive me, as that [in] Isaiah 55.8: "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

[METACOM](#)

And also that [in] Psalm 37.5: “Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass.” About this time they came yelping from Hadley, where they had killed three Englishmen, and brought one captive with them, viz. Thomas Read. They all gathered about the poor man, asking him many questions. I desired also to go and see him; and when I came, he was crying bitterly, supposing they would quickly kill him. Whereupon I asked one of them, whether they intended to kill him; he answered me, they would not. He being a little cheered with that, I asked him about the welfare of my husband. He told me he saw him such a time in the Bay, and he was well, but very melancholy. By which I certainly understood (though I suspected it before) that whatsoever the Indians told me respecting him was vanity and lies. Some of them told me he was dead, and they had killed him; some said he was married again, and that the Governor wished him to marry; and told him he should have his choice, and that all persuaded I was dead. So like were these barbarous creatures to him who was a liar from the beginning. As I was sitting once in the wigwam here, Philip’s maid came in with the child in her arms, and asked me to give her a piece of my apron, to make a flap for it. I told her I would not. Then my mistress bade me give it, but still I said no. The maid told me if I would not give her a piece, she would tear a piece off it. I told her I would tear her coat then. With that my mistress rises up, and take up a stick big enough to have killed me, and struck at me with it. But I stepped out, and she struck the stick into the mat of the wigwam. But while she was pulling of it out I ran to the maid and gave her all my apron, and so that storm went over.

Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and told him his father was well, but melancholy. He told me he was as much grieved for his father as for himself. I wondered at his speech, for I thought I had enough upon my spirit in reference to myself, to make me mindless of my husband and everyone else; they being safe among their friends. He told me also, that awhile before, his master (together with other Indians) were going to the French for powder; but by the way the Mohawks met with them, and killed four of their company, which made the rest turn back again, for it might have been worse with him, had he been sold to the French, than it proved to be in his remaining with the Indians.

I went to see an English youth in this place, one John Gilbert of Springfield. I found him lying without doors, upon the ground. I asked him how he did? He told me he was very sick of a flux, with eating so much blood. They had turned him out of the wigwam, and with him an Indian papoose, almost dead (whose parents had been killed), in a bitter cold day, without fire or clothes. The young man himself had nothing on but his shirt and waistcoat. This sight was enough to melt a heart of flint. There they lay quivering in the cold, the youth round like a dog, the papoose stretched out with his eyes and nose and mouth full of dirt, and yet alive, and groaning. I advised John to go and get to some fire. He told me he could not stand, but I persuaded him still, lest he should lie there and die. And with much ado I got him to a fire, and went myself home.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

As soon as I was got home his master's daughter came after me, to know what I had done with the Englishman. I told her I had got him to a fire in such a place. Now had I need to pray Paul's Prayer "That we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men" (2 Thessalonians 3.2). For her satisfaction I went along with her, and brought her to him; but before I got home again it was noised about that I was running away and getting the English youth, along with me; that as soon as I came in they began to rant and domineer, asking me where I had been, and what I had been doing? and saying they would knock him on the head. I told them I had been seeing the English youth, and that I would not run away. They told me I lied, and taking up a hatchet, they came to me, and said they would knock me down if I stirred out again, and so confined me to the wigwam. Now may I say with David, "I am in a great strait" (2 Samuel 24.14). If I keep in, I must die with hunger, and if I go out, I must be knocked in head. This distressed condition held that day, and half the next. And then the Lord remembered me, whose mercies are great. Then came an Indian to me with a pair of stockings that were too big for him, and he would have me ravel them out, and knit them fit for him. I showed myself willing, and bid him ask my mistress if I might go along with him a little way; she said yes, I might, but I was not a little refreshed with that news, that I had my liberty again. Then I went along with him, and he gave me some roasted ground nuts, which did again revive my feeble stomach.

Being got out of her sight, I had time and liberty again to look into my Bible; which was my guide by day, and my pillow by night. Now that comfortable Scripture presented itself to me, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee" (Isaiah 54.7). Thus the Lord carried me along from one time to another, and made good to me this precious promise, and many others. Then my son came to see me, and I asked his master to let him stay awhile with me, that I might comb his head, and look over him, for he was almost overcome with lice. He told me, when I had done, that he was very hungry, but I had nothing to relieve him, but bid him go into the wigwams as he went along, and see if he could get any thing among them. Which he did, and it seems tarried a little too long; for his master was angry with him, and beat him, and then sold him. Then he came running to tell me he had a new master, and that he had given him some ground nuts already. Then I went along with him to his new master who told me he loved him, and he should not want. So his master carried him away, and I never saw him afterward, till I saw him at Piscataqua in Portsmouth.

That night they bade me go out of the wigwam again. My mistress's papoose was sick, and it died that night, and there was one benefit in it—that there was more room. I went to a wigwam, and they bade me come in, and gave me a skin to lie upon, and a mess of venison and ground nuts, which was a choice dish among them. On the morrow they buried the papoose, and afterward, both morning and evening, there came a company to mourn and howl with her; though I confess I could not much condole with them.

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Many sorrowful days I had in this place, often getting alone. "Like a crane, or a swallow, so did I chatter; I did mourn as a dove, mine eyes ail with looking upward. Oh, Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me" (Isaiah 38.14). I could tell the Lord, as Hezekiah, "Remember now O Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth." Now had I time to examine all my ways: my conscience did not accuse me of unrighteousness toward one or other; yet I saw how in my walk with God, I had been a careless creature. As David said, "Against thee, thee only have I sinned": and I might say with the poor publican, "God be merciful unto me a sinner." On the Sabbath days, I could look upon the sun and think how people were going to the house of God, to have their souls refreshed; and then home, and their bodies also; but I was destitute of both; and might say as the poor prodigal, "He would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him" (Luke 15.16). For I must say with him, "Father, I have sinned against Heaven and in thy sight." I remembered how on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family was about me, and relations and neighbors with us, we could pray and sing, and then refresh our bodies with the good creatures of God; and then have a comfortable bed to lie down on; but instead of all this, I had only a little swill for the body and then, like a swine, must lie down on the ground. I cannot express to man the sorrow that lay upon my spirit; the Lord knows it. Yet that comfortable Scripture would often come to mind, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee."

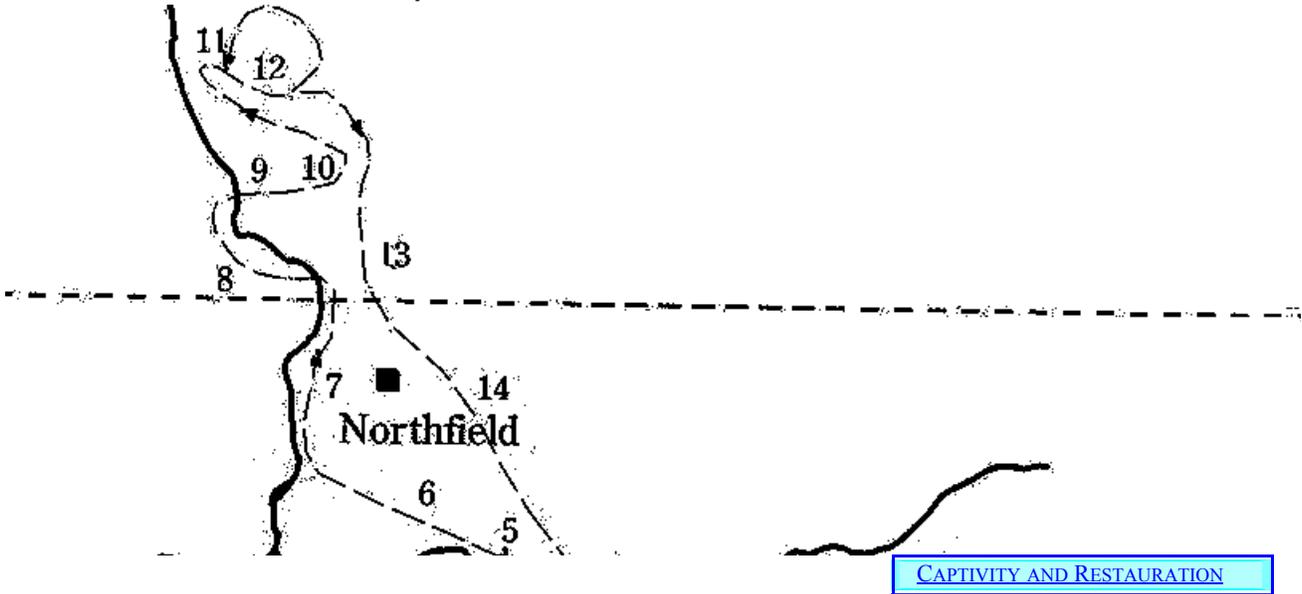
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Refer to “13” on the map below:



March 26, Sunday (Old Style): American attacks were staged on the English settlements at Longmeadow, Marlborough, and Simsbury. Mendon and Wrentham were evacuated. Although the citizens of Marlborough had become war refugees, it was decided that due to the strategic location a garrison of soldiers would need to maintain themselves in a fortified house there.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

After the Plymouth force had staged its assault on the principal village of the [Narragansett](#) in the Great Swamp near [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), the surviving Narragansett –who had to this point been neutral– of necessity had joined with the surviving Wampanoag. That Great Swamp Fight had taken the lives, by some accounts, of some 300 braves and almost 400 women and children. During the following spring the merged groups were seeking their vengeance. Captain Michael Peirce of Scituate led a detachment in pursuit of Miantonomi’s son, the sachem Canonchet, at Quisnicket near [Pawtucket](#), but within the original limits of Bristol County (this happened near what is now Lincoln Woods Park in [Lincoln, Rhode Island](#)). They had marched to [Taunton](#), and then along the Old Seacunke Road to [Rehoboth](#) (East Providence), and then had come north along the east side of the Seekonk. On this day a war party led by chief sachem Canonchet successfully ambushed and overwhelmed Captain Pierce’s company of approximately 63 or 65 Englishmen and 20 native Cape Cod auxiliaries on the banks of the [Blackstone River](#) in present-day [Central Falls](#) somewhere near

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.<sup>81</sup> Several of the native American guides from Cape Cod were able to escape alive by various subterfuges. Actually, it seems the American natives lost more warriors in this fight than the English. Supposedly, nine of the white warriors were captured and would be conveyed to a spot in [Cumberland](#) that now goes under the name “Nine Men’s Misery,” and there killed.<sup>82</sup>



A messenger had been sent to [Providence](#) for aid, before the ambush, but had been, according to tradition, too pious to interrupt a church service in progress when he arrived. After he had waited outside the church for hours while the long service proceeded, his message was too late the relief force being able only to bury the scalped bodies. (A few days later Canonchet would be captured and executed.)

81. It would appear that at least some of the white soldiers who were cut down fighting back-to-back in that “double-double ring” were [Quakers](#) who had abandoned their Peace Testimony for the duration of the race war — because Benjamin Tompson would memorialize them as such in his canto “New-Englands Tears For Her Present Miseries”:

Here Captious ones, without their Queries lie,  
 The Quaker here, the Presbyterian by.  
 The Scruple dormant lies of thee and thou,  
 And most as one to Deaths dominion bow.

Among the fallen fighters whom we imagine probably to have been armed Quakers were:

- Friend Stephen Wing, Jr. of Sandwich
- Friend Samuel Bourman or Bowerman of Barnstable
- Friend John Sprague of Duxbury

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

82. According to Sidney Rider the common accounts of the episode are based mainly on legend. For instance, the [Cumberland](#) monument, which happens to be the first ever erected to American white fighters, states that these victims were the “pursued,” as if they had been seeking to avoid this, when actually they were very much the pursuers and had been out looking for a fight. The location now identified by this name on the grounds of the Edward J. Hayden library on Diamond Hill Road is highly questionable as having any relation to the events as they actually happened. Bicknell reports that the skulls of the nine victims were found in the 1960s in the basement of the Rhode Island Historical Society on Brook Street in [Providence](#), where they had been stored after being recovered in an 1800s antiquarian dig.

Among the skulls, that of Benjamin Buckland of Rehoboth was easy to identify, because he (like headman *Taoyateduta* in Minnesota in a subsequent race war) had a double set of teeth.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

March 27, Monday (Old Style): Nipmuc warriors attacked the English army near Sudbury.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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.”<sup>83</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

 March 29, Wednesday (Old Style): At the beginning of King Philip’s War, [Providence](#) had been neutral and this neutrality had been respected by the Wampanoag. However, whites from Providence and another [Rhode Island](#) town had joined the United Colonies army as it marched had through on its way to the “Great Swamp Fight” in which so many [Narragansett](#) and Wampanoag had been killed, and after which so many had starved because their winter supplies had burned. On this day, therefore, with only some 30 whites of the 500 residents of [Providence](#) remaining in the vicinity, the English settlement was raided. Only one man and one woman were killed during the general torching of the empty houses of the town. The man was named Wright. This resident had trusted in the power of the BIBLE to save him, and had remained in his house clutching this book. The native American torch party, encountering this intransigence, “ripped him open, and put his BIBLE in his belly.” The woman was a [Quaker](#): Friend Elizabeth Sucklin. All the other 30-odd remaining residents had taken refuge in garrison houses and these garrison houses were not attacked. “Elizabeth Sucklin was preparing to goe from Her own Hous to A Fort but delaying they Killed Her.” “The House of John Smith where the Town records were Kept, was burnt with about 26 Others, but the Record was mostly thrown into the Mill Pond, afterward carried to Newport for Safety and brought back the 27th of April next year 1677.” The native attackers did not torch the house that had been erected by Samuel Whipple on the north side of Abbott Street to the east of the Town Street that is now North Main, possibly because they were aware that it had been being used for religious meetings. Allegedly, during this general torching, an exceedingly strange meeting took place. The Reverend [Roger Williams](#), age 77, allegedly walked out into the forest, with his home and 71 other homes in smouldering ashes behind him (another source says 54 houses were torched, another that 27 were torched: whatever, we know that of the entire town, only two houses survived), and allegedly he remonstrated with the [Narragansett](#)

83. [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.)

# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

warriors.



To their claim that

“God was [with] them and Had forsaken us for they had so prospered in Killing and Burning us far beyond What we did against them,”

the famous Reverend allegedly responded

“God had prospered **us** so that wee had driven the Wampanoag with Phillip out of his Countrie....”





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

In other words, we have here really does amount to a couple of strange strangenesses:

1stly, we have here a purported historical record of an encounter in which we might have presumed the incautious reverend was going to get his incautious ass murderized whereas nothing of that sort occurred;

2dly, we have here a record of a bunch of guys supposedly more influenced or less influenced by Christianity, who all seem to be presuming equally as they stand around at the forest margin, chit-chatting about deep theology, that whatever best succeeds in this world *ipso facto* constitutes human righteousness!

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

WAMPANOAG

March 31, Friday (Old Style): The Massachusetts Council released *Nepanet* Tom Dublett (Praying Indian, 3d husband of *Kehonosquah* Sarah Doublett) from its Deer Island concentration camp and sent him off into the forest to deliver the following message to *Quinnapin*, a [Narragansett](#) leader, and *Weetamoo*, the “squaw sachem” of [Pocasset](#), the captors of [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#):

*Intelligence is Come to us that you have some English (especially women and children) in Captivity among you. Wee have therefore sent this messenger offering to redeeme them either for payment in goods or wampum, or by exchange of prisoners.... If you have any among you that can write your Answer to this our messenger, wee desire it in writing, and to that end have sent paper pen and Incke ... provided he [your messenger] Come unarmed and Carry a white flagge upon a staffe vissible to be seene, which wee call a flagg of truce; and is used by civil nations in tyme of warre.*

[Friend](#) “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was killed at [Pocasset](#), now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry (be careful not to confuse this location with Pocasset, Massachusetts), and his body found in a stream which would come to be known as the Sin and Flesh Brook. (At the end of the race war  a native American named Manasses Molasses suspected of having killed this [Quaker](#) would be sold into slavery.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### APRIL

April 3, Monday (Old Style): Canonchet was being closely pursued in or near [Pawtucket](#) and to run faster, threw off his blanket, his silver-trimmed coat, and his belt of wampum. When, in trying to ford the river, he slipped and got his gun wet, it seems this took the starch out of him. He meekly surrendered and was then executed. The whites carried his head to Hartford.

During this month [Boston](#) itself was considered to be threatened (the white people had always had the natives outnumbered eight to one, and at this point they had them on the run — but never mind, fantasies are fantasies):

The month of April witnessed other horrible events to this county. Having destroyed most of the remote towns, the Indians looked to those remaining, and formed a determination to destroy them also. At this time they collected in great numbers, and approached nearest to Boston; and the colonists were called upon to make the most vigorous defence.<sup>84</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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April 10, Monday (Old Style): In Woburn MA, Samuel Richardson’s wife and children were killed by Indians.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#), on this day the governor of Connecticut was being buried:

April 5, Wednesday, Governour Winthrop dyes. Interred old Burying place Monday following.

#### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

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April 12, Wednesday (Old Style): The messenger Tom Dublett, (*Nepanet*, 3d husband of Sarah Doublett), returned to Boston with a letter written by Peter Jethro and signed by the Nipmuck sachems Sam and *Kutquen Quano-hit*. Although this response amounted to a blunt refusal of the white offer to pay ransom or to exchange hostages, such negotiations would of course continue.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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After April 12, Wednesday and before April 21, Friday (Old Style): Tom Dublett (*Nepanet*, 3d husband of Sarah Doublett), with Peter Conway, or *Tatatiquinea*, set out to carry a second letter from the Massachusetts Council into the forest. When Mistress Mary Rowlandson would see them she would burst into tears — so overcome would she be that she would take them by the hand despite the fact that “they were Indians”!

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

84. [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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

April 20, Thursday (Old Style): [Boston](#) observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Six days earlier, Elder [John Clarke](#) had been summoned to attend a meeting of the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), which had written him that it desired “to have the advice and concurrence of the most judicious inhabitants in the troublous times and straits into which the colony has been brought.” On this day he died in Newport, but not so suddenly as to be unable to make out a last will and testament. He left a confession of his Calvinist doctrine “so clear and Scriptural that [it] might stand as the confession of faith of Baptists to-day, after more than two centuries of experience and investigation”; nowadays some refer to him as the “Father of American Baptists.”<sup>85</sup> His will has created a John Clarke Trust the income from which was to be used “for the relief of the poor or bringing up of children unto learning from time to time forever,” which may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in America and may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in the world. –So that you will know what to say if you want to get your hands on some of his beneficence: bone up on your Calvinist theology, as the document has instructed the three trustees and their successors in perpetuity to favor, in their distribution of the moneys, “those that fear the Lord.”

April 21, Friday (Old Style): Late in the previous night, and early on this morning, a war party of more than 500 Nipmuc warriors from the Mount Wachusett area attacked Sudbury, perhaps in retaliation for the white sneak attack on their camp in that vicinity in the previous month. An alarm was sent out and, in response, individuals or troops rallied there from Marlborough, Watertown, [Concord](#), and even Charlestown, arriving piecemeal. The English were forced to retreat but the greater part of Sudbury was saved from destruction.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

However, the native American warriors had succeeded in burning the home there of [Concord](#) resident [Daniel Goble](#)’s father-in-law John Brewer. (Did this make Daniel so righteously, racially angry that he would be seeking vengeance against any and all redskins regardless of gender or age?)

Also killed in the Sudbury fight on this day, near the Haynes Garrison, was James Hosmer (2) of [Concord](#).

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Nota bene. Friday about 3 in the afternoon, April 21, 1676, Capt. Wadsworth and Capt. Brocklebank fall. Almost an hundred, since, I hear, about fifty men, slain 3 miles off Sudbury: the said Town burned, Garrison houses except.

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

85. The grave of [John Clarke](#) is in the cemetery on Dr. Marcus Wheatland Boulevard across the street from the rear of the [Newport](#) Police Station. The church in which he served until his death is now known as the United Baptist Church, John Clarke Memorial — the current edifice on Spring Street dates to 1846. Some of Elder Clark’s words are engraved in stone on the west facade of the [Rhode Island](#) state capital in [Providence](#):

That it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

In [Boston](#) meanwhile, a proposal was being made for the use of mastiffs to control the Indians.

On the 21st of April an alarm was spread abroad that a large number of Indians, said to be 1,500, were about to attack Sudbury. They had already burned several houses<sup>86</sup> and the day before killed Thomas Plympton, and a Mr. Boon and his son, returning from the west part of the town, where the former had been to bring the two latter to a garrison-house.<sup>87</sup> A company from Watertown aided by several of the citizens, had attacked them on the east side of Concord river; where a severe battle was fought and they were compelled to retreat across it. At this time several of the citizens of Concord immediately went to their relief. Arriving near the garrison house of Walter Haynes,<sup>88</sup> they observed several squaws, who, as they drew near, danced, shouted, powwawed, and used every method to amuse and decoy them. Eleven of the English pursued and attacked them, but found themselves, too late, in an ambuscade, from which a large number of the Indians rushed upon and attacked them with great fury. Notwithstanding they made a bold resistance, it was desperate, and ten of them were slain. The others escaped to the garrison, where the neighboring inhabitants had fled for security, which was bravely defended.<sup>89</sup> Of those who were killed at this time belonging to Concord, I have been able to ascertain the names of five only – James Hosmer, Samuel Potter, John Barnes, Daniel Comy, and Joseph Buttrick.

Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton was then at Marlborough, having been left there to strengthen the frontiers on the return of the army from the interior. Understanding the situation of Sudbury, he marched with 32 soldiers to its relief. Capt. Broclebank, whose quarters had been at Marlborough, also accompanied him as a convoy to Boston, where he was intending to go to communicate with the Council. They marched in the night, and fell into an ambuscade early in the morning, when all but a few, who escaped to a mill, were slain. These unfortunate soldiers were buried the next day, principally by a company of Christian Indians, who had been organized and sent out the day before by direction of the English, under Capt. Hunting of Charlestown. Four dead Indians only were found.<sup>90</sup>

From this time, which was more propitious to the Indians than any other, their success gradually diminished. This battle was the turning point. The principal body of the Indians, however, tarried in the vicinity of Groton, Lancaster and Marlborough,

86. According to [Gookin](#)'s MS.

87. According to town tradition.

88. According to town tradition.

89. According to town tradition.

90. It will be perceived that these statements differ somewhat from Hubbard and particularly in the date. He places it on the 18th while [Gookin](#) in the Manuscript from which I [Shattuck] have extracted, says it was the 21st. Judge Sewall's Manuscript Journal says: "Friday about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, April 21, 1676, Capt. Wadsworth and Capt. Broclebank fall. About 50 men slain 3 miles off Sudbury - the said town burnt - except the garrison-houses." The Middlesex Records, in speaking of the settlement of James Hosmer's estate, have this expression: "Being slayene in the engagement with the Indians at Sudbury on the 21st of the second month [April] in the year 1676." The order of the Council on the 22d of April affords presumptive evidence that the unfortunate loss of the Concord party was on the same day, though Hubbard does not positively assert it. The Roxbury Records say: "Samuel Gardner, John Roberts, Nathaniel Seaver, Thomas Hawley, sen., William Cheaver, Joseph Pepper, John Sharp, Thomas Hopkins, Lieut. Samuel Gardner, slain by the Indians at Sudbury under command of Samuel Wadsworth, April 27, 1676." This was probably the day of entry, or a mistake for the 21st.



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

whence they could easily make incursions to annoy the English.<sup>91</sup>

91. [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.)



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
About April 21, Friday (Old Style): [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, clutching her Bible and her faith in the swamp, attempting to deal as best she



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

could with her distress and her hunger:

The Nineteenth Remove: They said, when we went out, that we must travel to Wachusett this day. But a bitter weary day I had of it, traveling now three days together, without resting any day between. At last, after many weary steps, I saw Wachusett hills, but many miles off. Then we came to a great swamp, through which we traveled, up to the knees in mud and water, which was heavy going to one tired before. Being almost spent, I thought I should have sunk down at last, and never got out; but I may say, as in Psalm 94.18, “When my foot slipped, thy mercy, O Lord, held me up.” Going along, having indeed my life, but little spirit, Philip, who was in the company, came up and took me by the hand, and said, two weeks more and you shall be mistress again. I asked him, if he spake true? He answered, “Yes, and quickly you shall come to your master again; who had been gone from us three weeks.” After many weary steps we came to Wachusett, where he was: and glad I was to see him. He asked me, when I washed me? I told him not this month. Then he fetched me some water himself, and bid me wash, and gave me the glass to see how I looked; and bid his squaw give me something to eat. So she gave me a mess of beans and meat, and a little ground nut cake. I was wonderfully revived with this favor showed me: “He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives” (Psalm 106.46).

My master [Qinnapin] had three squaws, living sometimes with one, and sometimes with another one, this old squaw, at whose wigwam I was, and with whom my master had been those three weeks. Another was Wattimore [[Weetamoo](#)] with whom I had lived and served all this while. A severe and proud dame she was, bestowing every day in dressing herself neat as much time as any of the gentry of the land: powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with necklaces, with jewels in her ears, and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads. The third squaw was a younger one, by whom he had two papooses. By the time I was refreshed by the old squaw, with whom my master was, Weetamoo's maid came to call me home, at which I fell aweeping. Then the old squaw told me, to encourage me, that if I wanted victuals, I should come to her, and that I should lie there in her wigwam. Then I went with the maid, and quickly came again and lodged there. The squaw laid a mat under me, and a good rug over me; the first time I had any such kindness showed me. I understood that Weetamoo thought that if she should let me go and serve with the old squaw, she would be in danger to lose not only my service, but the redemption pay also. And I was not a little glad to hear this; being by it raised in my hopes, that in God's due time there would be an end of this sorrowful hour. Then came an Indian, and asked me to knit him three pair of stockings, for which I had a hat, and a silk handkerchief. Then another asked me to make her a shift, for which she gave me an apron.

METACOM

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

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Then came Tom and Peter, with the second letter from the council, about the captives. Though they were Indians, I got them by the hand, and burst out into tears. My heart was so full that I could not speak to them; but recovering myself, I asked them how my husband did, and all my friends and acquaintance? They said, "They are all very well but melancholy." They brought me two biscuits, and a pound of tobacco. The tobacco I quickly gave away. When it was all gone, one asked me to give him a pipe of tobacco. I told him it was all gone. Then began he to rant and threaten. I told him when my husband came I would give him some. Hang him rogue (says he) I will knock out his brains, if he comes here. And then again, in the same breath they would say that if there should come an hundred without guns, they would do them no hurt. So unstable and like madmen they were. So that fearing the worst, I durst not send to my husband, though there were some thoughts of his coming to redeem and fetch me, not knowing what might follow. For there was little more trust to them than to the master they served. When the letter was come, the Sagamores met to consult about the captives, and called me to them to inquire how much my husband would give to redeem me. When I came I sat down among them, as I was wont to do, as their manner is. Then they bade me stand up, and said they were the General Court. They bid me speak what I thought he would give. Now knowing that all we had was destroyed by the Indians, I was in a great strait. I thought if I should speak of but a little it would be slighted, and hinder the matter; if of a great sum, I knew not where it would be procured. Yet at a venture I said "Twenty pounds," yet desired them to take less. But they would not hear of that, but sent that message to Boston, that for twenty pounds I should be redeemed. It was a Praying Indian that wrote their letter for them. There was another Praying Indian, who told me, that he had a brother, that would not eat horse; his conscience was so tender and scrupulous (though as large as hell, for the destruction of poor Christians). Then he said, he read that Scripture to him, "There was a famine in Samaria, and behold they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for four-score pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver" (2 Kings 6.25). He expounded this place to his brother, and showed him that it was lawful to eat that in a famine which is not at another time. And now, says he, he will eat horse with any Indian of them all. There was another Praying Indian, who when he had done all the mischief that he could, betrayed his own father into the English hands, thereby to purchase his own life. Another Praying Indian was at Sudbury fight, though, as he deserved, he was afterward hanged for it. There was another Praying Indian, so wicked and cruel, as to wear a string about his neck, strung with Christians' fingers. Another Praying Indian, when they went to Sudbury fight, went with them, and his squaw also with him, with her papoose at her back. Before they went to that fight they got a company together to pow-wow. The manner was as followeth: there was one that kneeled upon a deerskin, with the company round him in a ring who kneeled, and striking upon the ground with their hands, and with sticks, and muttering or humming with their mouths. Besides him who kneeled in the ring, there also stood one with a gun in his hand. Then he on the deerskin made a speech, and all manifested assent to it; and so they did many times together.



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CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

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**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:****“KING PHILLIP”****PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

Then they bade him with the gun go out of the ring, which he did. But when he was out, they called him in again; but he seemed to make a stand; then they called the more earnestly, till he returned again. Then they all sang. Then they gave him two guns, in either hand one. And so he on the deerskin began again; and at the end of every sentence in his speaking, they all assented, humming or muttering with their mouths, and striking upon the ground with their hands. Then they bade him with the two guns go out of the ring again; which he did, a little way. Then they called him in again, but he made a stand. So they called him with greater earnestness; but he stood reeling and wavering as if he knew not whither he should stand or fall, or which way to go. Then they called him with exceeding great vehemency, all of them, one and another. After a little while he turned in, staggering as he went, with his arms stretched out, in either hand a gun. As soon as he came in they all sang and rejoiced exceedingly a while. And then he upon the deerskin, made another speech unto which they all assented in a rejoicing manner. And so they ended their business, and forthwith went to Sudbury fight. To my thinking they went without any scruple, but that they should prosper, and gain the victory. And they went out not so rejoicing, but they came home with as great a victory. For they said they had killed two captains and almost an hundred men. One Englishman they brought along with them: and he said, it was too true, for they had made sad work at Sudbury, as indeed it proved. Yet they came home without that rejoicing and triumphing over their victory which they were wont to show at other times; but rather like dogs (as they say) which have lost their ears. Yet I could not perceive that it was for their own loss of men. They said they had not lost above five or six; and I missed none, except in one wigwam. When they went, they acted as if the devil had told them that they should gain the victory; and now they acted as if the devil had told them they should have a fall. Whither it were so or no, I cannot tell, but so it proved, for quickly they began to fall, and so held on that summer, till they came to utter ruin. They came home on a Sabbath day, and the Powaw that kneeled upon the deer-skin came home (I may say, without abuse) as black as the devil. When my master came home, he came to me and bid me make a shirt for his papoose, of a holland-laced pillowbere. About that time there came an Indian to me and bid me come to his wigwam at night, and he would give me some pork and ground nuts. Which I did, and as I was eating, another Indian said to me, he seems to be your good friend, but he killed two Englishmen at Sudbury, and there lie their clothes behind you: I looked behind me, and there I saw bloody clothes, with bullet-holes in them. Yet the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt. Yea, instead of that, he many times refreshed me; five or six times did he and his squaw refresh my feeble carcass. If I went to their wigwam at any time, they would always give me something, and yet they were strangers that I never saw before. Another squaw gave me a piece of fresh pork, and a little salt with it, and lent me her pan to fry it in; and I cannot but remember what a sweet, pleasant and delightful relish that bit had to me, to this day. So little do we prize common mercies when we have them to the full.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

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Early that morning a group of about a dozen [Concord](#) men, attempting to infiltrate Sudbury to reinforce it, had been intercepted on the river meadow. Some, it was said later, had been taken alive for torture.<sup>92</sup>



... in the Morning, affaulted and burned moft of the Houfes in *Sudbury* (fave thofe that were ingarrifoned:) Upon which the Town of *Concord* received the Alarm, 12 refulute young Men haftened from thence to their Neighbor's Relief, but were waylaid, and 11 of them cut off; ....

Subsequent to this disaster, the men of Concord and Chelmsford who had been serving in the army would be released, to go defend their home towns.

92. A NEW AND FURTHER NARRATIVE OF THE STATE OF NEW-ENGLAND; BEING A CONTINUED ACCOUNT OF THE BLOODY INDIAN WAR. FROM MARCH TILL AUGUST 1676. London: Roger L'Efrange, October 13, 1676. Printed by F.B. for Dorman Newman, at the King's Armes in the Poultry.

HDT

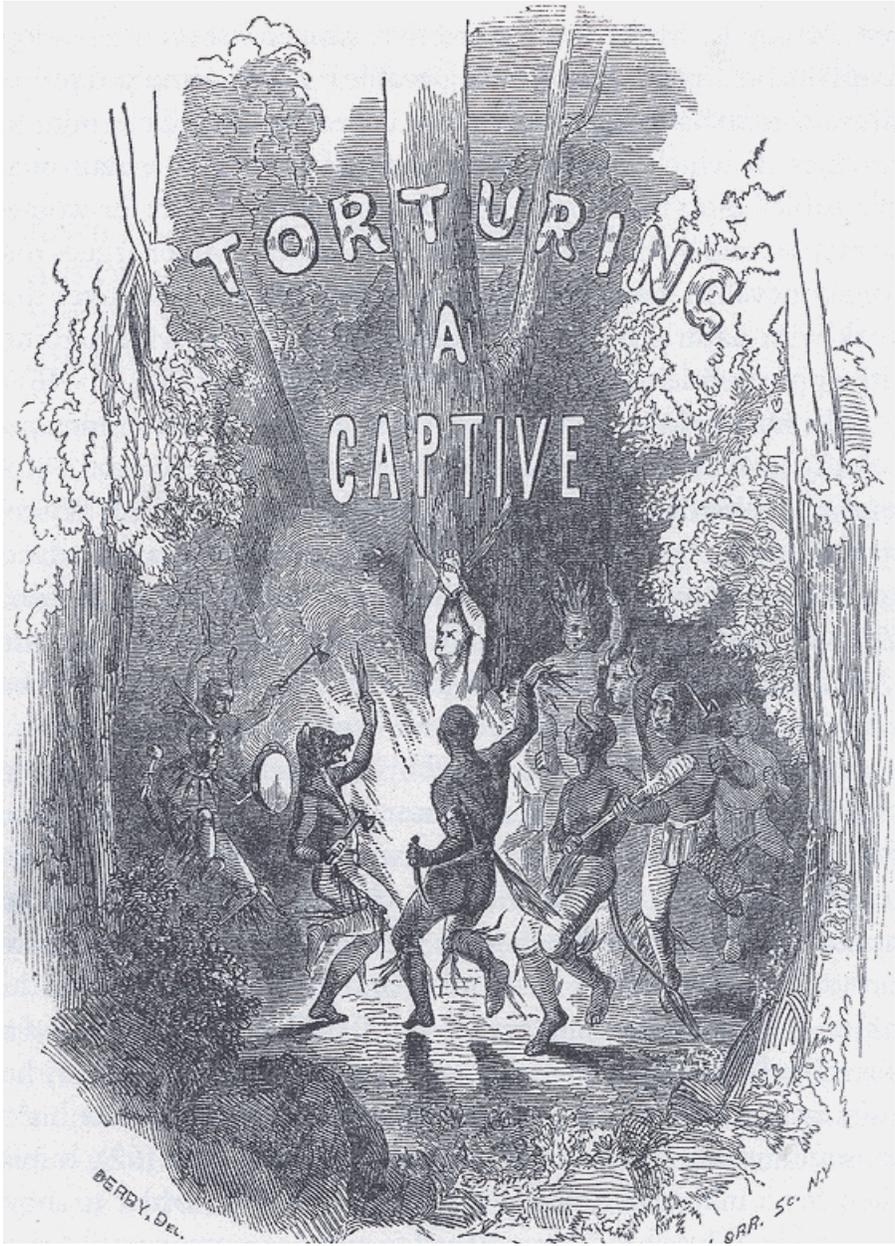
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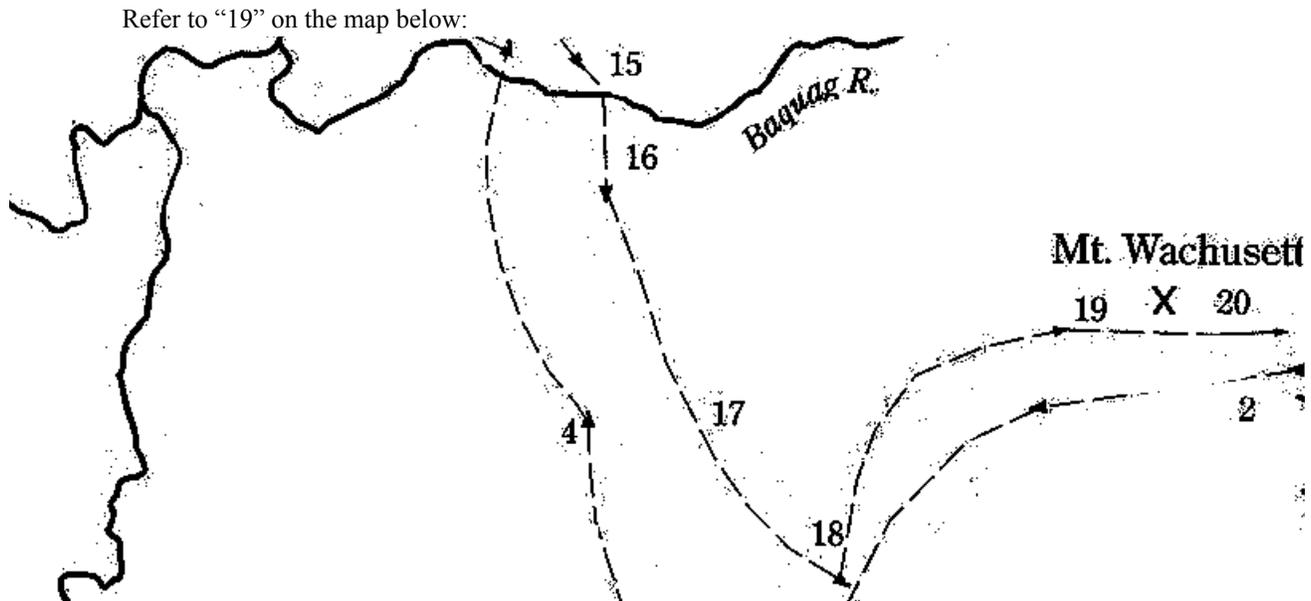
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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April 22, Saturday (Old Style): A march upon Sudbury was organized:

On the 22d of April, the Council ordered 40 troopers out of Suffolk under the command of Cornet Jacob Eliot; and the same number from Middlesex under Major Gookin, to march forthwith to Sudbury to make discovery, whether, “the motion of the enemy be either toward Concord or Medfield,” by visiting the bounds of those towns, and scouting through the woods. An attack on Concord had been expected<sup>93</sup> and this was one of the effectual means which were promptly taken to prevent it.<sup>94</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

April 24, Monday (Old Style): Simon Willard died of old age in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Monday 24, about 6 afternoon, a Woman taken, and a Man knocked

93. Tradition has handed down the following anecdote. A consultation among the Indian chiefs took place about this time on the high lands in Stow, and as they cast their eyes toward Sudbury and Concord, a question arose which they should attack first. The decision was made to attack Sudbury. One of the principal chiefs said, “We no prosper, if we go to Concord — the Great Spirit love that people — the evil spirit tell us not to go — they have a great man there — he great pray!” The Reverend Edward Bulkeley was then minister of the town, and his name and distinguished character were known even to the red men of the forest.

94. 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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

in the head, at Menocticot, Braintrey.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

April 26, Wednesday (Old Style): The government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in [Boston](#) sent out six cartloads of provisions. In [Concord](#), John Flint took charge of these supplies as commissary.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

*Mr. Lidget dyes: interred the 28th 1676.*

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

*Din'd with P, discovered her Marriage by her sister:*



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

April 27, Thursday (Old Style): [Simon Willard](#) was buried in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

The commander-in-chief of the white people in the New England race war arrived in [Concord](#) and designated that town as his place of rendezvous.

Tom Dublett (*Nepanet*, 3d husband of Sarah Doublett), with Peter Conway, or *Tatatiquinea*, returned with a letter written by [James Printer](#), alleging that “[Mrs Rolanson](#)” had said that the [Reverend John Rowlandson](#) her husband would be willing to pay £20 “in goodes” to ransom her.

The fortified house of the Woodcock family, in what was then [Rehoboth](#) but is now Attleborough, was attacked and burned, and Nathaniel Woodcock and another Englishman were killed and John Woodcock wounded.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

*My Wife entertaind her Majestie at Deptford, for which the Queene gave [me] thanks in the Withdrawing roome at White-hall.*



April 28, Friday (Old Style): The Massachusetts Council sent out yet another letter, this time asking for “a plaine & direct answer to our Last Letter,” pointing out that the previous letter had been undated and unsigned. This letter was carried by Tom Dublett (*Nepanet*, 3d husband of Sarah Doublett), Peter Conway, or *Tatatiquinea*, and a lawyer of Concord, [John Hoar](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

MARY ROWLANDSON

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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*The University of Oxford presented me with the Marmora Oxon: Arundell: the Bish[op] of Oxford writing to me, that I would introduce Mr. Prideaux the Editor (a most learned young man in Antiquities) to the Duke of Norfolk, to present another, dedicated to his Grace, which I did, & we both din'd with the Duke at Arundel house: & supped at the Bish[op] of Rochesters with Isa: Vossius.*





**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
A Sabbath later in April: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, she clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger, but at least at this point there were contacts, and active negotiations by Concord's [John Hoar](#)

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

and Tom Dublett (*Nepanet*, 3d husband of Sarah Doublett) and Boston's [James Printer](#):

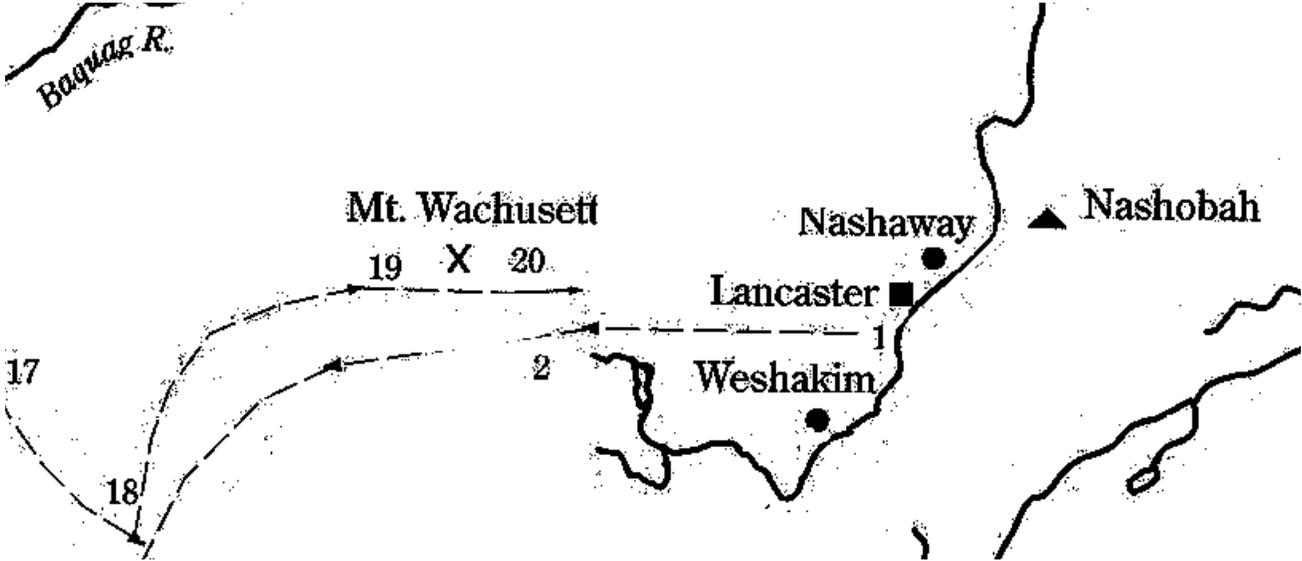
The Twentieth Remove: It was their usual manner to remove, when they had done any mischief, lest they should be found out; and so they did at this time. We went about three or four miles, and there they built a great wigwam, big enough to hold an hundred Indians, which they did in preparation to a great day of dancing. They would say now amongst themselves, that the governor would be so angry for his loss at Sudbury, that he would send no more about the captives, which made me grieve and tremble. My sister being not far from the place where we now were, and hearing that I was here, desired her master to let her come and see me, and he was willing to it, and would go with her; but she being ready before him, told him she would go before, and was come within a mile or two of the place. Then he overtook her, and began to rant as if he had been mad, and made her go back again in the rain; so that I never saw her till I saw her in Charlestown. But the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian her master, was hanged afterward at Boston. The Indians now began to come from all quarters, against their merry dancing day. Among some of them came one goodwife Kettle. I told her my heart was so heavy that it was ready to break. "So is mine too," said she, but yet said, "I hope we shall hear some good news shortly." I could hear how earnestly my sister desired to see me, and I as earnestly desired to see her; and yet neither of us could get an opportunity. My daughter was also now about a mile off, and I had not seen her in nine or ten weeks, as I had not seen my sister since our first taking. I earnestly desired them to let me go and see them: yea, I entreated, begged, and persuaded them, but to let me see my daughter; and yet so hard-hearted were they, that they would not suffer it. They made use of their tyrannical power whilst they had it; but through the Lord's wonderful mercy, their time was now but short. On a Sabbath day, the sun being about an hour high in the afternoon, came Mr. John Hoar (the council permitting him, and his own forward spirit inclining him), together with the two forementioned Indians, Tom and Peter, with their third letter from the council. When they came near, I was abroad. Though I saw them not, they presently called me in, and bade me sit down and not stir. Then they caught up their guns, and away they ran, as if an enemy had been at hand, and the guns went off apace. I manifested some great trouble, and they asked me what was the matter? I told them I thought they had killed the Englishman (for they had in the meantime informed me that an Englishman was come). They said, no. They shot over his horse and under and before his horse, and they pushed him this way and that way, at their pleasure, showing what they could do. Then they let them come to their wigwams. I begged of them to let me see the Englishman, but they would not. But there was I fain to sit their pleasure. When they had talked their fill with him, they suffered me to go to him. We asked each other of our welfare, and how my husband did, and all my friends? He told me they were all well, and would be glad to see me.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Refer to “20” on the map below:



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:****“KING PHILLIP”****PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

METACOM

Amongst other things which my husband sent me, there came a pound of tobacco, which I sold for nine shillings in money; for many of the Indians for want of tobacco, smoked hemlock, and ground ivy. It was a great mistake in any, who thought I sent for tobacco; for through the favor of God, that desire was overcome. I now asked them whether I should go home with Mr. Hoar? They answered no, one and another of them, and it being night, we lay down with that answer.

In the morning Mr. Hoar invited the Sagamores to dinner; but when we went to get it ready we found that they had stolen the greatest part of the provision Mr. Hoar had brought, out of his bags, in the night. And we may see the wonderful power of God, in that one passage, in that when there was such a great number of the Indians together, and so greedy of a little good food, and no English there but Mr. Hoar and myself, that there they did not knock us in the head, and take what we had, there being not only some provision, but also trading-cloth, a part of the twenty pounds agreed upon. But instead of doing us any mischief, they seemed to be ashamed of the fact, and said, it were some matchit Indian that did it. Oh, that we could believe that there is nothing too hard for God! God showed His power over the heathen in this, as He did over the hungry lions when Daniel was cast into the den. Mr. Hoar called them betime to dinner, but they ate very little, they being so busy in dressing themselves, and getting ready for their dance, which was carried on by eight of them, four men and four squaws. My master and mistress being two. He was dressed in his holland shirt, with great laces sewed at the tail of it; he had his silver buttons, his white stockings, his garters were hung round with shillings, and he had girdles of wampum upon his head and shoulders. She had a kersey coat, and covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands were covered with bracelets; there were handfuls of necklaces about her neck, and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes, her hair powdered and face painted red, that was always before black. And all the dancers were after the same manner. There were two others singing and knocking on a kettle for their music. They kept hopping up and down one after another, with a kettle of water in the midst, standing warm upon some embers, to drink of when they were dry. They held on till it was almost night, throwing out wampum to the standers by. At night I asked them again, if I should go home? They all as one said no, except my husband would come for me. When we were lain down, my master went out of the wigwam, and by and by sent in an Indian called James the Printer, who told Mr. Hoar, that my master would let me go home tomorrow, if he would let him have one pint of liquors.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## "KING PHILLIP"

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Then Mr. Hoar called his own Indians, Tom and Peter, and bid them go and see whether he would promise it before them three; and if he would, he should have it; which he did, and he had it. Then Philip smelling the business called me to him, and asked me what I would give him, to tell me some good news, and speak a good word for me. I told him I could not tell what to give him. I would [give him] anything I had, and asked him what he would have? He said two coats and twenty shillings in money, and half a bushel of seed corn, and some tobacco. I thanked him for his love; but I knew the good news as well as the crafty fox. My master after he had had his drink, quickly came ranting into the wigwam again, and called for Mr. Hoar, drinking to him, and saying, he was a good man, and then again he would say, "hang him rogue." Being almost drunk, he would drink to him, and yet presently say he should be hanged. Then he called for me. I trembled to hear him, yet I was fain to go to him, and he drank to me, showing no incivility. He was the first Indian I saw drunk all the while that I was amongst them.

At last his squaw ran out, and he after her, round the wigwam, with his money jingling at his knees. But she escaped him. But having an old squaw he ran to her; and so through the Lord's mercy, we were no more troubled that night. Yet I had not a comfortable night's rest; for I think I can say, I did not sleep for three nights together. The night before the letter came from the council, I could not rest, I was so full of fears and troubles, God many times leaving us most in the dark, when deliverance is nearest. Yea, at this time I could not rest night nor day. The next night I was overjoyed, Mr. Hoar being come, and that with such good tidings. The third night I was even swallowed up with the thoughts of things, viz. that ever I should go home again; and that I must go, leaving my children behind me in the wilderness; so that sleep was now almost departed from mine eyes.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### MAY

May: During this month Sergeant James Philips, James Bell, Henry Andrews, and Edward Babbitt were killed, leaving behind among these four fathers in [Taunton](#), a total of 32 fatherless children.

A tax was levied for the support of the New England race war:

In consequence of the losses sustained by [Concord](#) and Sudbury, their taxes were abated, Concord having £50 abated in May 1676, and Sudbury £40.<sup>95</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Boston	£300. 0s. 0d.
Charlestown	£180. 0s. 0d.
Watertown	£45. 0s. 0d.
Cambridge	£42. 2s. 0d.
Concord	£33. 19s. 1d.
Sudbury	£20. 0s. 0d.
Lancaster	£11. 16s. 0d.
Woburn	£25. 16s. 0d.
Marlborough	£17. 13s. 0d.
Chelmsford	£14. 18s. 0d.
Billerica	£14. 7s. 0d.
Groton	£11. 10s. 0d.

95. [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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

May 2, Tuesday (Old Style): [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was finally being ransomed by the English, and evidently she was preparing to return to civilization with as much military intelligence as possible as to the situation of the Americans, which would help to destroy them (immediately upon her rescue, and refreshment in [Concord](#), she would report to and debrief herself at [Boston](#) upon both the ecclesiastical and the military authorities):

On Tuesday morning they called their general court (as they call it) to consult and determine, whether I should go home or no. And they all as one man did seemingly consent to it, that I should go home; except Philip, who would not come among them. But before I go any further, I would take leave to mention a few remarkable passages of providence, which I took special notice of in my afflicted time.

1. Of the fair opportunity lost in the long march, a little after the fort fight, when our English army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the enemy, and so near as to take several and destroy them, and the enemy in such distress for food that our men might track them by their rooting in the earth for ground nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives. I say, that then our army should want provision, and be forced to leave their pursuit and return homeward; and the very next week the enemy came upon our town, like bears bereft of their whelps, or so many ravenous wolves, rending us and our lambs to death. But what shall I say? God seemed to leave his People to themselves, and order all things for His own holy ends. Shall there be evil in the City and the Lord hath not done it? They are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, therefore shall they go captive, with the first that go captive. It is the Lord's doing, and it should be marvelous in our eyes.

2. I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness, and dullness of the English army, in its setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English army would come after them? I told them I could not tell. "It may be they will come in May," said they. Thus did they scoff at us, as if the English would be a quarter of a year getting ready.

3. Which also I have hinted before, when the English army with new supplies were sent forth to pursue after the enemy, and they understanding it, fled before them till they came to Banquaug river, where they forthwith went over safely; that that river should be impassable to the English. I can but admire to see the wonderful providence of God in preserving the heathen for further affliction to our poor country. They could go in great numbers over, but the English must stop. God had an over-ruling hand in all those things.

METACOM

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:****“KING PHILLIP”****PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

4. It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger, and all their corn that could be found, was destroyed, and they driven from that little they had in store, into the woods in the midst of winter; and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for His holy ends, and the destruction of many still amongst the English! strangely did the Lord provide for them; that I did not see (all the time I was among them) one man, woman, or child, die with hunger. Though many times they would eat that, that a hog or a dog would hardly touch; yet by that God strengthened them to be a scourge to His people.

The chief and commonest food was ground nuts. They eat also nuts and acorns, artichokes, lilly roots, ground beans, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not. They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joints, and if they were full of worms and maggots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boil them, and drink up the liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a mortar, and so eat them. They would eat horse's guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild birds which they could catch; also bear, venison, beaver, tortoise, frogs, squirrels, dogs, skunks, rattlesnakes; yea, the very bark of trees; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English. I can but stand in admiration to see the wonderful power of God in providing for such a vast number of our enemies in the wilderness, where there was nothing to be seen, but from hand to mouth. Many times in a morning, the generality of them would eat up all they had, and yet have some further supply against they wanted. It is said, "Oh, that my People had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my hand against their Adversaries" (Psalm 81.13-14). But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended Him, that instead of turning His hand against them, the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole land. 5. Another thing that I would observe is the strange providence of God, in turning things about when the Indians was at the highest, and the English at the lowest. I was with the enemy eleven weeks and five days, and not one week passed without the fury of the enemy, and some desolation by fire and sword upon one place or other. They mourned (with their black faces) for their own losses, yet triumphed and rejoiced in their inhumane, and many times devilish cruelty to the English. They would boast much of their victories; saying that in two hours time they had destroyed such a captain and his company at such a place; and boast how many towns they had destroyed, and then scoff, and say they had done them a good turn to send them to Heaven so soon. Again, they would say this summer that they would knock all the rogues in the head, or drive them into the sea, or make them fly the country; thinking surely, Agag-like, "The bitterness of Death is past."



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Now the heathen begins to think all is their own, and the poor Christians' hopes to fail (as to man) and now their eyes are more to God, and their hearts sigh heaven-ward; and to say in good earnest, "Help Lord, or we perish." When the Lord had brought His people to this, that they saw no help in anything but Himself; then He takes the quarrel into His own hand; and though they had made a pit, in their own imaginations, as deep as hell for the Christians that summer, yet the Lord hurled themselves into it. And the Lord had not so many ways before to preserve them, but now He hath as many to destroy them.

But to return again to my going home, where we may see a remarkable change of providence. At first they were all against it, except my husband would come for me, but afterwards they assented to it, and seemed much to rejoice in it; some asked me to send them some bread, others some tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a hood and scarfe to ride in; not one moving hand or tongue against it. Thus hath the Lord answered my poor desire, and the many earnest requests of others put up unto God for me. In my travels an Indian came to me and told me, if I were willing, he and his squaw would run away, and go home along with me. I told him no: I was not willing to run away, but desired to wait God's time, that I might go home quietly, and without fear. And now God hath granted me my desire. O the wonderful power of God that I have seen, and the experience that I have had. I have been in the midst of those roaring lions, and savage bears, that feared neither God, nor man, nor the devil, by night and day, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action. Though some are ready to say I speak it for my own credit; but I speak it in the presence of God, and to His Glory. God's power is as great now, and as sufficient to save, as when He preserved Daniel in the lion's den; or the three children in the fiery furnace. I may well say as his Psalm 107.12 "Oh give thanks unto the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever." Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom He hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy, especially that I should come away in the midst of so many hundreds of enemies quietly and peaceably, and not a dog moving his tongue. So I took my leave of them, and in coming along my heart melted into tears, more than all the while I was with them, and I was almost swallowed up with the thoughts that ever I should go home again. About the sun going down, Mr. Hoar, and myself, and the two Indians came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years amongst my relations and neighbors, and now not one Christian to be seen, nor one house left standing. We went on to a farmhouse that was yet standing, where we lay all night, and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to lie on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morning, and carried us along, that before noon, we came to Concord.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Now was I full of joy, and yet not without sorrow; joy to see such a lovely sight, so many Christians together, and some of them my neighbors. There I met with my brother, and my brother-in-law, who asked me, if I knew where his wife was? Poor heart! he had helped to bury her, and knew it not. She being shot down by the house was partly burnt, so that those who were at Boston at the desolation of the town, and came back afterward, and buried the dead, did not know her. Yet I was not without sorrow, to think how many were looking and longing, and my own children amongst the rest, to enjoy that deliverance that I had now received, and I did not know whether ever I should see them again. Being recruited with food and raiment we went to Boston that day, where I met with my dear husband, but the thoughts of our dear children, one being dead, and the other we could not tell where, abated our comfort each to other. I was not before so much hemmed in with the merciless and cruel heathen, but now as much with pitiful, tender-hearted and compassionate Christians.

In that poor, and distressed, and beggarly condition I was received in; I was kindly entertained in several houses. So much love I received from several (some of whom I knew, and others I knew not) that I am not capable to declare it. But the Lord knows them all by name. The Lord reward them sevenfold into their bosoms of His spirituals, for their temporals. The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlemen, and Mrs. Usher, whose bounty and religious charity, I would not forget to make mention of. Then Mr. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown received us into his house, where we continued eleven weeks; and a father and mother they were to us. And many more tender-hearted friends we met with in that place. We were now in the midst of love, yet not without much and frequent heaviness of heart for our poor children, and other relations, who were still in affliction. The week following, after my coming in, the governor and council sent forth to the Indians again; and that not without success; for they brought in my sister, and goodwife Kettle. Their not knowing where our children were was a sore trial to us still, and yet we were not without secret hopes that we should see them again. That which was dead lay heavier upon my spirit, than those which were alive and amongst the heathen: thinking how it suffered with its wounds, and I was no way able to relieve it; and how it was buried by the heathen in the wilderness from among all Christians. We were hurried up and down in our thoughts, sometime we should hear a report that they were gone this way, and sometimes that; and that they were come in, in this place or that. We kept inquiring and listening to hear concerning them, but no certain news as yet.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

About this time the council had ordered a day of public thanksgiving. Though I thought I had still cause of mourning, and being unsettled in our minds, we thought we would ride toward the eastward, to see if we could hear anything concerning our children. And as we were riding along (God is the wise disposer of all things) between Ipswich and Rowley we met with Mr. William Hubbard, who told us that our son Joseph was come in to Major Waldron's, and another with him, which was my sister's son. I asked him how he knew it? He said the major himself told him so. So along we went till we came to Newbury; and their minister being absent, they desired my husband to preach the thanksgiving for them; but he was not willing to stay there that night, but would go over to Salisbury, to hear further, and come again in the morning, which he did, and preached there that day. At night, when he had done, one came and told him that his daughter was come in at Providence. Here was mercy on both hands. Now hath God fulfilled that precious Scripture which was such a comfort to me in my distressed condition. When my heart was ready to sink into the earth (my children being gone, I could not tell whither) and my knees trembling under me, and I was walking through the valley of the shadow of death; then the Lord brought, and now has fulfilled that reviving word unto me: "Thus saith the Lord, Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy Work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall come again from the Land of the Enemy." Now we were between them, the one on the east, and the other on the west.

Our son being nearest, we went to him first, to Portsmouth, where we met with him, and with the Major also, who told us he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under seven pounds, which the good people thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the major, and all the rest, though unknown to me, for their labor of Love. My sister's son was redeemed for four pounds, which the council gave order for the payment of. Having now received one of our children, we hastened toward the other. Going back through Newbury my husband preached there on the Sabbath day; for which they rewarded him many fold.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

WILLIAM HUBBARD

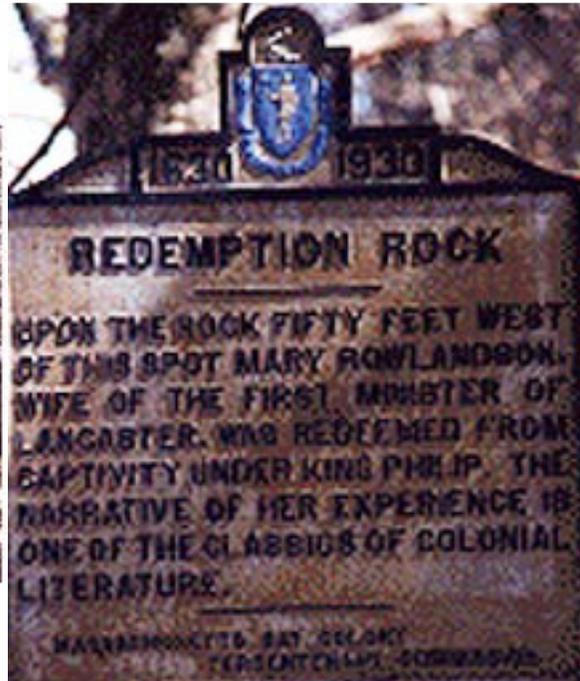
After 11 weeks in the custody of this native American couple, a [Narragansett](#) man and a [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#)) woman, [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was successfully ransomed, for only about £20

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

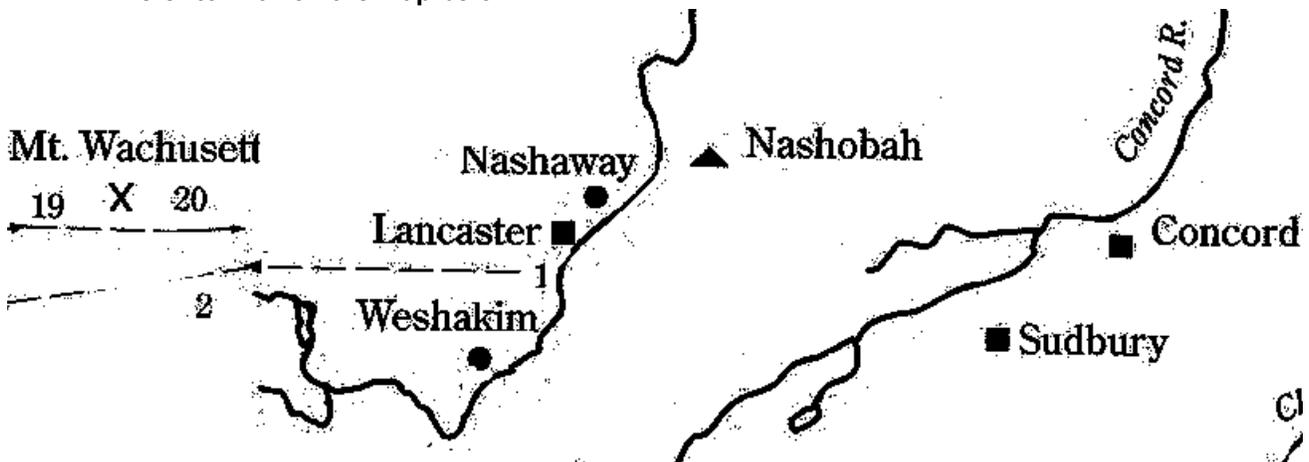
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

worth of trade goods, by [John Hoar](#), at an outcropping now known as “Redemption Rock” (near which the



town of Princeton MA eventually would be founded, after this decimation of the woodland natives had rendered it possible).<sup>96</sup> They made their way back to [Concord](#) and she would reunite with the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson and with their two surviving children.

Refer to “20” on the map below:



96. On July 19th, 1842 [Henry Thoreau](#) would begin a hike from [Concord](#) to Mount Wachusett,  between Worcester and Fitchburg, and while on his way back home on July 22d, after parting from his walking companion, he would pass the sites on the Nashua and the North Nashua streams of Lancaster (now part of Leominster State Forest) at which these events had occurred. You can also visit the rock in question, on which the redemption was enacted: it is to be found where a small used-car lot intersects Main Street in South Lancaster MA.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The white soldiers in the mainland countryside had been following a scorched-earth policy similar to the city-versus-village warfare in Vietnam, in the hope that by starving the women and children they could avoid having to fight the men. Anything which might sustain a family in the countryside was systematically being put to the torch.

When Mary Rowlandson would get back from her captivity to this all-encompassing civilization, however, she would deliver to the governor the significant military intelligence that the scorched-earth policy alone was not succeeding in its objective, and that therefore the white soldiers would be needing to go out and find their enemy and exterminate them — they would not be able simply wait for these families hiding in the forests to be starved into a surrender:



It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger: and all their corn that could be found, was destroyed, and they driven from that little they had in store, into the woods in the midst of winter ... they would eat that, that a hog or a dog would hardly touch ... old bones ... full of worms and maggots ... horse's guts, and ears ... the very bark of trees ....

#### CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

As Mrs. Rowlandson was making her way back to civilization, the Massachusetts Council was becoming alarmed at the condition of the Christian natives being held on the islands in Boston Harbor. Like half of them had already died. If steps were not taken immediately, the survivors would not be worth anything on the slave market. Arrangements were made for “a man with a boate” to pick up a crew of Praying Indian men who were still capable of labor despite their exposure and starvation, to be “employed in catching of fish for their supply.”

We should note that this famous man of Concord, lawyer [John Hoar](#) the intrepid ransomer, was not universally admired in his home community. I quote Jenny Hale Pulsipher's “Massacre at Hurtleberry Hill”: “John Hoar spent most of his life in bitter contention with the authorities of Massachusetts Bay and with his fellow townsmen. He sued neighbors—including Concord's minister Peter Bulkeley—over land, and he was censured by local and general courts for failing to attend worship services, for ‘profane speech,’ and for accusing the magistrates of illegal proceedings, this last offense culmination in permanent disbarment and a sizable fine. Hoar was thus well known to the magistrates and not well admired.”

May 5, Friday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Friday, May 5. 16 Indians killed: no English hurt: near Mendham.

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

Peace negotiations began:

May 5th, the court addressed a letter to the Indians, requesting them to meet the English at [Concord](#) or [Boston](#), to find out their wishes, and try to effect a peace. Concord was now a distinguished military post, and the center of many of the operations against the enemy.

The detachments of soldiers for the relief of the frontier towns



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

were frequent and heavy in May. Early in that month 80 from the troops of Essex, Suffolk, and Middlesex, were ordered to repair to Concord for the country service.<sup>97</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

May 8, Monday (Old Style): Wait Gould was born to Wait Coggeshall Gould and Daniel Gould.

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Monday, May 8. Considerable Thunder and rain in the night.  
Mrs. Wharton Dyes: Buried Wednesday afternoon.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

May 9, Tuesday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Monday, May 9. Cold increases mightily, all night burning Fever: next night rested indifferently.

Tuesday, Fast, Magistrates, Deputies. Sisters sail toward Newbury.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

May 12, Friday (Old Style): Per a letter by the Reverend Mr. Cobbet in the Mather papers, some white captives of the native Americans were brought to their freedom in [Concord](#):

*May 12th, goodwife Devens, and goodwife Kether, upon ransom being paid, came into Concord; and upon the ransom presented, John Morse of Groton and Lieut. Carter of Lancaster were set at liberty; and more without ransom, as goodman Emery, and his little boy.*

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

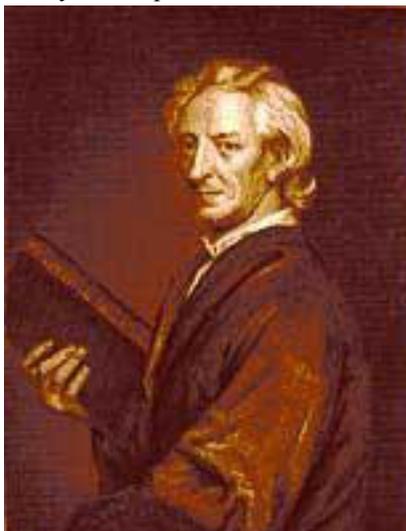
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THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

John Evelyn's diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*Dind with my L[ord] Arlington.*

May 14, Sunday (Old Style): According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Sabbath, May 14, 1676. 2 or 3 in the morning, Mr. Usher dyes. At night Mr. Russel dyes, being drowned in flegm.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

May 16, Tuesday (Old Style): According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Mr. Tho. Shepard buried Tuesd. 5, afternoon.  
Tuesd. 16. Mr. Atwater dyes: buried Thursday following, after Lecture.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

May 17, Wednesday (Old Style): According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Wednes: aftern. Mr. Usher buried.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

May 18, Thursday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Three such Funerals, one after another, imediately, I never before saw. Mr. Atwater was at meeting in the forenoon and afternoon the Sabbath before. N.B. As we came from the Funeral, we saw an huddle of persons, who were bringing Jabez Eaton that died just then in the street.

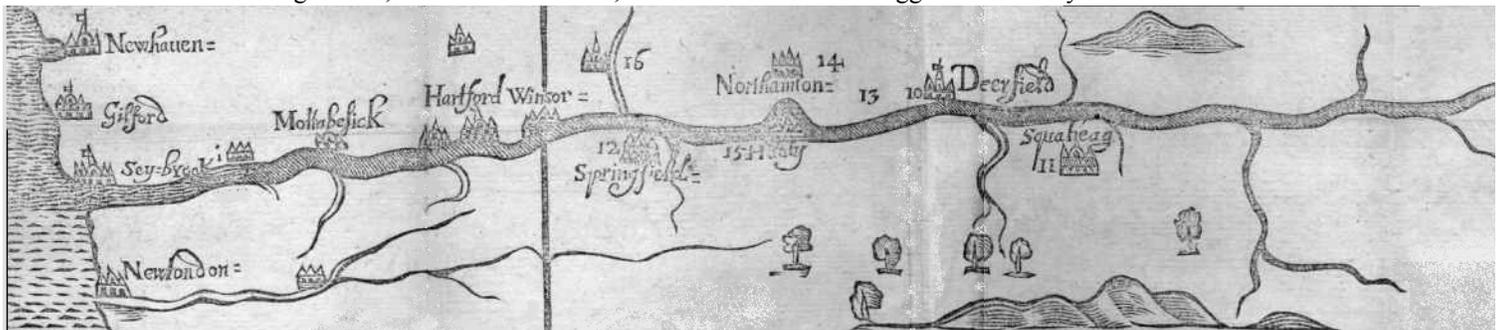
### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

In the small hours before dawn near Cheapside (Peskeompscut or Great Falls, now Turners Falls), north of Deerfield, the Hatfield garrison of 150 soldiers under the leadership of Captain William Turner crept toward



its target of opportunity, which happened to be an unsuspecting fishing encampment of native American women and children.

The soldiers were able to fire upon the sleepers, killing more than a hundred, with the loss of only one white man. Later that day, pursued and intercepted by warriors, they would panic, and their losses would rise to more than 40 not inclusive of Captain Turner who, wounded, was abandoned in the forest. This would be called “the Falls Fight” and, merciful Providence, it would end the race struggle in the valley of the Connecticut River.



### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

On the night of May 13th a group of warriors had raided Hatfield and driven off some cattle, taking them to the campsite by the falls. Local inhabitants, some from as far south as Springfield, and a few garrison soldiers, had responded to the call, and a total of 150 men and boys had assembled in Hatfield. Turner led the group past Bloody Brook, site of the native ambush during September 1675, and the edge of Deerfield, where they crossed the Deerfield River. They then traversed a couple of miles of forest, crossed the Green River, and pushed on to Mount Adams within a mile of the falls. The next morning by daybreak, leaving their horses behind, the colonials got into position on a slope overlooking the native encampment. No sentinels had been posted and no scouts sent out, and the camp was still asleep. The 150 men and boys were able to walk right up



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

to the wigwams and fire directly onto the sleepers. Many natives who leapt into the Connecticut River were swept over the falls to drown. The colonials proceeded through the camp, slaughtering the women, children, and old men. Two forges that had been set up to repair guns and make ammunition were destroyed, and two pigs of lead heaved into the river. The sounds of attack had alerted other groups of natives camped along the river. One of these groups crossed the river below the falls and took up a position across the track leading back to Deerfield. Captain Turner had apparently given no thought to securing his force's retreat. They broke into small groups as disagreements arose as to how to get back to where they had left their horses. A few men managed to get to the horses just before the warriors. Other settlers were forced to push homeward on foot. Captain Turner was killed as he tried to re-cross the Green River. Of the 150 whites, at least 40 were killed during the retreat. Some got separated from the main body and had to find their way alone; a few of these were successful while others vanished. Turner's body would be found about a month later and buried on a bluff just to the west. A tablet marks the spot.

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May 19, Friday (Old Style): Governor William Berkely wrote about Bacon's Rebellion.

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

19 May. Capt. Turner, 200 Indians.

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

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May 20, Saturday (Old Style): The frontier towns were garrisoned:

On the 20th, 270 garrison soldiers from the same counties, were ordered to be stationed at the following "frontier towns for the better security of them from the incursions of the enemy." [Concord](#) 20, Sudbury 30, Chelmsford 20, Billerica 20, Andover 20, Haverhill 20, Bradford 10, Exeter 20, Medfield 30, Dedham 20, Milton 10, Braintree 15, Weymouth 15, Hingham 20. These soldiers were to be maintained at the cost of the several towns and to be under the direction of the committees of militia.<sup>98</sup>

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

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May 22, Monday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

*about 12 Indians killed by Troop.*

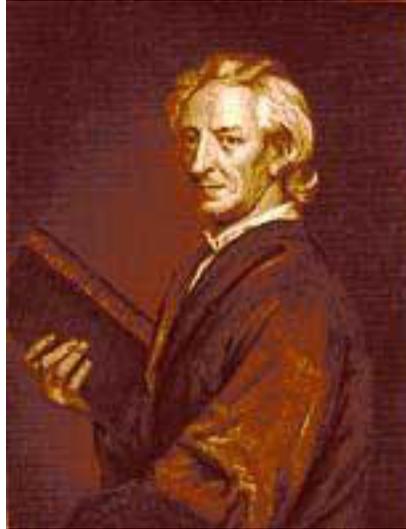
“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

98. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)  
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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

John Evelyn's diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



Trinity Monday preached a Chaplaine of my L[ord] Ossories, after which we tooke barge to Trinity house in Lond, where was a greate feast, Mr. Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty) chosen Master, & succeeding my Lord.

May 23, Tuesday (Old Style): Josiah Winslow wrote that “The people in all our towns (Scituate excepted) are very desirous to be ranging after the enemy.” It seems likely that in referring to Scituate, he was referring to the refusal of the 18 potential militiamen of March 10th, for he adds that in the inflamed context of the times, after the native Americans had killed four English at Taunton, and burned a house and a barn, “not a man from Scituate would stir to remove them.” We note that although Winslow might have chosen to use words suggesting that these refuseniks were cowards, or were selfish, he chose instead to employ neutral terms which carry no such freight.

QUAKERS  
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

May 24, Wednesday (Old Style): According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Wednesday, May, 24, about 10 M., Capt. Davis dies, fever, he had been delirious severall times between while before his death.

Mr. Willard preaches the Lecture.

Mr. Woodrop, Hobart Ger., Nehem. Phips, Weld, Faield, came after lecture and sat with me. God grant we may sit together in heaven.

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

## An act for y<sup>e</sup> Better Regulating y<sup>e</sup> Militia & for Punishing offend<sup>ers</sup> as Shall not Conform to y<sup>e</sup> Laws there unto Relating

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouver<sup>nor</sup> Council & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sessions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mand of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there Respective Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>mand<sup>ers</sup> in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

.....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*  
That y<sup>e</sup> Respective Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow<sup>er</sup> & authority during y<sup>e</sup> time of their being in Armes on y<sup>e</sup> training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth<sup>er</sup> occasion w<sup>h</sup>soev<sup>er</sup> to Punish any Private Sentinall y<sup>t</sup> Shall Misbehaue him self w<sup>th</sup> Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y<sup>e</sup> wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y<sup>e</sup> Discrefsion of s<sup>d</sup> Commision Officers notw<sup>th</sup>standing y<sup>e</sup> Afore recited Acts Relateing y<sup>e</sup> militia it Shall be in y<sup>e</sup> pow<sup>er</sup> & Authority of y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P<sup>er</sup>sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being w<sup>th</sup>in their list & y<sup>t</sup> they Cannot bare arm's in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Allarums &c y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>er</sup>sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y<sup>t</sup> may be Iudged Conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> Preferuation of his maj<sup>estys</sup> Interest y<sup>t</sup> it Shall be then in y<sup>e</sup> Pow<sup>er</sup> of s<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>ission officers as afores<sup>d</sup> to remit y<sup>e</sup> fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms according to y<sup>e</sup> Afore p<sup>re</sup>mifed Act



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Captain Thomas Brattle of Boston, with about 50 mounted men and a body of infantry, marched to the [Pawtucket](#) Falls, where, from the eastern bank of the river, they were able to spy a group of natives on the opposite bank in [Rhode Island](#). The horsemen dashed up the river to a fording-place, crossed, and came back to mount a sudden attack. The group, caught between the horsemen on the west bank and the foot soldiers on the east bank, hid in a swamp. Several of them were killed and a boy was captured, with two horses and some guns and ammunition. In this action one horseman was killed and Lieutenant Jacob Elliot was wounded in the hand.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

---

May 25, Thursday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

May 25. Mr. Adams had a very pithy and pertinent discourse from Nahum 2. 2. Old Church.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

---

May 30, Tuesday (Old Style): An American attack was staged on Hatfield.

The white military commanders assembled in [Concord](#):

[Major Daniel Gookin](#) succeeded Major Simon Willard after his death in April, in command of the military forces in Middlesex; Thomas Clark was commander in Suffolk, and Daniel Denison in Essex; all of whom were in Concord, May 30th.<sup>99</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

---

May 31, Wednesday (Old Style): At about this point in time the surviving Christian Indian inmates of the concentration camp on Deer Island were relocated to Cambridge.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

99. [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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### JUNE

June 1, Thursday (Old Style): The Christian Indian warriors who had fought on the side of the white people of New England during the race war petitioned for the release of certain of them, “Capt. Thom, his son, Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuck, his wife and children, Waanum and her child.” This request was honored (and then, since the white people considered that before their surrender no pledge had been given to spare them their lives, the remainder of these men, women, and children were executed).

There had been a company of 80 Christian Indians, friends of the English, who had acted as spies, messengers, scouts and soldiers during the war, whose officers were Capt. Andrew Pittimee (one of the owners of Concord Village); Quannahpohkit, *alias* James Rumney Marsh; John Magus; and James Speen. On the 1st of June, they petitioned for the release of “Capt. Thom, his son, Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuck, his wife and children, Waanum and her child,” who were prisoners of war. The women and children were released, but the others were executed. “Capt. Thom,” say the minutes of their trial, “was not only an instigator to others, over whom he was made a captain, but also was actually present and an actor in devastations of some of our plantations.”<sup>100</sup> Companies were sent from this town towards the Connecticut River in pursuit of Philip; and after traversing the country in various directions for nearly two months without finding him, they proceeded towards Rhode Island where, with the assistance of some other troops who joined them, [per Hubbard] they killed and captured 150 Indians. These and other instances of success encouraged the English, and calmed the fury of the savages.<sup>101</sup>

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 2, Friday (Old Style): Captain Daniel Henchman wrote from [Concord](#) to inform Governor John Leverett in [Boston](#) that he intended to execute all the red prisoners still in his custody:

100. Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government. On the 6th of August, 3 squaws, and 3 children were killed while picking whortleberries on a hill in Watertown, now Lincoln. Two persons were executed for this murder.

“Sept. 21, 1671, Stephen Gobble [Goble] of Concord was executed for the murder of Indians. Three Indians for firing Eame’s house and murder. The weather was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed. 4 others set on the gallows — two men and 2 impudent women; one of which laughed on the gallows, as many testified.”

“September 26, 1676, Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Gobble [Goble] is drawn in a cart upon bed-clothes to execution. One-eyed John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quaboag, gen’l at Lancaster &c. Jethro (the father) walked to the gallows. One-ey’d John accuses Sag. John to have fired the first gun at Quaboag and killed Capt. Hutchinson.” Sewall’s MS. Journal.

101. [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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*Concord, June 2, 1676.*

*Hon. Sir, — I did hope with this to send up all the returns but have yet received only Captain Pool's, here enclosed. The Major General was even wearied out about them; and two captains beside myself still labouring under the toile. My lieutenant gave his, as he tells me, to the Major General: the rest I shall dispatch. “The reason of our stay here for two days, Mr. Clark who is now going to Boston will make known, and what is now in hand, being the unanimous advice of a council of war, and hopefull. Capt. Holbrook's return, received while writing, is also inclosed by*

*Sir, Your Honor's humble servant,*

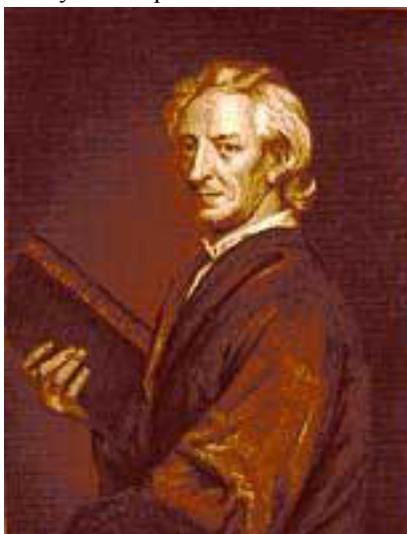
*D. Henchman.*

Capt. Joseph Sill<sup>102</sup> commanded one of the companies which were at Concord several months, and was frequently sent out on scouts. His list was returned with those stated in the above letter.<sup>103</sup>

(The above “the rest I shall dispatch” causes one to wonder whether there remains to be uncovered, somewhere near the town of Concord, a mass burial pit that the locals have not yet stumbled across and thus have not yet had an opportunity to destroy.)

### “KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



102. This officer was afterwards sent to the eastward against the Indians. See [Belknap](#), HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, vol. I, page 75.

103. [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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*I went with my L[ord] Chamberlaine to see a Garden at Enfield towne; Thence to Mr. Secretary Coventries Lodge in the Chace, which is a very prety place, the house commodious, the Gardens handsome, & our entertainment very free; there being none but my Lord & my selfe: That which I most admir'd at, was, that in the compasse of 25 Miles (yet within 14 of Lond) there is never an house, barne, Church, or building, besides three Lodges: To this Lodge there are 3 greate ponds, & some few inclosures, the rest a solitarie desert, yet stored with no lesse than 3000 deare &c: These are pretty retreates for Gent[lemen] especialy that were studious & a lover of privacy: We return'd in the Evening by Hamsted, where we diverted to see my Lord Wottons house & Garden; built with vast expense by Mr. Oneale an Irish Gent[[eman] who married his Mother, the Lady Stanhop: The furniture is very particular for Indian Cabinets, Porcelane, & other solid & noble moveables, The Gallery very fine: The Gardens very large, but ill kept; yet Woody & chargeable; the mould a cold weeping clay, not answering the expense:*

June 5, Monday (Old Style): At the annual town meeting of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), five men, among them [Thomas Angell](#), were asked to decide what to do with the surviving [Narragansett](#) and [Wampanoag](#). Although some had urged that they be executed, or sold as life slaves in a distant land, what these commissioners recommended was that they be reduced to servitude for a number of years, according to their present ages.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

1676. Thirty houses were burnt by the Indians. The war commenced the year previous, and the master-spirit who moved all the tribes was the famous king Philip. He was killed in battle this year, and peace was restored.

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Monday, June 5. Mr. Hutchison chosen Capt., Mr. Turin, Lieut., Mr. Bendal, Ensign of the Artillery.

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

June 6, Tuesday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Tuesd. 6, late in the Afternoon, a violent wind, and thunder shower arose. Mr. Bendal, Mrs. Bendal, Mr. James Edmunds, and a Quaker female were drowned: their Boat (in which coming from Nodle’s Iland) being overset, and sinking by reason of ballast. Mr. Charles Lidget hardly escaped by the help of an oar.

Tuesday, June 6, Hatfield fight, 5 English killed, about 14 Indians.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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June 10, Saturday (Old Style): The war council of the Massachusetts Bay Colony wrote from [Boston](#) to Captain Daniel Henchman (it was at about this point that the Captain and his soldiers left [Concord](#)).

Capt. Henchman, – The bearer, John Hunter, with ten Indians was intended a scout for Concord, but through his much importunity and our persuasion of his capacity and intention upon the service, he is dispatched to the enemy, and in lieu of him and his party we send ten Indians to Concord, for the scout service, and if possible to attempt something upon Philip. In marching upward with him are several sachems, but few fighting men, and having planted at Pacacheog and Quabadge, they will scarce depart thence. Deal kindly with Hunter and as much as may be, satisfy him. His spleen seems to be such against Philip [Metacom], that we are persuaded of his resolution against him.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

June 10th., Received a Letter from Unckle St. Dumer, dated March 24, 1675 [6] i. e. last March, for it was in answer to one wrote, Oct. 29. '75. Aunt Sarah died about a year and 1/2 before. Peace and plenty. Nothing of Father’s buisness.

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

---

June 11, Sunday (Old Style): Captain Daniel Henchman wrote from Marlborough to the war council of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in [Boston](#):

Some Indian scouts sent out this day have brought in Captain Thom, his daughter, and two children, being found about ten miles to the soudest of this place. There was more of them, viz: two that were gone a fishing, so not lighted of. This company with some others at other places, of which James Prenter [perhaps this would be a reference to the Harvard-educated native American printer we know as "[James Printer](#)"] is one, did as they say leave the enemy by times in the spring with an intent to come in to the English, but dare not for fear of our scouts. These prisoners say that many of the enemy hearing that there was like to be a treaty with Samuel did intend to go in to him. Mr. Scott also coming from Concord yesterday informs me, that one of the old squaws there doth not question but that if she may have liberty to go to Samuel, he and his company will come in to the English.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

→ June 12, Monday (Old Style): An American attack on Hadley MA was repelled by the soldiers of Connecticut colony.



The Angel of Hadley

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*I went to Sir Tho[mas] Bonds new & fine house by Pecham, the place is on a flat, yet has a fine Garden, & prospect thro the meadows towards Lond[on].*

June 13, Tuesday (Old Style): At Bradford shortly before May 3rd, native Americans had killed the husband of Goodwife Kimball and had marched her and her five children 40 miles inland as hostages. When on this date she and her children reappeared at a white coastal settlement, she related that while in captivity she had twice been condemned to death, and that twice the natives had made fires to burn her and her infant — before unaccountably they had released her and all her children unharmed without any ransom being paid! In credulous town records this strange account was set down as a “deliverance,” that being, you will understand, a theological category.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*To Lond[on] about Mrs. Godolphins Lease at Queenes Council:*

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
June 19, Monday (Old Style): The Massachusetts Bay Colony declared a general amnesty for any native Americans who would now surrender to them.

Swansea again came under attack, and nearly all the remaining houses were torched. Some accounts have it that all save five houses were burned, four of these five being garrison houses.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

June 20, Tuesday (Old Style): The Reverend John Eliot visited Captain Tom Indian, or *Watasocamponum*, at his place of confinement.

The governing council of the Bay Colony assembled in Charlestown to determine how best to express thanks for the good fortune that had seen their community securely established. By unanimous vote they instructed Edward Rawson, clerk, to proclaim June 29 as a day of Thanksgiving, the 1st they had been able to permit

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

themselves since the beginning of the race war:

## AT A COUNCIL Held in CHARLESTOWN,

June 20, 1676.

**T**he Holy God having by a long and Continual Series of his Afflictive dispensations in and by the present Warr with the Heathen Natives of this land, written and brought to pass bitter things against his own Covenant people in this wilderness, yet so that we evidently discern that in the midst of his judgements he hath remembered mercy, having remembered his Footstool in the day of his sore displeasure against us for our sins, with many singular Intimations of his Fatherly Compassion, and regard; referring many of our Towns from Defolation Threatened, and attempted by the Enemy, and giving us especially of late with many of our Confederates many signal Advantages against them, without such Disadvantage to ourselves as formerly we have been sensible of, if it be the Lord's mercy that we are not consumed, It certainly bespeaks our positive Thankfulness, when our Enemies are in any measure disappointed or destroyed; and fearing the Lord should take notice under so many Intimations of his returning mercy, we should be found an Insensible people, as not standing before Him with Thanksgiving, as well as lading him with our Complaints in the time of pressing Afflictions: The Council has thought meet to appoint and set apart the 29th day of this instant June, as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving and praise to God for such his Goodness and Favour, many Particulars of which mercy might be Instanced, but we doubt not those who are sensible of God's Afflictions, have been as diligent to spy him returning to us; and that the Lord may behold us as a People offering Praise and thereby glorifying Him;

### "KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

Because often the English "cannot know a Heathen from a Christian by his Visage, nor Apparel," the Council ordered that a number of engraved brass medals be struck, to be handed out to various Algonquians who had

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

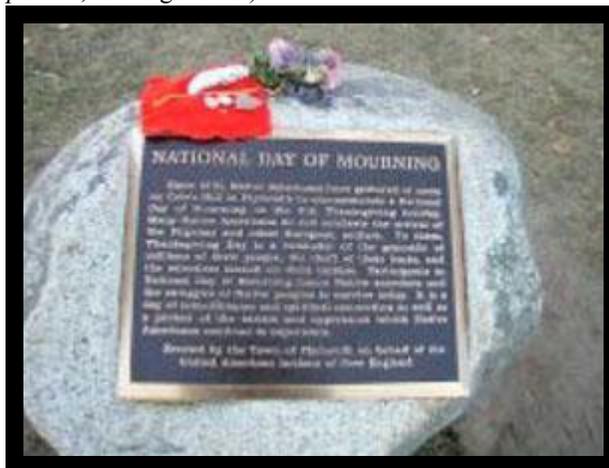
been serving the English faithfully. A badge of identification. Please don't kill or enslave this one.



June 21, Wednesday (Old Style): The Reverend John Eliot pleaded with the Bay Colony's governor for the life of Captain Tom Indian, or *Watasocamponum*.

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

June 22, Thursday (Old Style): The Reverend [John Eliot](#) was walking to attend a sermon in Boston when he came upon a marshal who was handing out the announcements of the upcoming Day of Thanksgiving. (This would be the marshal who on that day, June 29th, would be escorting the Christian native American, Captain Tom Indian, or *Watasocamponum*, to the gallows.)



According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

June 22. Two Indians, Capt. Tom and another, executed after Lecture. Note, at the Execution I delivered 2 Letters, one to Uncle Steph, another enclosed to unckle Nath, unto John Pike, to be by him conveyed. Last week two killed by Taunton Scouts,



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

as they were in the river, fishing. Note. This week Troopers, a party, killed two men, and took an Indian Boy alive.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

June 26, Monday (Old Style): [Metacom](#) had such a high regard for Captain Thomas Willett that during the race war he had ordered that the Willett family not be harmed. At this point, however, some native warriors who had not heard of this order captured Hezekiah Willett, a son of Captain Thomas Willett, 25 years of age, in or near Swansea, and cut off his ears and nose. (Possibly he remained alive until July 1st.) They then carried his head to their war leader, thinking they would be praised — but when Metacom would see this head he would adorn it with wampum, and comb its hair.

A [slave](#) of Captain Thomas Willett, captured at Swansea, would escape to [Taunton](#) to inform the people there of an impending Indian assault he had heard being discussed. Being thus warned, the Taunton people would be ready on July 11, 1676, and only two of their houses would be fired by the Indians, and only one Englishman killed. (Several years later, in gratitude, this black man would be [manumitted](#).)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

June 29, Thursday (Old Style): In accordance with the unanimous decision that had been taken on June 20th in Charlestown by the governing council, Massachusetts observed its 1st colony-wide day of Thanksgiving since the beginning of the race war:

The Holy God having by a long and Continual Series of his Afflictive dispensations in and by the present Warr with the Heathen Natives of this land, written and brought to pass bitter things against his own Covenant people in this wilderness, yet so that we evidently discern that in the midst of his judgements he hath remembered mercy, having remembered his Footstool in the day of his sore displeasure against us for our sins, with many singular Intimations of his Fatherly Compassion, and regard; reserving many of our Towns from Desolation Threatened, and attempted by the Enemy, and giving us especially of late with many of our Confederates many signal Advantages against them, without such Disadvantage to ourselves as formerly we have been sensible of, if it be the Lord's mercy that we are not consumed, It certainly bespeaks our positive Thankfulness, when our Enemies are in any measure disappointed or destroyed; and fearing the Lord should take notice under so many Intimations of his returning mercy, we should be found an Insensible people, as not standing before Him with Thanksgiving, as well as lading him with our Complaints in the time of pressing Afflictions: The Council has thought meet to appoint and set apart the 29th day of this instant June, as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving and praise to God for such his Goodness and Favour, many Particulars of which mercy might be Instanced, but we doubt not those who are sensible of God's Afflictions, have been as diligent to espy him returning to us; and that the Lord may behold us as a People offering Praise and thereby glorifying Him; the Council doth commend it to the Respective Ministers, Elders and people of this Jurisdiction; Solemnly and seriously to keep the same Beseeking that being perswaded by the mercies of God we may all, even this whole people offer up our bodies and soules as a living and acceptable Service unto God by Jesus Christ.

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Thanks were given to God for the signal victories of the English over their savage enemies.



The Reverend [John Eliot](#) accompanied Captain Tom Indian, or *Watasocamponum*, one of the Praying Indians who had been carried off to the forest by the warriors, to the Thanksgiving Lecture. After that sermon,

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*Watasocamponum* addressed the assembly of white people, explaining that

*I never did lift up hand against the English, nor was I at Sudbury, only I was willing to goe away with the enemise that surprized us.*

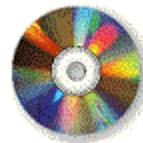


Then he and another native American man were hanged by the neck until dead. *Watasocamponum* was observed to die “praying to God not like the manner of the heathen.”



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”

— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63

Major [Samuel Sewall](#) jotted in his diary:



*Two Indians, Capt. Tom and another, executed after Lecture.*

Jill Lepore hypothesizes, on her page 144, that Captain Tom was executed at least in part not on account of his being red but on account of his being a male: “[I]t was more difficult for men to explain why they had chosen captivity over death than it was for women.” She points at the contrast between the treatment accorded a white woman, Mistress Mary Rowlandson, who chose captivity rather than death, and the treatment accorded a white man, Joshua Tift, who chose captivity rather than death. Rowlandson was allowed to write a book and redeem herself; when Tift was reclaimed from the savages, the English men who reclaimed him and began to interrogate him professed to not find him credible and executed him, on January 20, 1676: “[S]ince Tift was a man and Rowlandson a woman, Tift’s submission, his surrendering of his will, his willingness to go along with the Indians, were all the more culpable” (page 134).

Also according to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Just between the Thanksgiving, June 29, and Sab. day, July, 2,  
Capt. Bradfords expedition 20 killed and taken, almost an 100  
came in: Squaw Sachem.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### JULY

July 1, Saturday (Old Style): Edward Byllinge transferred his rights to New Jersey land to the [Quakers William Penn](#), Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, with Fenwick to receive one-tenth of the property as his fee for settling it, followed by the formal division of the province into East New Jersey and West New Jersey through the Quintipartite Deed, along an East/West line drawn by John Lawrence. This, it should be noted, did not eliminate Edward Byllinge as a New Jersey proprietor but was a step taken in anticipation of bankruptcy proceedings by his creditors. In fact, in the release signed by the Duke of York in 1680 and confirmed by the King in 1682, Byllinge would be not only named as one of the proprietors but also would be clothed with full power to govern in person.

The name of this document is “Quintipartite Deed of Revision, Between East and West Jersey.”

### READ THE FULL TEXT

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

July 1., 9 Indians sold for 30£. Capt. Hincksman took a little before. The night after, James the Printer and other Indians came into Cambridge.

Saturday, July 1, 1676. Mr. Hezekiah Willet slain by Naragansets, a little more than Gun-shot off from his house, his head taken off, body stript. Jethro, his Niger, was then taken: retaken by Capt. Bradford the Thorsday following. He saw the English and ran to them. He related Philip to be sound and well, about a 1000 Indians (all sorts) with him, but sickly: three died while he was there. Related that the Mount Hope Indians that knew Mr. Willet, were sorry for his death, mourned, kombed his head, and hung peag in his hair.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

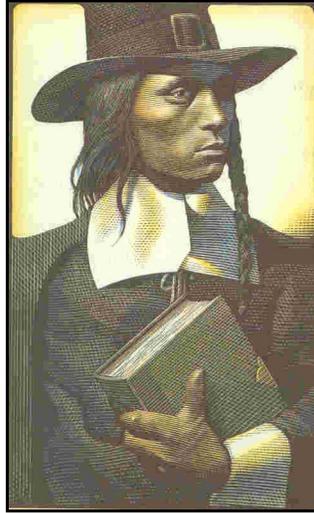
### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

July 2, Sunday (Old Style): At Cambridge, [James Printer](#) took part in the proclaimed amnesty, an amnesty which had



been extended to him in particular by the Massachusetts Council. These Boston Christians had charged [Major Daniel Gookin](#) to convey a special condition to him, that he should carry along with him as he came into Boston to surrender as proof of the sincerity of his repentance, “som of the enemies heads.” He forthwith came forward displaying the heads of two of his former compatriots of the forest, and was accepted back into the Christian fold.

Printer realized that his future lay with her (and hers with him). In the coming weeks Printer served as scribe during negotiations for Mary Rowlandson’s redemption. Then, when amnesty was offered to Christian Indians who had joined the enemy, Printer turned himself in to colonial authorities, bringing with him, as required by special instruction, the heads of two enemy Indians – testaments to his fidelity. Eventually Printer returned to his work at the press in Cambridge and, in 1682, in one of the most sublime ironies of King Philip’s War, James Printer set the type for *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*. Mary Rowlandson and James Printer are indeed a curious pair. Their intricately linked stories are at once uncannily similar and crucially divergent. Before the war, Mary’s husband, Joseph Rowlandson, was the minister of her town, while James’s brother, Joseph Tukapewillin, was the minister of his. Both Rowlandson and Printer spent the winter of 1675-1676 with enemy Nipmucs. Both returned to Boston months later to live, again, among the English. But while Rowlandson came to terms with her time among enemy Indians by writing a book, Printer supplied body parts.

The 300 Connecticut troopers headed by Major John Talcott, with their Pequot and Mohegan auxiliaries, began a sweep of Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#), rounding up any remnant Algonquins. Quaiapen was the widow of Miantonomo’s eldest son Mexanno, and the sister of Ningret, sachem of the Niantics. She was therefore Squaw

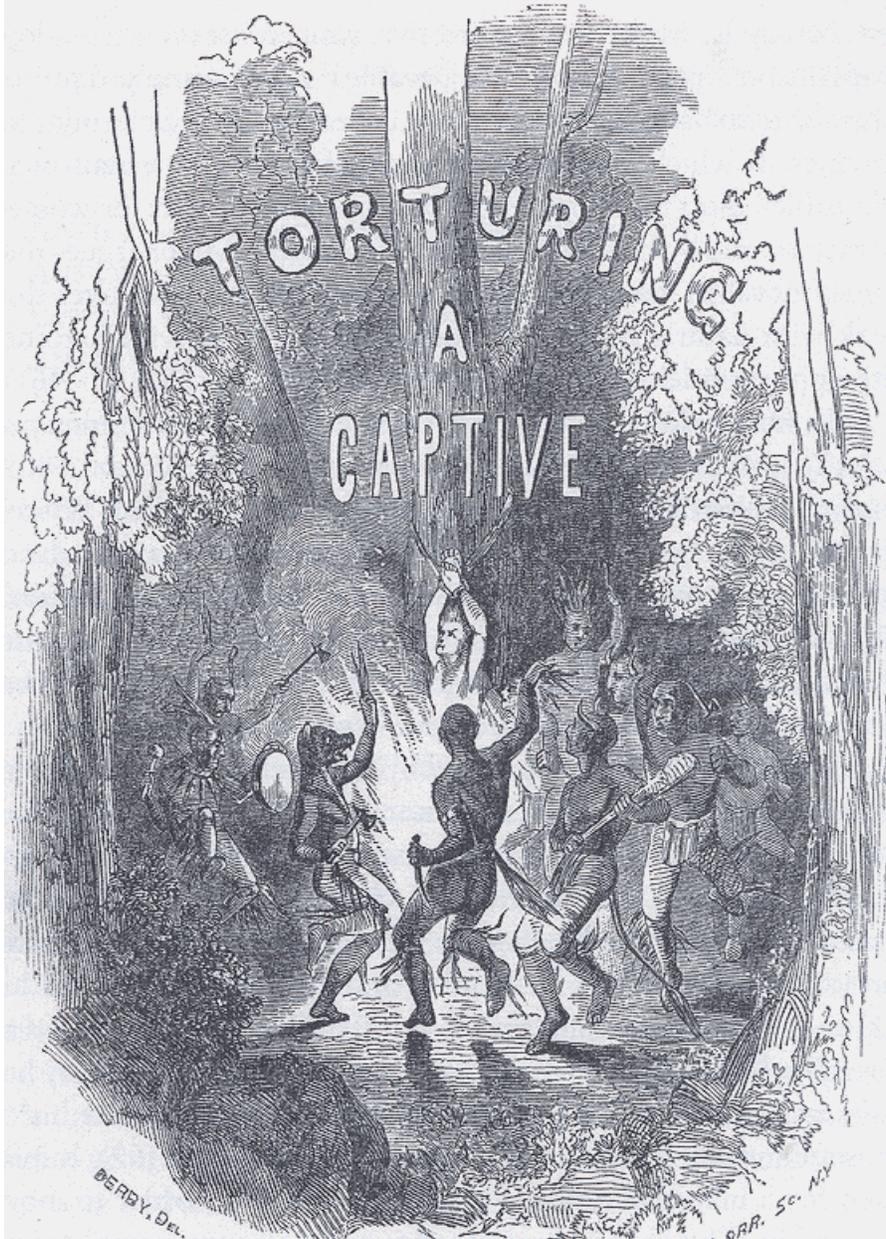
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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Sachem of one of these bands. The fugitives whom Quaiapen was leading, with her highly regarded chief counselor Potock, and with the chief native engineer, called by the English “Stone Wall John,” the man who is said to have designed the Queen’s Fort, are all presumed to have been slaughtered in one action at the south bank of the [Pawtuxet](#) River, near [Natick](#) (the body count afterward was 238 corpses). Although the English were not squeamish about offing people if it was inconvenient to hold them captive, they were exceedingly upset at the pleasure their Mohegan allies were deriving from the deliberate torture of captives.



As individuals were rounded up throughout this summer season, where convenient the English would be kindly and sell them as slaves to be transported off the continent. Potock, however, knew a whole lot, as he had been a high-level counselor, and so he was carefully interrogated. Presumably this questioning was

# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

accompanied by serious torture for, at the completion of the process, he was summarily executed.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 4, Tuesday (Old Style): The soldiers of Captain Benjamin Church began the ethnic cleansing of Plymouth, by searching out and taking into detention any remaining Wampanoag families.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



July 8, Saturday (Old Style): Samuel Shrimpton wrote to his wife Elizabeth:

*I doe verryly thinke that the warr with the Indians draws nigh an End. Wee have lately killed abundance of them & taken as many Captives. I bought 9 the other day to send to Jamaica but thinke to keep 3 of them.*



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63





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## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

Saturday, July 8, 9 Indians, 2 English sallied out, slew 5 and took two alive. These Indians were killed not many miles from Dedham.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

## DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL



July 9, Sunday (Old Style): According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

July 9, 10, &c. This week Indians come in at Plymouth to prove themselves faithful, fetch in others by force: among those discovered are some that murdered Mr. Clark’s family: viz, two Indians: they accuse one of them that surrendered to the English. All three put to death.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

## DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL



July 11, Tuesday (Old Style): American warriors assaulted [Taunton](#) but their attack was repelled.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



July 15, Saturday (Old Style): From Major [Samuel Sewall](#)’s diary in Boston:<sup>104</sup>After, heard of an hundred two



Quaker marcht through the town, crying, “Repent, &c.”



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Indians killed and taken. Note. One Englishman lost in the woods taken and tortured to death. Several Indians (now about) come in at Plymouth, behave themselves very well in discovering and taking others. Medfield men with volunteers, English and Indians, kill and take Canonicus with his son and 50 more.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

## DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

104. Thomas, M. Halsey, ed. THE DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL 1674-1729. NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

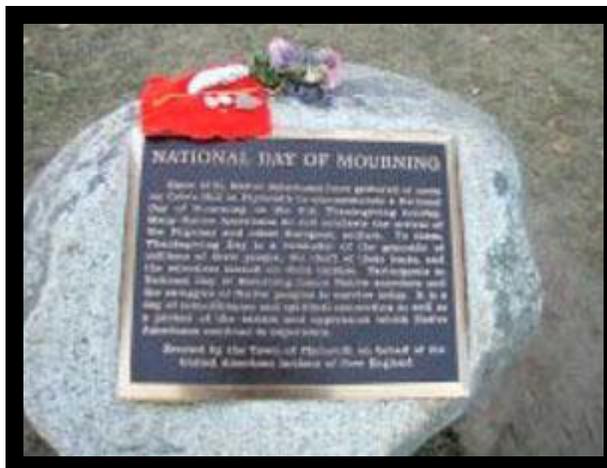
“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



July 21, Friday (Old Style): The Connecticut colony progressed from weekly Fast Day to weekly feast days.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



July 22, Saturday (Old Style): The Council of War allowed that it would be OK for magistrates to assign native American children as household servants in the homes of white citizens, to serve them to the age of “24 or 25,” as an alternative to killing them or selling them with their mothers into lifelong foreign slavery.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

July 27, Thursday (Old Style): At Boston, in pursuit of the proffered amnesty, the surrender of a band of 180 starving Nipmuc led by Sagamore John. They brought with them in bonds the sachem Matoonas and his son. Since this man was reputed to have led the first attack of the war, grateful Bostonians tied him to a tree on Boston Common and suggested to the Nipmuc that they might consider using him for target practice.

While these sorts of going-on were going on in beautiful downtown Boston, the Plymouth colony had organized a company of 150 white men and about 50 friendly Indians to patrol its western boundary. After a skirmish at Bridgewater MA, Metacom’s uncle had been found among the dead, leading to suspicions that the sachem of the surviving Wampanoag might have returned to the [Mount Hope](#) area.

According to the diary of [Samuel Sewall](#),

July 27. Sagamore John comes in, brings Mattoonus and his sonne prisoner. Mattoonus shot to death the same day by John’s men.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### AUGUST

Anonymous: **News from New-England, Being A True and last Account of the present Bloody Wars carried on betwixt the Infidels, Natives, and the English Christians, and Converted Indians of New-England, declaring the many Dreadful Battles Fought betwixt them: As also the many Towns and Villages burnt by the merciless Heathens. And also the true Number of all the Christians slain since the beginning of that War, as it was sent over by a Factor of New-England to a Merchant in London.** Licenfed Aug. 1. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON, Printed for J. Coniers, 1676 (Boston MA: Reprinted for Samuel G. Drake, 1850)

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

August 2, Wednesday (Old Style): On approximately this day there was a fight between Englishmen and native Americans at a place called Lockety Neck, now the town of Norton.

Captain [Benjamin Church](#), leading the company of men he had chosen individually for their Indian hunting skills and motivation, intercepted [Metacom](#), the designated culprit, as he was crossing the Taunton River, and captured his wife Wootonekanuske and their son, aged about nine years, and several other native women and children:

*My heart breaks; now I am ready to die.*



They decided that the boy was important enough as a pawn, being the future hereditary sachem of the tribe, that they should not off him right away.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

August 6, Sunday (Old Style): [Weetamoo](#), the squaw sachem of [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#), and not to be confused with Pocasset, Massachusetts) who had allied with her kinsman [Metacom](#), was captured by twenty men of Taunton at Gardiner’s Neck in Swansea, along with her few remaining followers. She made a break for it on a hastily constructed raft, attempting to get across the Taunton River. When her drowned body was discovered the English mutilated it and, cutting off the head, carried it into [Taunton](#) where they mounted it atop a pole on the village green.<sup>105</sup>



#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

#### THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

In American history it is ordinarily, unfortunately, no accident when it is women and children of color who are the ones being offed. In fact the white colonists typically considered it to be of more long-term benefit to them, to kill off the women and children of the natives, than to kill off their adult males, their warriors. The reason for this attitude was simple: these warriors represented only the present of the group of color, whereas women and children of color represented the future of the breed. Thus it would come about that, when in one of the military actions only 52 adult red males had been offed but all of 114 red women and children had been offed, the Reverend [William Hubbard](#) would celebrate the statistics of this as a “*signal Victory, and Pledg [sic] of Divine Favour to the English*” — for these 114 defenseless women and children had been “*Serpents of the*

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“KING PHILLIP”

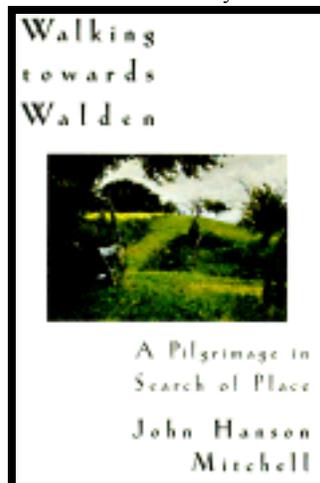
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

*same Brood*” (fast forward, if you please, to November 29-30, 1864  and the Reverend John Milton Chivington of the Sand Creek reservation massacre just at the edge of Denver, and to the explanation that this lay reverend race murderer offered to us all, that “*nits breed lice*”).



VALUES TO DEFEND!

On this same day, in [Concord](#), according to the historian [Daniel Gookin](#), superintendent of the native encampment at Deer Island, some white citizen sighted three of the local native American women with three of their children<sup>106</sup> wandering a bit too far from their official encampment on the shore of Flint’s Pond, onto the “Hurtleberry Hill” just to the southwest of [Walden Pond](#) — the geographical feature that eventually would come to be known by the curious name [Mount Misery](#). This little group, led by John Stoolmester (a native American, who was armed because he had just been released from military service with the whites and had 105. In John Hanson Mitchell’s *WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE* (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995, page 259) there is a gratuitous reference to “...a raiding party under the control of Queen Weetamoo...” which would seem to suggest that this squaw sachem, although separated from her consort Quinnapin, had something to do with the hostilities. Such an imputation is of course utterly false. These tribal groupings on occasion did have female leaders, but a female leader would have functioned only in a peacetime context and would have had nothing whatever to do with warfare. After the race war Quinnapin would be tried and executed: he definitely had been a wartime leader.



106. Six people who of course had names, but their names would be no part of the record kept by the people who terminated them for having committed this extreme error.

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**KING PHILIP.**



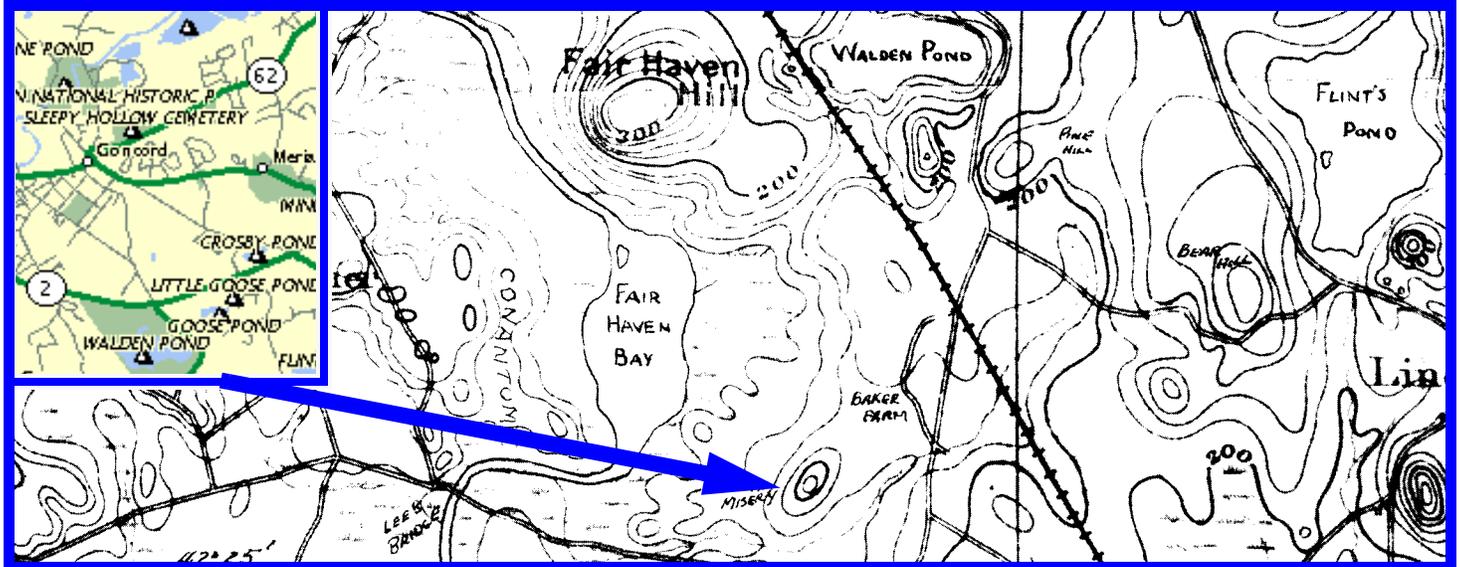
Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

not yet had an opportunity to turn in his weapon), was, presumably, merely out picking “hurtleberries” or huckleberries or whatever, but the countryside around and about Concord had been declared to be a Vietnam-style “free fire zone.” They had ventured than the permitted one mile, indeed they had gone as the crow flies about one and one half miles, from their recognized habitation, all the way to the other side of Walden Pond and onto the Hoar farm! So after the local white men had exchanged some bread and cheese for some of the berries, four of them, [Lieutenant Daniel Hoar](#) (a nephew of [John Hoar](#)), [Daniel Goble](#) and his nephew [Stephen Goble](#) (who had no wife or child and probably was no more than 22 years of age), [Nathaniel Wilder](#), went out to make themselves the death of this pic-nic. The three women and three children were chased and then murdered on the north slope of the hill. Their bodies were stripped of their coats and left to lie exposed. When the bodies would be found, some would be noticed to have been “shot through” while others would be noticed to have had “their brains beat out with hatchets.”<sup>107</sup>



107. A brief but indicative record of this race atrocity has been preserved in [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD](#).... The form of Shattuck's record is more informative than its content. His record appears only in the 2d footnote on his page 62, indicating, quite clearly, that as far as he is concerned, any race atrocities which involve white perpetrators and nonwhite victims could be at best mere footnotes to the **significant** events of a town's past. His note is preceded by an invidiously false but intendedly exculpatory declaration, that “Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government.” He proceeds to refer to the murdered wives as “squaws” and to this racial mass murder of them and their children as their having been “killed.” Making no mention in such a context of the town of [Concord](#), he situates this act of genocide “on a hill in Watertown, now in Lincoln.” He makes no mention of the fact that the six Concordians who were thus executed had been Concordians, as if, after all, they had only been reds rather than real people, nor does he make any mention of the fact that the four perps had been Concordians or, for that matter, of the obvious fact that such an egregious atrocity could only have been constructed by construing it, at that time, as having constituted an official military engagement of the Concord Militia.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



In the days of King Philip’s War, the Indians had spared the town of Concord. They burned the neighboring settlements, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Stow, but one of their chieftains said, as they glanced over Concord from a hill-top, “We shall never prosper if we go there. The Great Spirit loves that town.” This was an Indian legend, and one could well believe it. Plain, low, quiet, the village had no obvious distinction.



– Van Wyck Brooks, THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND

Later, when Andrew Pittimee, a local Native American who had been serving as a sergeant of the red guides for the white troops fighting in the race war, would return to Concord, he would not be able to find his family.<sup>108</sup> His wife had simply disappeared and was nowhere to be found. His two sisters also had disappeared; they were nowhere to be found. Inquiries revealed that three Indian women and three Indian children had been killed while out huckleberrying –where had they been buried — had their bodies even been buried– and Pittimee started going around making much trouble, talking of equal hanging for all. A lot of red men were being judged, why shouldn’t some white men be judged? The white militiamen who had set up this afternoon’s fun, Lieutenant Daniel Hoar (in charge, giving the orders, defending his family’s farm), Stephen Goble and Daniel Goble, and Nathaniel Wilder, eventually found themselves judged, not only by red people whose opinions really did not count for much, but also by landowners, selectmen, white men whose opinions really did count, to be guilty of the crime of murder. But, gee whiz, weren’t they just “following orders”?



[see next screen]

108. The fact that the white Concord soldiers were willing to be led through the forest by this Andrew Pittimee the red Concordian did not imply that they considered him human or of equivalent standing and rights with themselves, for according to the Reverend William Ames’s (October 6, 1605-January 11, 1654, a Harvard College graduate) CONSCIENCE WITH THE POWER AND CASES THEREOF (pages 188-9), “as it is lawfull to use the helpe of beasts, as of Elephants, Horses, &c. So also is it lawfull to use the aid of beastlike men.”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

## AT A COUNCIL Held in BOSTON,

August 30, 1675.

**T**he Council judging it of absolute Necessity for the Security of the English, and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Retrained their usual Commerce with the English, and Hunting in the Woods, during the Time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies,

Do Order, that all those Indians that are delirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations underwritten, until the Council shall take further Order; and that they so order the setting of their Wigwams, that they may stand Compact in some one Part of their Plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own Provision and Defence. And that none of them do presume to Travel above one Mile from the Center of such their Dwelling, unless in Company with some English, or in their Service near their Dwellings; and excepting for gathering and fetching in their Corn with one Englishman, on Peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors : And in Case that any of them shall be taken without the Limits abovesaid, except as abovesaid, and do lose their Lives, or be otherwise damnified, by English or Indians; The Council do hereby Declare, that they shall account themselves wholly Innocent, and their Blood or other Damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads. Also it shall not be lawful for any Indians that are in Amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder, but shall from Time to Time make Discovery whereof to some English, that shall be Appointed for that End to sojourn among them, on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.

Also, whereas it is the Manner of the Heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the Practice of all Civil Nations, to Execute their bloody Inolencies by Stealth, and Sculking in small Parties, declaring all open Decision of their Controversie, either by Treaty or by the Sword.

The Council do therefore Order, That after the Publication of the Provision aforeaid, It shall be lawful for any Person, whether English or Indian, that shall find any Indians Travelling or Sculking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the Limits above-named, to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to Kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, That it will be most acceptable to them that none be Killed or Wounded that are Willing to surrender themselves into Custody.

The Places of the Indians Residencies are, *Natick, Punguapaog, Nahoba, Wameit, and Hallanemait*: And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to Repair to some one of these.

By the Council.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Now more recently, on page 57 of John Hanson Mitchell's TRESPASSING: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1998), an extrabogus version of the Concord genocide story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations and suppressions, no native children were involved and only one woman was offed, her innocent activities at the time remain unspecified, only one white perpetrator was involved, who had been a passing stranger, the offense had been against town laws, it not being mentioned whether this was a Concord town law or a Boston statute — and the local militia of course had nothing whatever to do with the incident. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:



By the 1670s this Puritan concept of written law, of a higher doctrine, had become so established that during King Philip's War, when the wife of one of the sometime residents at Nashobah was killed by a passing Englishman at Hurtleberry Hill, the town fathers, finding the white man guilty under the aegis of town laws, felt compelled to hang him.

That is not to say that the native peoples of the Americas did not also have a concept of law or, for that matter, a concept of the division of land.



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



“Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it’s a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed.”

– Iris Chang, author of THE RAPE OF NANKING (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was cancelled by Basic Books due to threats from Japan, on May 20, 1999.



“Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it.”

– Russell Shorto



August 11, Friday (Old Style): Squando led an attack on Cleve’s Neck at Falmouth (Portland ME) in which 34 English were killed or captured.

The four Concord race murderers found themselves being escorted to the Boston lockup.

WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE  
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 12, Saturday (Old Style):<sup>109</sup> The word was out early that morning that King [Phillip](#), with his wife Wootonekanuske and child having been taken captive, and with all his efforts to obtain help from other native tribes having proven to be totally fruitless, had given up and gone home to [Pokanoket](#) to await his fate:



The next news we hear of Philip was that he had gotten back to Mount Hope, now like to become Mount Misery to him and his vagabond crew.



109. On this date William Harris wrote again to Sir Joseph Williamson, a letter which is a useful source of information.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



After a year's absence Philip, reduced to a miserable condition, returned to his native place, near which he was killed, Aug. 12, 1676. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart. His death put an end to this most horrid and distressing war. About 3000 warriors were combined for the destruction of New England, and the war terminated with their entire defeat, and almost total extinction. About 600 of the English inhabitants, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed [according to Trumbell, vol. i, page 350, and Holmes's *Annals of America*, i., page 384] and about 600 houses burned.<sup>110</sup>

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

110. [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 [Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

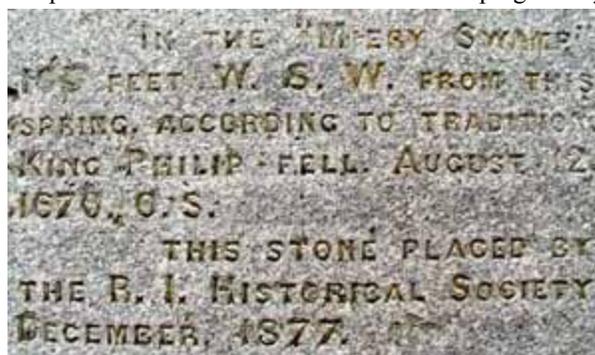
“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The warriors under Captain [Benjamin Church](#),<sup>111</sup> white and red, crept up during the previous night and in the dawn they assaulted [Metacom](#)'s hilltop ceremonial center at [Mount Hope](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s Narragansett Bay.



Surprise was achieved. An English-allied native informant named Alderman hunted down and shot the fleeing leader in the nearby swamps where in better times he had been keeping his royal herds of pigs.



The first shot through the upper chest put Metacom on his face in the mud and water on top of his gun. Alderman apparently then poured more powder down the barrel of his gun, rammed down another ball, charged his pan –a process requiring a certain amount of time– and then shot Metacom again, this time delivering the *coup de grace* directly through the heart. Some five or six persons who were with Metacom also were killed while attempting to escape. The white army gave “three loud huzzas.” As the Reverend Increase Mather would later characterize the accomplishment,<sup>112</sup> the grand result had been brought about by a combination of the white people’s righteous prayers to their God, and the red people’s wicked remarks in

111. [Benjamin Church](#) would later be paid the going rate for [Metacom](#)'s head, 30 shillings, “scant reward, and poor encouragement,” when it was mounted atop a pole in Plymouth common.

112. Reverend Increase Mather. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND (1676).

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

disregard of God’s wrath: the white warriors, he claimed, had prayed the bullet into Metacom’s heart, whereas there was an unnamed “chief” present who had been a sneerer at the Christian religion, who “withal, added a most hideous blasphemy, immediately upon which a bullet took him in the head, and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment among the devils, and blasphemers, in hell forever.”<sup>113</sup>



There are no authentic period depictions of this person.



The corpse of Metacom was “pulled out of the mire to the upland,” some tugging it by the stockings and others by the breechclout, the body being otherwise unclothed “and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like,” was quartered and hanged in four separate trees and the head and his trademark crippled hand were carried away.<sup>114</sup>No mention was made at the time, or later, about any pipe, any war club, or any wampum

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

belt associated with Metacom that had been sequestered either by Alderman or by Church as souvenirs of the event.

113. Since the Reverend Increase Mather’s PREVALENCY OF PRAYER was well known, and since this is from page 7 in the front of the book, we may suppose that the initial audience for WALDEN well understood that Thoreau was taking an actual slap at the memory of the Reverend on page 182, where he made his preposterous remark that “this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty.”

WALDEN: Some have been puzzled to tell how the shore became so regularly paved. My townsmen have all heard the tradition, the oldest people tell me that they heard it in their youth, that anciently the Indians were holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Samuel Sewall lettered neatly alongside this date in his [almanac](#): *Philippus exit*.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

114. Note: The head would be mounted atop a pole in Plymouth and would remain there for a quarter of a century. The hand, recognizable as King [Phillip](#)’s because crippled (evidently a pistol had split while being fired), would be preserved by Alderman in a bucket of rum and after being taken to Boston for inspection there would be displayed for pennies in taverns for many years. The horrible death and mutilation of the person who supposedly had caused these hostilities, however, would do little to bring these hostilities to an end. In western New England, and in Maine, this race war, which in actuality had always been an unplanned leaderless struggle between mutually antagonistic and intolerant groups, would continue unabated. The Abenaki of Maine (Penobscot) would be attacking the settlements of the English along the coastline well into 1677. The *Iroquois* and the Algonquian would be attacking in the inland regions for the next three generations, right up into the period of the French and Indian Wars.





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Here is how the scene would be depicted, from 1829 to 1887, on the American stage:

META. Embrace me, Nahmeokee – 'twas like the first you gave me in the days of our strength and joy – they are gone. [*Places his ear to the ground*] Hark! In the distant wood I faintly hear the cautious tread of men! They are upon us, Nahmeokee – the home of the happy is made ready for thee. [*Stabs her; she dies*] She felt no white man's bondage – free as the air she lived – pure as the snow she died! In smiles she died! Let me taste it, ere her lips are cold as the ice. [*Loud shouts. Roll of drums. Kaweshine leads Church and Soldiers on bridge, R.*]

CHURCH. He is found! Philip is our prisoner.

META. No! He lives – last of his race – but still your enemy – lives to defy you still. Though numbers overpower me and treachery surround me, though friends desert me, I defy you still! Come to me – come singly to me! And this true knife that has tasted the foul blood of your nation and now is red with the purest of mine, will feel a grasp as strong as when it flashed in the blaze of your burning dwellings, or was lifted terribly over the fallen in battle.

CHURCH. Fire upon him!

META. Do so, I am weary of the world for ye are dwellers in it; I would not turn upon my heel to save my life.

CHURCH. Your duty, soldiers. [*They fire. Metamora falls. Enter Walter, Oceana, Wolfe, Sir Arthur, Errington, Goodenough, Tramp and Peasants. Roll of drums and trumpet till all on.*]

META. My curses on you, white men! May the Great Spirit curse you when he speaks in his war voice from the clouds! Murderers! The last of the Wampanoags' curse be on you! May your graves and the graves of your children be in the path the red man shall trace! And may the wolf and panther howl o'er your fleshless bones, fit banquet for the destroyers! Spirits of the grave, I come! But the curse of Metamora stays with the white man! I die! My wife! My queen! My Nahmeokee! [*Falls and dies; a tableau is formed. Drums and trumpet sound a retreat till curtain. Slow curtain*]



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 14, Monday (Old Style): The fortified trading post of Thomas Clarke and Thomas Lakes at Arrowsic was destroyed.

According to the ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE, surviving [Narragansett](#) and [Wampanoag](#) captives were being offered for sale of their labor in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by a list of slavetraders which startlingly includes some famous names, and were being offered into this temporary human slavery at remarkably affordable prices:

A town meeting was held before Thomas Fields's house, under a tree, by the water side, on the 14th of August, 1676. A committee was appointed to determine in what manner the Indians should be disposed of. They reported as follows:

Inhabitants wanting, can have Indians at the price they sell at the Island of Rhode Island or elsewhere. All under five, to serve until thirty, above five and under ten, till twenty eight; above ten to fifteen, till twenty seven; above fifteen to twenty, till twenty six; from twenty to thirty, shall serve eight years; all above thirty, seven years.

We whose names are underwritten, being chosen by the town to see to the disposal of the Indians now in town, we agree that Roger Williams, N. Waterman, T. Fenner, H. Ashton, J. Morey, D. Abbot, J. Olney, V. Whitman, J. Whipple, sen.; E. Pray, J. Pray, J. Angell, Jas. Angell, T. Arnold, A. Man., T. Field, E. Bennett, T. Clemence, W. Lancaster, W. Hopkins, W. Hawkins, W. Harris, Z. Field, S. Winsor, and Capt. Fenner, shall each have a whole share in the product. I. Woodward and R. Pray, three fourths of a share each. J. Smith, E. Smith, S. Whipple, and T. Walling each half a share.

Signed,

[Roger Williams](#)

Thomas Harris, sen.

[Thomas Angell](#)

Thomas Field

John Whipple, Jr.

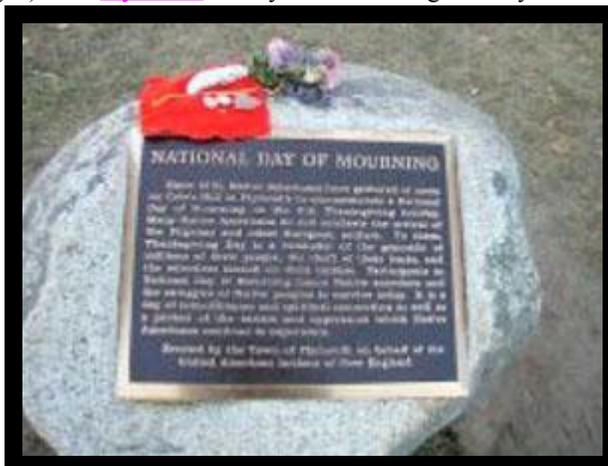
We have an additional document dating to this period, on this same topic:

To Anthony Low, five Indians, great and small eight pounds  
To James Rogers, two, for twenty bushels of Indian corn  
To Philip Smith, two, in silver, \$4.10  
To Daniel Allen, one, in silver, \$2.10  
To C. Carr, one, twelve bushels of Indian corn  
To Elisha Smith, one, in wool, 100 lbs.  
To Elisha Smith, one for three fat sheep

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

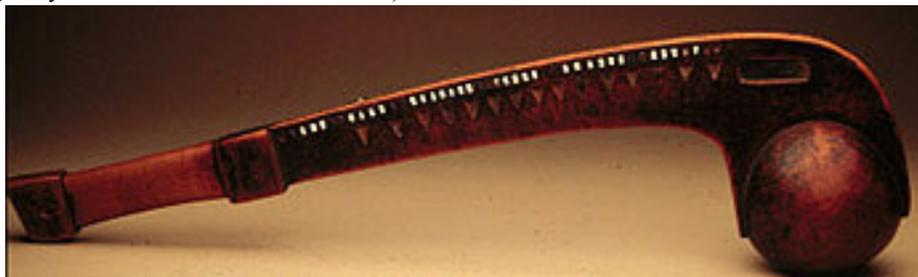
August 17, Thursday (Old Style): The [Plymouth](#) colony was observing this day as a day of Thanksgiving.



Shortly after the Reverend John Cotton had completed his Lecture sermon, Captain [Benjamin Church](#) rode into town with the severed head of [Metacom](#), the last surviving son of *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather ([Massasoit](#)) of [Pokanoke](#) who had been the colony’s benefactor, to whose friendship the white settlers owed so much. (To put an end to this line of succession, *Metacom*’s son –*Massasoit*’s grandson– would be sold into foreign slavery.) Church would receive a prize of 30 shillings for the body part, which he would characterize as “scanty reward, and poor encouragement,” but nevertheless the body part would be mounted atop a pole to serve as the centerpiece of the post-Lecture celebration.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Presumably, also on display at that time would have been [Metacom](#)’s crippled hand, in the possession of his killer, Alderman, and the war club, large pipe, and belt of beads, shells, and bones that (it would much later be alleged) had been found in the camp and had been presumed to have been *Metacom*’s. (Actually, we don’t know these items to have been *Metacom*’s, as five or six natives had been killed of that encampment, and anyway, no mention was made at the time of any such objects. — All we really know is that the Reverend [John Checkley](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would in a much later timeframe obtain some such items –allegedly from Alderman although we do not know that, allegedly by offering him his gold watch although we do not know that– and that two of the three items allegedly from the Checkley collection having disappeared, the club from his collection, whatever its real provenance, is presently at the Fruitlands Museum in Harvard MA after having for years been stolen and unlocated.)<sup>115</sup>



115. Nowhere in Captain [Benjamin Church](#)’s HISTORY is there any mention of any artifacts relating to [Metacom](#), other than his mutilated hand, his head, the four quarters of his body, his gun, his small breeches, his “petunk,” his stockings, and his powderhorn. At one point there was, allegedly, some sort of receipt from an Indian, who allegedly was selling a club, a belt, and a pipe to the Reverend [John Checkley](#), but there does not seem to be an indication that the signature was that of Alderman, nor has such a receipt been seen for many years, nor do we have any idea what might have happened to it.



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



“That [John Checkley](#) accumulated important and perhaps unique Native American artifacts is likely, that he bought them from Alderman with [Benjamin Church](#)’s assistance unlikely, and that he traded for them at the time of Philip’s death impossible.”



– Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougias,  
KING PHILIP’S WAR: THE HISTORY AND LEGACY OF AMERICA’S  
FORGOTTEN CONFLICT, Woodstock VT:  
The Countryman Press, 1999, page 296

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 24, Thursday (Old Style): As [Daniel Goble](#) sat in the Boston jail awaiting his hanging, he was still drawing a soldier's wages as a member of the troop of Captain Nicholas Manning. On this day these wages were assigned to his family.

The Reverend Increase Mather delivered the manuscript for his A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND to the print shop.



Here, then, was the solution to the colonists' dilemma ... wage the war, and win it, by whatever means necessary, and then write about it, to win it again. The first would be a victory of wounds, the second a victory of words.



[Washington Irving](#) would comment, in a later timeframe, that the Reverend had lingered:



with horror and indignation on every hostile act of the Indians, however justifiable, whilst he mentions with applause the most sanguinary atrocities of the whites. Philip is reviled as a murderer and a traitor without considering that he was a true born prince, gallantly fighting at the head of his subjects to avenge the wrongs of his family; to retrieve the tottering power of his line; and to deliver his native land from the oppression of usurping strangers.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

THE SCARLET LETTER: Next in order to the magistrates came the young and eminently distinguished divine, from whose lips the religious discourse of the anniversary was expected. His was the profession at that era in which intellectual ability displayed itself far more than in political life; for -leaving a higher motive out of the question- it offered inducements powerful enough in the almost worshipping respect of the community, to win the most aspiring ambition into its service. Even political power -as in the case of Increase Mather- was within the grasp of a successful priest.

August 25, Friday (Old Style): Just after the killing of Phillip, the [Rhode Island](#) government staged a court-martial of native headmen at [Newport](#), charging them with crimes such as treason and murder. The court panel probably included five [Quakers](#). There was no jury. Quinapin, Sunkeecunasuck, Wenanaquabin, and Wecopeak were found guilty and taken out and shot. There must have been some sort of special circumstances for Manasses Molasses, however (perhaps they weren't certain of his guilt?), for upon being convicted of killing [Friend](#) “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland earlier that year  at the Sin and Flesh Brook at [Pocasset](#), now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry, he was sold as a [slave](#).

### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*Din'd with Sir Jo: Banks's at his house in Lincolns Inn fields: upon recommending Mr. Upman to be Tutor to his sonn going into France: This Sir Jo: Bankes was a Merchant, of small beginnings, but by usurie &c: amass'd an Estate of 100000 pounds &c.*



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

August 26 (Old Style): *I din'd at the Admiralty, with [Sec\[retary\] Pepys](#): Supp'd at L[ord] Chamberlaines, here was Cap[tain] Baker, who had ben lately on the attempt of the Norwest passage: he reported prodigious depth of yce, blew as a Saphire & as transparant: That the thick mists was their chiefe impediment, & cause of returne: [I went home.]*

September 2 (Old Style): *I paied 1700 pounds, to the Marquis de Sissac, which he had lent to my L[ord] Berkeley &c: which I heard the Marqu[i]s lost at play [within] a night or two:*

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August 27, Sunday (Old Style): From Major [Samuel Sewall](#)'s diary: “We hear of Major Talcots coming on Indians travailing towards Albany, to dwell on this side Connect. river. He slew some, took others with most of the plunder.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

### DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL

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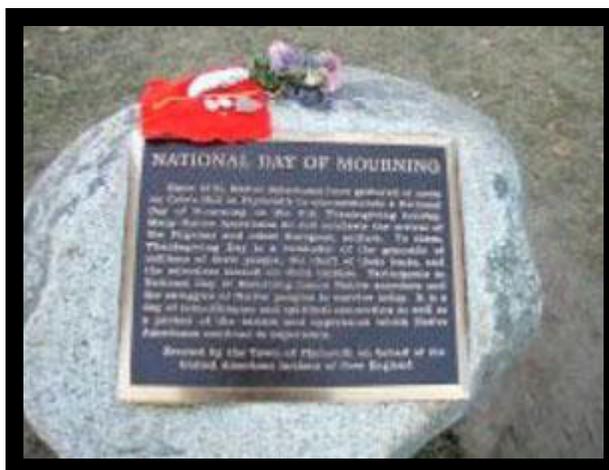
August 28, Monday (Old Style): At a cliff now known as Anawan’s Rock in the eastern part of [Rehoboth](#) to the north of a wooded country then known as Squannakonk Swamp (an area of nearly three thousand acres), Anawan, who at the death of Metacom had become sachem of what remained of the [Wampanoag](#), 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”

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August 30, Wednesday (Old Style): The Connecticut colony observed this day as a special day of Thanksgiving.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

SEPTEMBER

September: The whites thought it wise to place an English man in each of the Christian Indian villages, to keep an eye on their activities. It was very difficult to get anyone to accept this duty. John Watson, Sr. of Cambridge accepted the assignment because he was an Indian hater and was certain that he would be able to uncover hostility and cause it to be punished. After he had lived for some time in the [Natick](#) village, however, he found he had undergone a change in heart, and had become convinced that his new neighbors were a deeply religious people who desired only to live at peace with all. When he attempted to explain his change in heart to the other white people, however, he found himself being characterized as either a fool or a traitor. By the end of this month the white people living near Natick had come to believe that it must have been the Christian Indians who had set fire to an old empty barn in Dedham, and having done this dirty deed, they must be planning more such mischief. At this point, perhaps in part for the safety of the Indians themselves, [Major Daniel Gookin](#) was ordered to relocate them to Deer Island. A troop under Captain Thomas Prentice went to the village within the



hour, and moved the natives to the waterfront, where they were loaded into a flotilla of boats to convey them to their new home. Immediately that the natives exited their Natick village, the surrounding white families swooped down on the location and liberated everything the inhabitants had been forced to leave behind by the soldiers, such as guns, ammunition, stored foodstuffs, hunting gear, and clothing. Of course, none of these materials would ever be recovered by their owners.

Per their treaty agreements with the whites, the Narragansett brought to Richard Smith of [Wickford, Rhode Island](#) sixteen native American heads, supposedly of Phillip’s warriors. They received, for these grisly trade items, two yards of “trucking” cloth per each.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

September 3, Sunday (Old Style): A group of whites who had ventured to Munjoy’s Island (Peaks Island) after sheep were intercepted and killed by native Americans.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 4, Monday (Old Style): The Boston Court of Assistants heard the case of the four [Concord](#) race murderers. There was no questioning the evidence which was presented as to the murders or their circumstances, nor was there even any attempt on anyone’s part to question any part of it. The witnesses included Thomas and John Wilder, Thomas Goble, Sr., Thomas Goble, Jr., William Keene, Stephen Matcock, Philip Negro, two illegible names, and the Concord resident Daniel Deane. The concerned father, and attorney, [John Hoar](#) may also have testified. Instead of challenging any element of the evidence, the four defendants simply pleaded innocent — on the ground that they had, in offing these three defenseless women and these three defenseless children, in fact violated no law. Guilty? —Please advise us, guilty of precisely what?

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE



“...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.”

— Declaration of Independence



September 6, Wednesday (Old Style): The “black sachem” of the Namasket, Tuspaquin, had been offered an amnesty by Captain Benjamin Church, who had just captured his wife “Amie,” Metacom’s sister, and Tuspaquin’s and Amie’s children. When Tuspaquin turned himself in at Agawam (today’s Wareham MA), however, agreeing to switch sides and fight with the English, Captain Church was not present. He would be taken to Plymouth and beheaded, and his wife and son would be sold into slavery. Church would profess to be grieved upon finding out that this had happened.



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

With several hundred native survivors of King Phillip’s War having fled to the Cochecho area and having mingled with the Abenaki there, it fell to the lot of Major Richard Waldron to capture them and turn them over to visiting Boston authorities. This was a tricky situation, since he had just renewed a peace treaty with the Sagamore Wonalancet of the local Abenaki, and since 200 local treaty warriors were just then gathered in the Dover NH mill area. The major’s inspired solution was to suggest a “sham battle” in which white soldiers and Indian warriors could participate. In what is today a drugstore parking lot, Cochecho and Boston militia surrounded the Indians after they had on cue discharged their weapons in a volley into the air and, likely without loss of life, separated the local natives from the refugees. These 200 refugees were marched to Boston, where some were hanged and some sold into slavery.<sup>116</sup> After this, the Abenaki would be required to lay down their firearms as soon as they sighted any English person, and no native American would be able to travel on any path east of the Merrimack River without a written pass from Major Richard Waldron.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

A few Nashua would take refuge in the Pennacook villages, but this would be all the excuse the English would need, and an expedition under Captain Samuel Mosely would be sent out after them. The Pennacook would withdraw before the English reached them, but Mosely’s men would burn their village. A similar unprovoked attack would be made against the Ossipee and would draw the Penobscot and Kennebec into the fighting. Wonalancet still wanted to avoid a war with the English, so at this point he led his people to St. Francois in

116. Imagine, if you will, a celebratory sham battle of Civil War survivors, in which the men dressed in Southern gray would be encouraged to fire off their rifles in volley — and would then be disarmed and marched away by the Civil War survivors in blue, to be executed or sold into slavery.

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“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Canada, taking the Nashua survivors with him.



What  
goes  
around  
keeps  
coming  
around  
and  
around  
and  
around...



From Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s beloved 1866 poem “Snowbound”:

Told how the Indian hordes came down  
At midnight on Cochecho town,  
And how her own great-uncle bore  
His cruel scalp-mark to fourscore.

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*Supp'd at L[ord] Chamberlains, where also supped the famous beauty & errant Lady, the Dutchesse of Mazarine (all the world knows her storie) the Duke of Monmouth, Countesse of Sussex, both natural Children of the Kings, by that infamous Adulteresse the Dut[chess] of Cleaveland: & the Countesse of Derby a vertuous Lady, daughter to my best friend, the Earle of Ossorie; I returned next day:*

September 12 (Old Style): *To Lond[on] to take order about the building of an house, or rather an appartment, which had all the conveniences of an house; for my deare friend Mr. Godolphin & Lady: which I undertooke to Contrive, & Survey, & employ workmen in, til it shold be quite finished: It being just over against his Majesties Wood-yard, by the Thames side, leading to Scotland yard: I din'd with P[ri]vately [returned.]*

September 17 (Old Style): *Viccar on 3.Joh[n]16: There dined with me Mr. Flamested the learned Astrologer & Mathematitian, whom now his Majestie had established in the new Observatorie in Greenewich Park, and furnish'd with the choicest Instruments: an honest, sincere man &c: Pomerid: Curate, as before:*

September 18 (Old Style): *18 To Lond, to survey my Workemen, dined with P[ri]vately and [19] then with Mrs. Godolphin to Lambeth, to that rare magazine of Marble, to take order for chimney-pieces &c: The Owner of the workes, had built him a pretty dwelling: This Dutchman, had contracted with the Genoezes for all their Marble &c: We also saw the Duke of Bouckingams Glasse worke, where they made huge Vasas of mettal as cleare & pondrous & thick as Chrystal, also Looking-glasses far larger & better than any that come from Venice: I din'd with Mr. Godolphin & his Wife:*

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September 13, Wednesday (Old Style): Eight Native Americans were executed on Boston Common, by shooting.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 15, Friday (Old Style): Three Native Americans were [hanged](#) on Boston Common.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[Daniel Goble](#) of [Concord](#), in his prison cell in Boston, condemned to be [hanged](#) for his part in the killing of three innocent natives on Mount Misery, made his will on this day, naming his wife Hannah and their four children Hannah who had been born on November 3, 1666 and was thus nine years of age, Daniel who had been born on March 21, 1669 and was thus seven years of age, John who had been born on July 20, 1671 and was thus five years of age, and Elsey who had been born during 1673 and was thus two or three years of age.

The convictions by the General Court of the colony, of these white warriors for the murders of six Christian Indians, convictions, of white men for the mere killing of red women and children, that were so utterly unique in the history of this bloody race conflict, had enraged many of the colonists. For instance, William Marsh was going around the colony blowing hard, telling all and sundry that “there was no feare of those being hanged for there were three or foure hundred men what wold gard them from the gallows.” The prisoners had evidently been contacted in the jail, for we find a record also that “There was a nough wold stand to what he had said hoo ... had been att prison to and spoke with those men.”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 21, Thursday (Old Style): On Boston Common, [Stephen Goble](#), one of the white Concordian militiamen who had murdered the three nameless Native American women and their three nameless children on [Mount Misery](#), was



[hanged](#) till thou beest dead and the Lord be merciful to thy soul.



On the same platform on this occasion, a woman who was there to be publicly whipped for adultery<sup>117</sup>

117. We may note that the punishment of this Boston adulterer, name not of record, was public whipping, [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#) THE SCARLET LETTER to the contrary notwithstanding.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

mocked this Concordian “instigated by the devil.”



*Stephen Goble of Concord, was executed for murder of Indians: three Indians for firing [Thomas] Eames his house [at Sherborn], and murder [of Eames's wife and some of his children]. The wether was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. [Reverend Thomas] Mighil prayed: four others sate on the Gallows, two men and two impudent Women, one of which, at least, Laughed on the Gallows, as several testified.*

Presumably, the body of [Stephen Goble](#) was then buried. The bodies of the Native Americans of course were not buried, and presumably it was the practice to give the bodies of “tawny Serpents,” when they were not needed for medical training, to the Boston pigs — although I do not know of this for sure.<sup>118</sup> [Stephen Goble](#)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

left no wife or child.

118. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

In this history of Concord the matter is handled in its totality in a footnote by quoting, allegedly verbatim, from the manuscript of Sewall's journal, as follows:

*“Sept. 21, 1671 [sic], Stephen Gobble [sic] of Concord was executed for the murder of Indians. Three Indians for firing Eames's house and murder. The weather [sic] was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed. 4 others set [sic] on the gallows — two men and 2 impudent women ; one of which laughed on the gallows, as many [sic] testified.”*

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 22, Friday (Old Style): Major [Samuel Sewall](#) participated in what may have been an attempt to discover whether Native Americans are human beings:



*Spent the day from 9 in the M[orning] with Mr. [Dr. Samuel] Brackenbury, Mr. [Benjamin] Thomson, Butler, [Richard] Hooper, Cragg, [Thomas] Pemberton, dissecting the middlemost of the Indian executed the day before. [Richard Hooper] ... taking the [heart] in his hand, affirmed it to be the stomach.*



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

We can be quite assured that these men did not cook any part of the body, their interest being scientific. Scientific investigation was, however, only in its beginning stages in these English colonies: for instance, in the late summer of the previous year, to find out whether it was true as rumored that Native American children, little animals, could swim at birth, you will remember that some sailors had upset a canoe in the mouth of the Saco River. The white men had disproved their hypothesis, but they had also gotten into trouble, because the mother of the child managed to retrieve her child and escape, and the child died, and was the child of the sagamore [Squanto](#) in Maine.



Squanto was so provoked, that he conceived a bitter antipathy to the English, and employed his great art and influence to excite the Indians against them.

Were these white sailors [hanged](#) for such conduct? We don't know, of course our histories are silent on such points, but my guess would be, no.<sup>119</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



September 25, Monday (Old Style): From June 25th up to this point in time, the receipts of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for the sale of 188 Algonquian “prisoners of war” into foreign slavery amounted to £397.13, or about £3 per head.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

119. It has recently been pointed out that, although it is commonly assumed in history books that the period of hostilities began with sneak attacks by red warriors upon defenseless isolated farming families, in fact the peace treaty of the time was arranged in such a way that the native American peoples and cultures would be exterminated whether in their desperation they held to these treaties, and were humiliated and abused individually, or violated these treaties, and made themselves subject to punitive expeditions against entire groupings. Noticing that the situation was constructed in such a manner as to make it a win-win situation for the white people and a lose-lose situation for the red people, one may legitimately infer that it was not constructed in that manner by any accident.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

September 26, Tuesday (Old Style): Another of the [Concord](#) murderers, [Daniel Goble](#), was taken, unable to stand due to some illness, “upon bed cloaths,” to be [hanged](#) on Boston Common (or at least near this common in a square where a gallows tree had been raised), along with five more Native American men found guilty of taking the wrong side in the uprising.



Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Goble is drawn in a Cart upon bed Cloaths to Execution... One ey'd John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quapaug, General at Lancaster, &c, Jethro (the Father) walk to the Gallows.

One William Marsh, who has sworn he would prevent these hanging of English men, had been being held safe in prison for more than a week.

Daniel was perhaps the uncle of the unmarried youth [Stephen Goble](#) of [Concord](#), who had already been executed on September 21, 1676  for this murder. He left a will, made by him six days before his execution, disposing of an estate amounting to £176, naming his wife Hannah of [Concord](#) and their four children Hannah who had been born on November 3, 1666 and was thus nine years of age, Daniel who had been born on March 21, 1669 and was thus seven years of age, John who had been born on July 20, 1671 and was thus five years of age, and Elsey who had been born during 1673 and was thus two or three years of age.

Another record has it that the natives who were hanged in Boston on this day included “One-ey’d John, Maliompe the Sagamore of Quapaug, and Old Jethro,” the father who had been turned in by his own son Peter Jethro.

Another record has it that the natives who were hanged in Boston on this day included Monoco, who had surrendered to Major Richard Waldron of New Hampshire upon a promise of amnesty, and Muttawmp, and Shoshonin (I don’t know how to account for the difference in names).

We of course notice that this is prior to our signing of the Geneva Convention that specified the treatment which was to be accorded to prisoners of war.<sup>120</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

120. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) handles this matter in its totality in a footnote by quoting, allegedly verbatim, from the manuscript of Sewall’s journal, as follows:

“Sept. 26, 1676, Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Gobble [sic] is drawn in a cart upon bed-clothes to execution. One-ey’d John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quaboag, gen’l at Lancaster &c. Jethro (the father) walked to the gallows. One-ey’d John accuses Sag. John to have fired the first gun at Quaboag and killed Capt. Hutchinson.”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### FALL

Fall: One of the last Native Americans to be brought in from the forest told his white captors that his name was Conscience. When the soldiers communicated this to their officer, Captain [Benjamin Church](#) commented, or, he alleged later that he had commented,<sup>121</sup>



Conscience, then the War is over, for that was what they were searching for, it being much wanting.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

121. Church, Thomas, “Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip’s War which began in the Year 1675,” reprinted in Slotkin, Richard and James K. Folsom, eds., SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT: PURITAN RESPONSES TO KING PHILIP’S WAR, 1676-1677 (Middletown OH: Wesleyan UP, 1978), pages 463-4.

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“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

#### OCTOBER

October: Thomas Cobbet, Junior, son of the Reverend Thomas Cobbet of Ipswich, who had been taken hostage more than nine weeks before, was ransomed for a coat:



This was done by the influence of Mug, an Indian chief, who stopped, while on his way to Boston for negotiating a peace, at Ipswich, and then promised Mr. Cobbet, the father of the young man, that he would send him home.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 11, Wednesday (Old Style): [John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*I went to Lond[on] with Mrs. G[odolphin]*



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Although [Stephen Goble](#) and [Daniel Goble](#) had been [hanged](#) on Boston Common, the death sentences of the other two [Concord](#) race murderers, the youth [Nathaniel Wilder](#) and his commanding officer, militia Lieutenant [Daniel Hoar](#), were commuted to time served and a small fine (“on payment of cost, and some £10. each to the Indians,” “payment of a sum of money to the Indians and costs of prosecution” — see COLONIAL RECORDS V).



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[Nathaniel Wilder](#) would go on and, in Sudbury and back in Lancaster, with his wife Mary, have seven children between 1677 and 1694, including Ephraim Wilder, born on April 16, 1677, Mary Wilder, born on May 12, 1679, and Elizabeth Wilder, born on February 14, 1681. The couple would open an inn in Lancaster and accumulate a sizeable estate. He would have risen to the rank of lieutenant in the local militia when killed by native Americans during an attack upon the garrison, on July 31, 1704.

[Daniel Hoar](#), a nephew of the troublesome attorney [John Hoar](#) of Concord, would marry on July 19, 1677 with Mary Stratton, daughter of Samuel Stratton, and they would have a son John Hoar, born on October 24, 1678, Daniel Hoar, born about 1680, Leonard Hoar, Jonathan Hoar, Joseph Hoar, Benjamin Hoar, Mary Hoar, born on March 14, 1689, Samuel Hoar, born on April 6, 1691, Isaac Hoar, born on May 15, 1695, David Hoar, born on November 14, 1698; and Elizabeth Hoar, born on February 22, 1701. He would thus become a grandfather of Concord’s righteous Squire Samuel Hoar and a great-grandfather of Edward Sherman Hoar, George Frisbie Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Elizabeth Sherman Hoar, etc. Having pumped eleven children through his 1st wife Mary Stratton Hoar, he would then on October 16, 1717 take a Mary Lee as his 2nd wife.

Anonymous: **A TRUE ACCOUNT** Of the Moft **CONSIDERABLE OCCURRENCES** That have hapned in the **WARRE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH and the INDIANS IN New-England**, From the Fifth of *May, 1676*, to the Fourth of *August* last; as also of the Succesſes it hath pleaſed God to give the *English* againſt them : As it hath been communicated by Letters to a Friend in *London*. The moſt Exact Account yet Printed. ... Licenſed, *October 11. 1676*. Roger L'Eſtrange. *LONDON*, Printed for *Benjamin Billingsley* at the Printing-Prefs in *Cornhill, 1676*.

March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

October 12, Thursday (Old Style): Two Native Americans were executed on Boston Common.



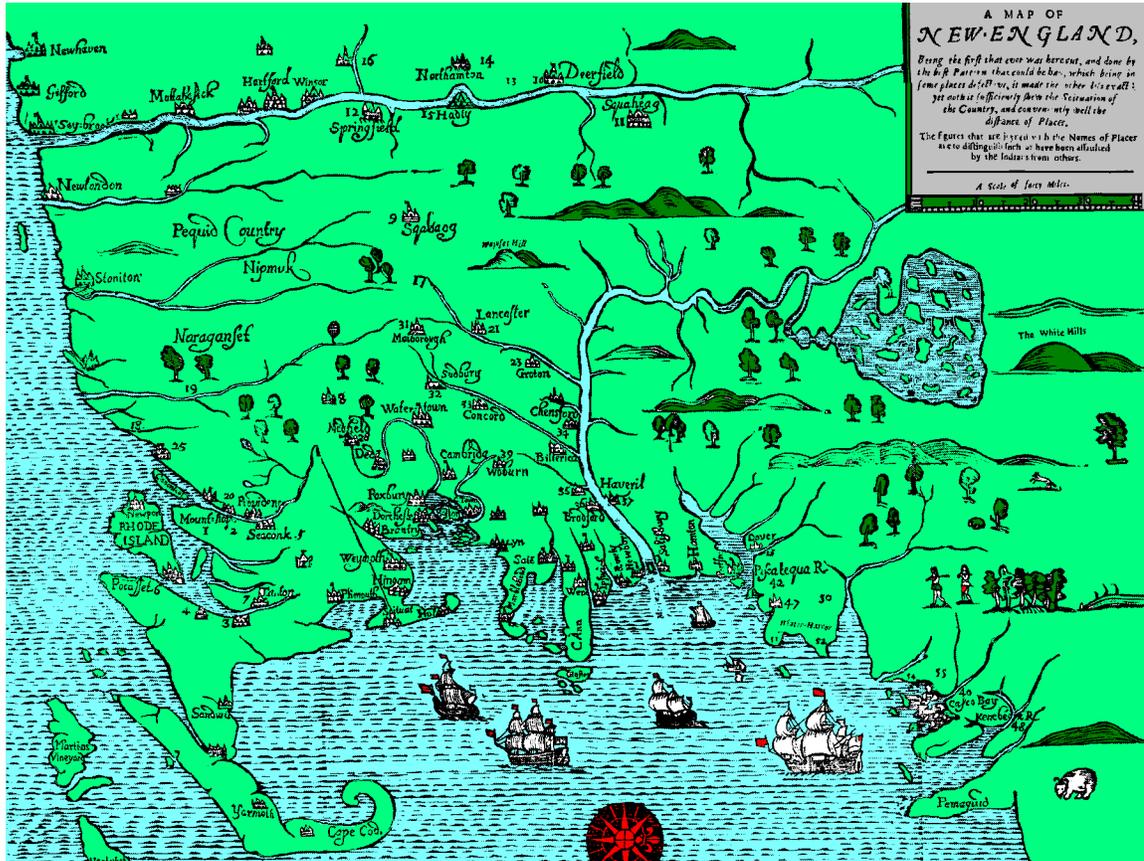
Later, some of the surviving local tribespeople would be returning to Concord to serve as indentured servants, and see white farmers in control of what had been their fields. —And any runaways from this period of indenture, if recaptured, could under the laws of the time be sold by their employers into lifelong foreign

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

slavery.<sup>122</sup>



“Land! Land! Hath been the idol of many in New England!”–Increase Mather

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

I, Concord, have power, take notice  
 To carry towns and move millstones  
 Yes, I am an invincible one for all enemies  
 But sighing and weeping will overwhelm those who crush my followers  
 And they will lose their refuge with great shame  
 As has become clear in various lands  
 But whoever loves me and keeps me in mind  
 He must lock up Discord  
 Or otherwise he'll find himself deceived in the end.<sup>123</sup>

122. Wheeler, Ruth R. CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM. Concord MA: The Concord Antiq. Soc., 1967, page 54:



After a successful search for Biblical precedents, these poor Indians were sold into slavery.

New England Native Americans of the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Nipmuc groups were sold into slavery not only in Virginia and Bermuda and the islands of the West Indies such as Jamaica, but also in the Azores, and in Spain and Portugal. By 1775, there would be only 1,500 Nipmuc left – and by Thoreau’s time there would be none at all. Generally, with exceptions, adult males were hanged on suspicion of having been warriors, and it was only women and children who were sold as slaves. The slavery situation was particularly difficult due to the well-deserved reputation of Americans, that they made difficult slaves. One of the slave vessels was turned away in port after port, and had to dispose of its cargo finally in Tangier.

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



The Reverend John Higginson declared the hostilities to be a test, to probe “whether, according to our profession and [God’s] expectation, we would keep his commandments, or not.”<sup>124</sup> The Concord murders indicate that war is not the best way to incite people to keep the commandment “Thou shalt not kill.”

Of course, one might have anticipated some such finding.

123. Translated from this woodcut prepared by Cornelis Anthonisz, “The Misuse of Prosperity.” (The Increase Mather quote on the previous page is cited in Slotkin & Folsom, *SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT*, pages 71-2.)

124. Quoted in the Reverend Cotton Mather’s *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA* (Hartford CT: Silas Andrus & Son, 1855), Volume I, page 16.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Anonymous: **A New and Further NARRATIVE** Of the STATE of **NEW-ENGLAND, BEING** A Continued ACCOUNT of the Bloody **Indian-War**, From *March* till *August*, 1676. Giving a Perfect Relation of the Several Devaftations, Engagements, and tranfactions there ; As alfo the Great Succeffes Lately obtained againft the Barbarous *In-dians*, The Reducing of King *Philip*, and the Killing of one of the Queens, &c. Together with a Catalog of the Loffes in the whole, fuftain-ed on either Side, fince the faid War began, as near as can be collected. Licenfed *October 13*. *Roger L'Estrange*. LONDON, Printed by *J.B.* for *Dorman Newman* at the *Kings Armes* in the *Poultry*, 1676.

March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 27, Friday (Old Style): The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly took jurisdiction over the lands which had pertained to the [Narragansett](#) — not to take them from natives who by this time were powerless to object but to keep them from the white Connecticut settlers who had invaded the rez lands nearly a dozen times in the preceding year.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

NOVEMBER

→ November 1, Wednesday (Old Style): The Connecticut colony observed this day as a special day of Thanksgiving.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



November 2, Thursday (Old Style): On the basis of reports from Richard Smith of Wickford, Rhode Island, the commissioners of the United Colonies prepared a bill of indictments against the Narragansett. One of the accusations was that when the people of this tribe had heard about the attack on Hadley MA, they had “in a very Reproachfull and blasphemouse manor triumph and Rejoyce thereatt.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

November 9, Thursday (Old Style): The Reverend Edward Bulkeley declared that

*God hath been pleased to look with favor on his people, helping them to repel the heathen that had burst like a flood upon so many of our towns. Of the several tribes risen against us, there now scarce remains a name or family in their former habitations but are either slain, captive, or fled into remote parts of this wilderness. Let us give praise to God for His singular and fatherly mercies.*



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The Reverend **Cotton Mather**’s comment, later, was, at the very least, heartily Un-Christian, or headily Christian:

*God sent ‘em in the head of a Leviathan for a **thanksgiving feast**.*

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

How similar this comment, by the right Reverend, to the cynical 20th-Century comment heard so frequently on sportscasts, “Lo, how the mighty have fallen!” Was our founding father serving for his time and place the function now filled by the TV news commentator? –One might suggest that the divine seems to have missed the difference between praying and preying.<sup>125</sup> We will notice in this incident that people were not so fastidious then as they now are, for the severed head of the Native American leader had been on display on a gibbet in Plymouth for 20 years when Reverend Mather saw it, and by that point had evidently stopped rotting and stinking — so he was able to reach out his hand and tear the jawbone away from the skull and take it home as a souvenir.<sup>126</sup>

*... the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous leviathan.*

That pagan was “blasphemous,” it seems, because before Christians killed him he had commented to the Reverend John Eliot that he cared no more for the Gospel than he did for a button upon his coat.



“We despite all reverences and all the objects of reverence which are outside the pale of our own list of sacred things. And yet, with strange inconsistency, we are shocked when other people despise and defile the things which are holy to us.”



125. Actually, that pun is from the period in question, offered to history by (among others) a New England racist named Nathaniel Saltonstall:

*They that wear the Name of Praying Indians have made Preys of much English Blood.*

126. Refer to “Brief History,” page 197.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

– Mark Twain

It has recently been pointed out that, although it is commonly assumed in history books that the period of hostilities began with sneak attacks by red warriors upon defenseless isolated farming families, in fact the peace treaty of the time was arranged in such a way that the Native American peoples and cultures would be exterminated whether in their desperation they had held to these treaties, and had been humiliated and abused individually, or had violated these treaties and thereby rendered themselves liable to punitive expeditions against entire groupings. Noticing that the situation was constructed in such a manner as to make it a win/win situation for the white people and a lose/lose situation for the red people, one may legitimately infer that it was not constructed in that manner by any accident.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

According to one commentator, taking into account the small population figures for the time, this race war that broke out in New England in the 1670s inflicted a greater proportion of casualties than any other war in United States history, more than even the Civil War. We may legitimately assume, however, on the basis of the fact that these comments were made in the 1950s, that the population figures the white scholar was referring to were the population figures for white people, and that his use of the word “our” in this context can be expanded to mean precisely “we white folks.” Because the casualty rate among non-whites, in this combat which spared not the noncombatant, nor the woman nor the child, –and in the period of ethnic cleansing which followed, in which any Native American of the New England region who could not get a white person to vouch for him or her was sold into slavery<sup>127</sup> with the proceeds of the sale going either to the nearest white man or to the government– must most assuredly have been vastly higher. Another historical commentator, commenting in a more recent period, and this time actually paying attention to the recorded names of white people who had been killed in the fighting or who had died of wounds shortly afterward, has concluded that the white “body count” was vastly exaggerated by the rumor mill that was of course grinding in that era, and that in actual fact the desperate native Americans only managed to kill approximately 100 white people, or at most somewhat less than 200, before they were hunted down in the forest.

*So let all thine Enemies perish, O Lord!*

Another interesting statistic is that, with the forest cleared of “tawny Serpents,” there was a great resurgence of game species. When the white huntsmen found it safe to venture again into the forests, they found New England just teeming with things they could kill. Only the local beaver, which had been hunted virtually to extinction by 1670 in order to obtain trade goods from Europe, would fail to make a significant comeback after this race slaughter.

127. One of these 10-year-old Native American booties of war would provide service in the home of the family of the Reverend Roger Williams. Since this Reverend is now generally held to have been a really great guy (champion of religious liberty and all that), let us piously hope that this young charge was able to take full advantage of the opportunity of having such a fine role model so early in life — and that in consequence he grew up to be a really decent person.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

November 10, Friday (Old Style): The count on this day was that there were a total of 567 Praying Indians in all of New England, of which total 450 were women and children, with only 117 at most being males capable of engaging in warfare. Specifically in the vicinity of Concord, there were but 60 only, and only 10 of these were males capable of engaging in warfare — not much of a threat.

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The missionary labors of Eliot [the Reverend John Eliot] and his associates were attended with considerable success. At Natick was a kind of theological seminary, where natives were educated and sent forth to be rulers and teachers in other places. The Bible and several other books were translated and printed in their language, which requires the word: *Kummogkodonatootumootiteaongannunnonash* to express in English “our question.” This was indeed a Herculean task. In 1674, Eliot had organized two churches and fourteen towns, containing 1100 inhabitants [1 Historical Collections vol. i, page 195.] who had ostensibly embraced Christianity. A part of them only, however, appear to have been influenced by Christian principles. During Philip’s War, this number was very much reduced. Many of them became treacherous, and were among the worst enemies of the English.

Some of them suffered death for their defection. [Mattoonus, constable at Pakachoog, was executed.] The remainder were gathered in English towns, behaved like exemplary Christians, and were of essential service to the English in Philip’s War. The whole number on the 10th of November 1676, was 567 only, of which 117 were men and 450 women and children. The Nashobah or Concord Praying Indians, who remained friendly to the English were 10 men and 50 women and children; and they then lived in Concord under the inspection of the committee of militia and the selectmen of the town.

The other places where the Praying Indians met on the Sabbath for religious worship at this time, were Medfield, Andrew Deven’s Garrison, near Natick, Lower Falls, Nonantum and Dunstable.<sup>128</sup>

Some other notices of the Nashobah Indians, while resident in Concord will be given when the events of Philip’s War are treated of. After this time, they appear to have nearly abandoned their plantation, and to have removed to Natick. May 19, 1680, 23 inhabitants of Concord petitioned the General Court that the lands belonging to those Indians might be granted to them, but it was refused; because there were “debts due from the country which might be provided for by the sale of the land, if the Indians have no right or have deserted the place.”

In reply the petitioners say, “There never were any lands purchased of the country for townships.” The petition was

128. I have communicated to the American Antiquarian Society for publication, among other papers, a document in the hand writing of Major Gookin, giving a particular account of the disposition of all the Praying Indians at this time, from which the above facts are taken.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

ineffectually renewed in 1691. It appears, however, that the Honorable Peter Bulkeley of [Concord](#) [not the Reverend Peter Bulkeley, who had died in 1659, but a descendant] and Major Thomas Henchman of Chelmsford on the 15th of June, 1686, bought the easterly half of the Nashobah Plantation for 70 pounds sterling.

The Indian grantors were as follows:

“Kehonowsquaw, *alias* Sarah, the daughter and sole heiress of John Tahattawan, sachem, and late of Nashobah, deceased.

Naanishcow, *alias* John Thomas.

Naanasquaw, *alias* Rebeckah, wife to the said Naanishcow.

Naashkinomenet, *alias* Solomon, eldest son of said Naanishcow and Naanasquaw, sister to the aforesaid Tahattawan.

Weegrammomet, *alias* Thomas Waban.

Nackcominewock, relict [widow] of Crooked Robin.

Wunnuhew, *alias* Sarah, wife to Neepanum, *alias* Tom Doublet.

This tract of land was bounded by land sold by the aforesaid Indians to

Robert Robbins and

Peleg Lawrence

both of Groton towne, which land is part of the aforesaid Nashobah Plantation, and this line is exactly two miles in length and runs east three degrees northerly, or west three degrees southerly, and the south end runs parallel with this line; on the westerly side it is bounded by the remainder of said Nashobah Plantation and that west line runs south seven degrees and thirty minutes east, four miles and one quarter.

The northeast corner is about four or five poles southward of a very great rock that lieth in the line between the said Nashobah and Chelmsford plantation. [Registry of Deeds, vol. x., page 117].

The remaining history of Nashobah properly belongs to Littleton. It may be well, however, to remark that in 1714 when that town was incorporated, 500 acres of land were reserved for the Indian proprietors. Sarah Doublet, an Indian, was the only heir to it in 1734, being then old and blind, and committed to the care of Samuel Jones of [Concord](#). She then petitioned for liberty to sell it to pay her maintenance and it was granted for the purpose to Elnathan Jones and Mr. Tenney. One corner was near the southeast part of Nagog Pond; then across the pond, north ten degrees west, 133 rods north of said pond to a point, and then making a right angle, it ran 286 rods, and then across Nagog Pond to the first place mentioned.<sup>129</sup>

129. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835

(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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

November 27, Monday (Old Style): There occurred a fire in [Boston](#) that would be described, in an [almanac](#) shortly afterward, as “Bostons greatest fire.” Well, this wasn’t actually as great as the later fires, to be lovingly portrayed in Currier & Ives lithographs, but all buildings along a stretch of the waterfront were indeed destroyed. It being said that this was evidence of God’s displeasure at the violation of the Sabbath day — a roundup of [Quakers](#) was promptly initiated.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 12, Tuesday (Old Style): According to a newsletter of this date, “The merchants hear that Bacon has burnt great part of James Town, taken Sir Henry Chickley prisoner again, and forced Sir William to retire to his ships in the roads. The Indians of New England have taken arms again.”

The proprietors of Groton held a meeting in [Concord](#), in which many of them made a commitment to return to the site of their previous efforts, and rebuild their destroyed town (they would commence this task in the following year).<sup>130</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



130. The Reverend William Hubbard’s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, would indicate that on March 2, 1676,

“They assaulted Groton: The next day (overnight) Major Willard with seventy horse came into town: forty foot (soldiers) also came to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled having first burnt all the houses in town save four that were garrisoned, the meeting house being the 2nd house they fired. Soon after, Capt. Sill was sent with a small party of dragoons of eight files to fetch off the inhabitants of Groton, and what was left from the spoil of the enemy, having under his conduct sixty carts, being in depth from front to rear above two miles, when a party of Indians lying in ambush at a place of eminent advantage fired upon the front and mortally wounded two of the first carriers, who both died the next night... Soon after, this village was deserted, and destroyed by the enemy, yet it was a special providence that though the carts were guarded with so slender a convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.”



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

*To Lond[on] in so greate a snow, as I remember not to have ever seene the like: supped with Mrs. Godolphin:*



# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### 1677

Anonymous: **THE WARR IN NEW-ENGLAND VISIBLY ENDED.**  
 King PHILIP that barbarous Indian now Be-headed, and moft of his Bloody Adherents  
 fubmitted to Mercy, the Reft fled far up into the Countrey, which hath given the Inhabitants  
 Encouragement to prepare for their Settlement. Being a True and Perfect Account brought in  
 by *Caleb More* Mafter of a Veffel newly Arrived from *Rhode-Ifland*. And Published for general  
 Satisfaction. Licenfed, *November 4. 1676. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON*, Printed by *J.B.*  
 for *Francis Smith* at the Elephant and Caftle in *Cornhill, 1677.*  
 March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
 RHODE ISLAND

January 22, Monday (1676, Old Style): Foodstuffs contributed by the residents of Dublin, [Ireland](#), known as “Irish Charity,” were being distributed to the white people who had suffered during the New England race war.

On the 22d of January, 1677, the government made allowance to the people distressed by the war in Massachusetts; and allotted to the selectmen of the several towns in proportion to their losses, out of the “Irish Charity,” in “meal, oatmeal, wheat, malt at 18s per ball. Butter, 6d. and cheese, 4d per pound.” In the list accompanying this order the following towns appear.<sup>131</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Town	Families	Persons	Amount
Charlestown	29	102	£15. 6s.
Watertown	19	76	£11. 8s.
Cambridge	14	61	£9. 3s.
Concord	18	72	£10. 16s.
Sudbury	12	48	£7. 8s.
Woburn	8	43	£6. 9s.
Billerica	1	4	£0. 12s.
Boston	125	432	£66. 6s.

131. The whole list is published in the New Hampshire Collection, vol. iii. pages 102, 103.

[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.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

March 9, Friday (1676, Old Style): From a Boston diary we learn that after considering execution, it has been determined to sell the innocent minor orphan of the former sachem [Metacom](#) into a life of slavery on a foreign isle:

*“Philips boy goes now to be sold.”*

#### “KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 10, Monday (Old Style): [Samuell Gorton](#) died at the age of 85. A grave bearing this name (spelled however with one “l”), behind a private home on Samuel Gorton Avenue off Warwick Neck Road in [Warwick, Rhode Island](#), seemingly is that of a descendant — since virtually everything in the town was destroyed at this point by the recent [“King Phillip’s War”](#), actually we have no idea at all where he might have been buried. (We have, nevertheless, at the DAR Museum in Washington DC, what appears to have been the man’s writing chair.)



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**METACOM BECOMES “METAMORA”**

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

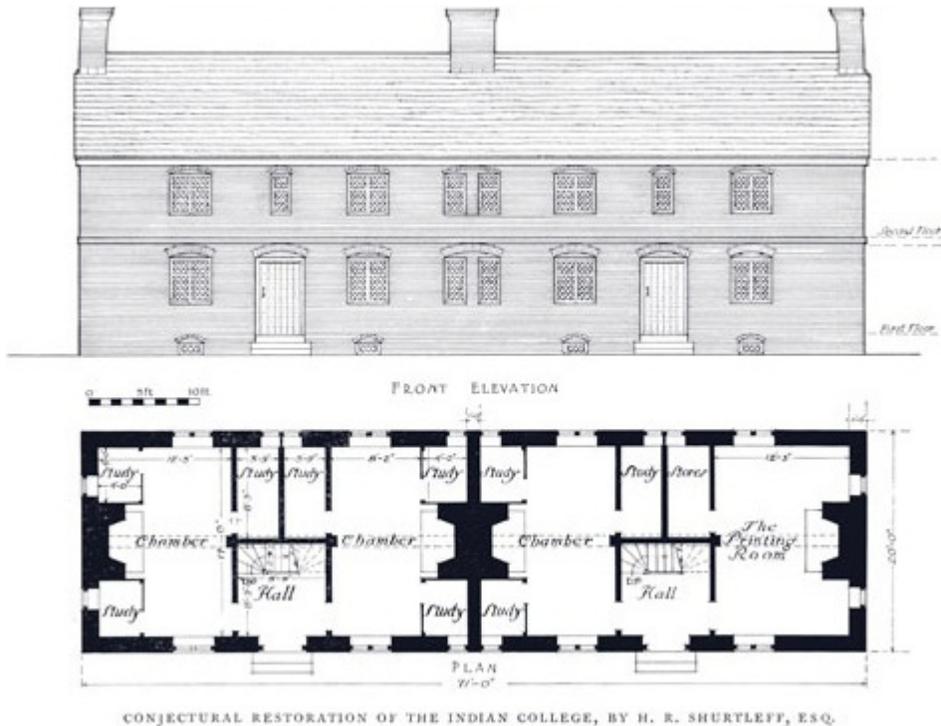
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

JULY

July: *Metacom*'s head had been rotting atop a pole in Plymouth for almost a year. His teenage son, the next in line to be sachem of the *Wampanoag*, this grandson of *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (the *Massasoit*), had been sold and transported into overseas slavery.<sup>132</sup> “King Phillip’s War” was a matter of memory. At this point two native Americans were led into the town of Marblehead, and there, according to the deposition we have from Robert Roules, they were stomped by a group of Christian women until “their heads [were] off and gone, and their flesh in a manner pulled from their bones.”

The Reverend William Apess would observe, in 1836,  that “Every white that knows their own history, knows there was not a whit difference between them and the Indians of their days.”

By this point, for obvious reasons, the sole function of Harvard’s “Indian College” building had become the housing of the Cambridge Press.



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



132. In all likelihood the teenager had been disposed of in the West Indies for approximately £3.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

**1679**

King Phillip being very very dead, King [Charles II](#) sold [Metacom](#)'s 7,000 acres in [Bristol](#) and [Warren](#) to the [Plymouth](#) colony — which in turn would sell the land to four investors for £1,100 sterling.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1680

[John Checkley](#), perhaps a son of [John Checkley](#), was born in [Boston](#). (We note that this birth was occurring, of course, four years subsequent to the year in which [Metacom](#) had been shot down by Alderman.)

On the following screen is a map depicting the locations of the “Praying Indian” villages that had to some degree survived the 2d New England race war, known under the rubric “[King Phillip’s War](#)”:  
Chachaubunkkakowok (Chaubunagungamaug), Hassanamisco, Magunkaquoog (Makunkokoag, Magunkook), Manchaug, Manexit (Mayanexit, Fabyan), Massomuck (Wabaquasset, Wabiquisset), Nashobah, Nashaway (Washaccum), Okommakamesit (Ockoogameset), Pakachoog, Quabaug, Quantisset (Quinetusset), Wacuntug (Wacuntuc, Wacumtaug), and Wamesit. (There was also small reservation at remaining Hassanamesit outside of Worcester.)

In a later timeframe, the Reverend William Hubbard would have his own imitable comments on this “lustre of years” in the history of New England.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

### READ HUBBARD TEXT

Chapter LXXIV.

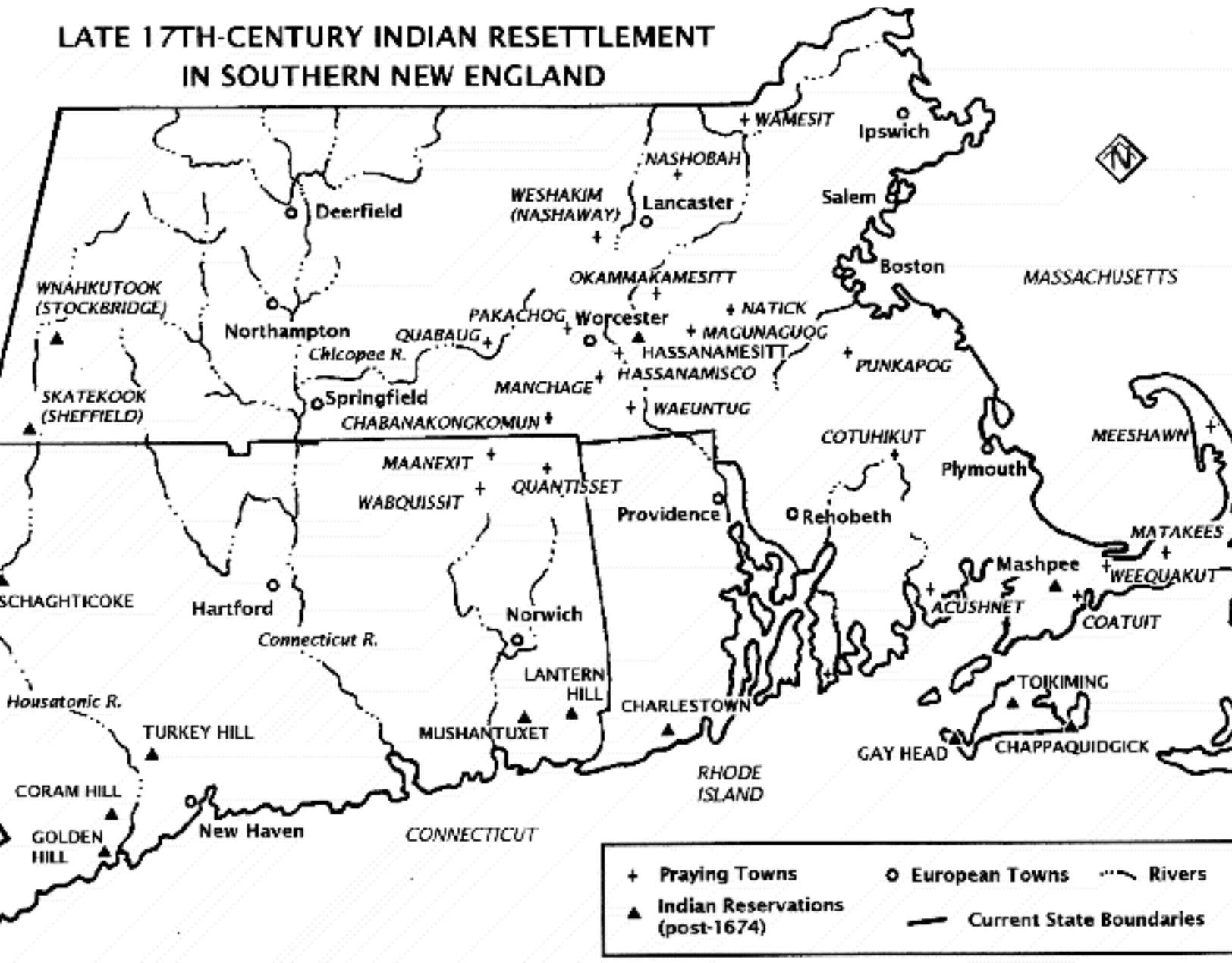
A further continuation of the narrative of troubles with the Indians in New England, from April 1677 to June 1680.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

LATE 17TH-CENTURY INDIAN RESETTLEMENT  
IN SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1681

The painting of Ninigret II done in this year by a European is probably the earliest extant portrait of a particular American native. (The statue presently standing on Watch Hill in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), purporting to depict Ninigret, Ninigret II's father and a leader during [“King Phillip's War”](#), actually depicts a performer in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which was touring Paris in 1914.)

King [Phillip](#)'s head had been rotting atop a pole in Plymouth for about five years (and would remain there for approximately another fifteen). His teenage son, the next in line to be sachem of the [Wampanoag](#)—this grandson of the [Massasoit Ousamequin](#) Yellow Feather<sup>133</sup> whose name we seldom even bother to record—was serving the duration of his life in overseas slavery.<sup>134</sup> [“King Phillip's War”](#) was a matter of memory. At this point the paths of two persons of differing race and culture passed in the forest of [Rhode Island](#), and one discharged his weapon at the other.

In her *THE NAME OF WAR: KING PHILIP'S WAR AND THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN IDENTITY* (NY: Knopf, 1998, pages 182-3), Jill Lepore takes most seriously the warning issued by the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) in 1692,  “...Our Indian wars are not over yet,” and is willing to deal at length with materials that for instance contemporary Quakers may use in their ruminations on 20th-Century renditions of their Peace Testimony:

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

133. *Massasoit* is not a name, but a hereditary title, like *sachem*. Its meaning is approximately equivalent to *Shahanshah*.  
134. In all likelihood the teenager had been sold in the West Indies for approximately £3.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

In 1681, five years after King Philip's War had ended, two men met in the woods outside Providence. One was English, the other Indian. Both carried guns. When the Englishman, Benjamin Henden, saw the Indian (whose name was never mentioned), he ordered him to halt, but the Indian "would not obey his word, and stand at his Command." Furious, Henden raised his gun and fired, "with an Intent to have killed him." Luckily for the Indian, Henden was a lousy shot and missed his target entirely. And luckily for Henden, the Indian was not a vengeful man. "Notwithstanding the said violence to him offered did not seek to revenge himselfe by the like return ; although he alsoe had a gunn and might have shott at Henden againe if he had been minded soe to have done." Instead of shooting Henden, the Indian man "went peaceably away," stopping only long enough to use "some words by way of Reproof ; unto the said Hernden [*sic*] blaming him for that his Violence and Cruelty, and wondering that English men should offer soe to shoot at him and such as he was without cause."



Had these same two men met in the same woods five or six years earlier, when King Philip's War was still raging, it is unlikely that both would have survived the encounter unharmed. Henden, if he had traveled at all in Massachusetts, was probably familiar with the law passed in that colony in 1675 dictating that "it shall be lawful for any person, whether English or Indian, that shall finde any Indian travelling or skulking in any of our Towns or Woods ... to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can." But that law was, of course, no longer in effect (and never was in Rhode Island), and for his anachronistic and misplaced aggression, Henden landed himself in court, condemned for his "late rash turbulent and violent behavior." The case even led the Rhode Island General Assembly to pass "an act to prevent outrages against the Indians, precipitated by a rhode islander shooting an indian in the woods." In the first place, as the Assembly declared, agreeing with Henden's intended victim, Henden had "noe Authority nor just cause" to command the Indian to halt. "Noe person," the Assembly proclaimed, "shall presume to doe any such unlawfull acts of violence against the Indians upon their perills." And more importantly, Henden and others like him must learn to "behave themselves peaceably towards the Indians, in like maner as before the ware."

#### PROVIDENCE

I very much appreciate this because it so well illustrates the influence of testimony. One person's moderation, one person's individual lived example—to wit, the unnamed native's declining to return fire after an aggressor had discharged his firearm (and thus effectively for a period of about a minute disarmed himself), this anonymous person's having contented himself with a verbal reproach after his life had been so unnecessarily endangered—became magnified in [Rhode Island](#) into a movement toward de-escalation of the race violence.

A model for us all!

During this same year, at [Mount Hope](#) one day, a man was held down and the brand **P** burned into



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

his forehead. This was not the mark of

Phillip

the sachem [Metacom](#) of Mount Hope, but stood instead, curiously, for the term of art

Pollution<sup>135</sup>

— because this white man, named Thomas Saddeler, had been observed to have been taking his mare to “a certaine obscure and woodey place, on Mount Hope,” and to have there been engaging in sexual intercourse with her.<sup>136</sup>



“As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”  
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



135. Bear in mind in regard to this term **pollution** that the concept **perversion** would not formally enter out medical terminology until 1842, when it would be defined in Duglison’s *MEDICAL LEXICON* as one of the four modifications of function in disease, the other three modifications of function being **augmentation**, **diminution**, and **abolition**.

136. Although we don’t have a record of what happened to the mare, in such cases we know the abused animal was always offered. No way would they have left the mare to the mercy of this Tommy and, also, no way would any other white man have been willing to take charge of it.

# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

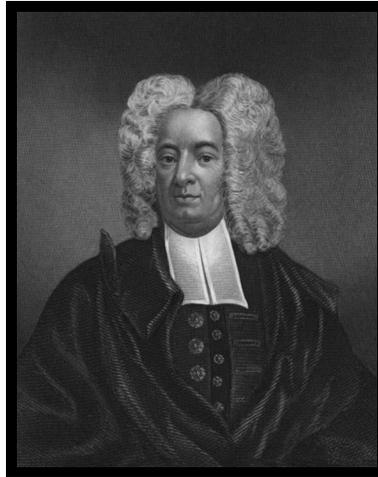
# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

As the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) would put the matter in 1692, 



*We have shamefully Indianized in all these abominable things.... Our Indian wars are not over yet.*



As Jill Lepore has more recently phrased the matter, relying upon a heightened level of sarcasm and self-awareness,



After fourteen months of bloodshed, followed by three years of intermittent fighting, the colonists were right back where they started, as “Heathenish,” as Indian, as ever. Philip’s death was only a hollow victory. Depravity still soiled New England... Tempted by the devil, corrupted by the Indian wilderness, Englishmen were still degenerating into beasts.

What was a poor white man to do?



Here, then, was the solution to the colonists’ dilemma ... wage the war, and win it, by whatever means necessary, and then write about it, to win it again. The first would be a victory of wounds, the second a victory of words.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

February (1680, Old Style): Mr. Greentree and Mr. Colson were suspended from Council of [St. Helena](#) after having been noticed to be “most active” during an unlicensed open-air protest meeting.

Edward “It is not to his majesty’s interest that you should thrive” Randolph, British agent, charged [Daniel Gookin](#) among others with misdemeanor before the Lords of the Massachusetts Council. Gookin’s response would be to request that a paper in defence of his opinion, which he drew up as his dying testimony, might be lodged with the court.

This agent of the crown would, among other things, file with his masters a report as to the provenance of the race war in which Major Gookin had played such a prominent part:

Eighth Enquiry. What hath been the original cause of the present war with the natives. What are the advantages or disadvantages arising thereby and will probably be the End?

Various are the reports and conjectures of the causes of the present Indian war. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to christianize those heathen before they were civilized and injoyning them the strict observation of their lawes, which, to a people so rude and licentious, hath proved even intolerable, and that the more, for that while the magistrates, for their profit, put the lawes severely in execution against the Indians, the people, on the other side, for lucre and gain, entice and provoke the Indians to the breach thereof, especially to drunkenness, to which those people are so generally addicted that they will strip themselves to their skin to have their fill of rum and brandy, the Massachusetts having made a law that every Indian drunk should pay 10s. or be whipped, according to the discretion of the magistrate. Many of these poor people willingly offered their backs to the lash to save their money; whereupon, the magistrates finding much trouble and no profit to arise to the government by whipping, did change that punishment into 10 days worke for such as could not or would not pay the fine of 10s. which did highly incense the Indians.

Some believe there have been vagrant and jesuiticall priests, who have made it their businesse, for some yeares past, to go from Sachim to Sachim, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Others impute the cause to some injuries offered to the Sachim Philip; for he being possessed of a tract of land called Mount Hope, a very fertile, pleasant and rich soyle, some English had a mind to dispossesse him thereof, who never wanting one pretence or other to attain their end, complained of injuries done by Philip and his Indians to their stock and cattle, whereupon Philip was often summoned before the magistrate, sometimes imprisoned, and never released but upon parting with a considerable part of his land.

But the government of the Massachusetts (to give it in their own words) do declare these are the great evils for which God hath given the heathen commission to rise against the: The wofull breach of the 5th commandment, in contempt of their authority,

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which is a sin highly provoking to the Lord: For men wearing long hair and perewigs made of women's hair; for women wearing borders of hair and for cutting, curling and laying out the hair, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparell: For profaneness in the people not frequenting their meetings, and others going away before the blessing be pronounced: For suffering the Quakers to live amongst them and to set up their thresholds by Gods thresholds, contrary to their old lawes and resolutions.

With many such reasons, but whatever be the cause, the English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of armes, and admitted them to be present at all their musters and trainings, and shewed them how to handle, mend and fix their muskets, and have been furnished with all sorts of armes by permission of the government, so that the Indians are become excellent firemen. And at Natick there was a gathered church of praying Indians, who were exercised as trained bands, under officers of their owne; these have been the most barbarous and cruel enemies to the English of any others. Capt. Tom, their leader, being lately taken and hanged at Boston, with one other of their chiefs.

That notwithstanding the ancient law of the country, made in the year 1633, that no person should sell any armes or ammunition to any Indian upon penalty of £10 for every gun, £5 for a pound of powder, and 40s. for a pound of shot, yet the government of the Massachusetts in the year 1657, upon designe to monopolize the whole Indian trade did publish and declare that the trade of furs and peltry with the Indians in their jurisdiction did solely and properly belong to their commonwealth and not to every indifferent person, and did enact that no person should trade with the Indians for any sort of peltry, except such as were authorized by that court, under the penalty of £100 for every offence, giving liberty to all such as should have licence from them to sell, unto any Indian, guns, swords, powder and shot, paying to the treasurer 3d. for each gun and for each dozen of swords; 6d. for a pound of powder and for every ten pounds of shot, by which means the Indians have been abundantly furnished with great store of armes and ammunition to the utter ruin and undoing of many families in the neighbouring colonies to enrich some few of their relations and church members.

No advantage but many disadvantages have arisen to the English by the war, for about 600 men have been slain, and 12 captains, most of them brave and stout persons and of loyal principles, whilst the church members had liberty to stay at home and not hazard their persons in the wilderness.

The losse to the English in the severall colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to £150,000 there having been about 1200 houses burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat, peas and other grain burned (of which the Massachusetts colony hath not been damnified one third part, the great losse falling upon New Plymouth and Connecticut colonies) and upward of 3000 Indians men women and children destroyed, who if well managed would have been very serviceable to the English, which makes all manner of



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labour dear.

The war at present is near an end. In Plymouth colony the Indians surrender themselves to Gov. Winslow, upon mercy, and bring in all their armes, are wholly at his disposall, except life and transportation; but for all such as have been notoriously cruell to women and children, so soon as discovered they are to be executed in the sight of their fellow Indians.

The government of Boston have concluded a peace upon these terms.

1. That there be henceforward a firme peace between the Indians and English.

2. That after publication of the articles of peace by the generall court, if any English shall willfully kill an Indian, upon due proof, he shall dye, and if an Indian kill an Englishman and escape, the Indians are to produce him, and lie to passe tryall by the English lawes.

That the Indians shall not conceal any known enemies to the English, but shall discover them and bring them to the English. That upon all occasions the Indians are to aid and assist the English against their enemies, and to be under English command. That all Indians have liberty to sit down at their former habitations without let....

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1689

June 27, Thursday (Old Style): Advance word of Penacook massing for battle on Cochecho was known as far away as Chelmsford in the Bay colony. The native vendetta against Major Richard Waldron was described in a warning letter from Chelmsford that arrived by courier in Dover a day late, on June 28th. Waldron, aware of the tensions, reported told his townfolk that he could assemble 100 men simply by lifting his finger. “Go plant your pumpkins,” he is reported as saying. On June 27th, at four of the five Cochecho garrisons, an Indian squaw appeared requesting shelter for the night. Because this was a common request, each one was taken in. That night each of these undefended garrisons was opened silently from the inside so that Penacook war parties could rush in. Waldron, then 74, is said to have wielded his sword in defense. All of his family was killed or captured. He himself was tied to a chair and cut across the chest repeatedly as each warrior symbolically “crossed out” his trading account with the merchant (who was widely believed to be dishonest in his accounts). The attackers cut off one hand. After his ears and nose were cut off and shoved into his mouth, he was obliged to fall on his own sword. The garrison was torched.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



(There is a strong possibility that the family that met its end in this way was the family after whom Walden Woods had been named, and the pond in that woods. Other accounts, such as that the placename “Walden” was based upon the town of Saffron Walden in England, are not only unsubstantiated but also chronologically unlikely simply because [Walden Pond](#) had already been known by that name as of 1652, well over a decade before the first known settlers from that district of England eventually arrived in the new town of [Concord](#).)

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1692

The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#), characterized the spiritual condition of New England’s white people as a problem of pollution, a problem not of having engaged in a genocide but of their, during their extermination campaign of 1675-1676, having had debilitating cultural contact with another race:



*We have shamefully Indianized in all these abominable things.... Our Indian wars are not over yet.*

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



“Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it’s a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed.”

– Iris Chang, author of *THE RAPE OF NANKING* (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was cancelled by Basic Books due to threats from [Japan](#), on May 20, 1999.



“Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it.”  
– Russell Shorto





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#)'s THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD added yet more faggots to the bonfire of witchcraft-suspicions.

A rectangular box containing a handwritten note in cursive script. The text reads: "You may trouble - but C Mather."

WITCHES

His THE TRIUMPHS OF THE REFORMED RELIGION.

A rectangular box containing a handwritten note in cursive script. The text reads: "You may trouble - but C Mather."

His PREPARATORY MEDITATIONS UPON THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.

A rectangular box containing a handwritten note in cursive script. The text reads: "You may trouble - but C Mather."

(I'm having difficulty restraining my impulse to make this seem tiresome and repetitive!)

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1716

[Benjamin Church](#)'s ENTERTAINING PASSAGES RELATING TO KING PHILIP'S WAR, which would be often reprinted in subsequent years.<sup>137</sup> Nathaniel Philbrick, in his new MAYFLOWER: A STORY OF COURAGE,



COMMUNITY, AND WAR (Viking, 2006), is one of the historians who have been blindsided by this document, saying that Captain Benjamin Church “wrote revealingly” about the period. Professor Jill Lepore has been forced to point out to him that Captain Benjamin actually didn't write about this, or about anything, that this treatise on King Phillip's War was in fact crafted by his son Thomas Church who had been “barely a toddler” at the time. She pointed out in addition that “[Benjamin] Church according to [Thomas] Church is too brave, too cunning, and too good to be true.” Why would it be this inventive redaction would maintain such cultural resonance for readers during the 1820s and 1830s?

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”

137. Benjamin Church. THE ENTERTAINING HISTORY OF KING PHILIP'S WAR, WHICH BEGAN IN THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1675. AS ALSO OF EXPEDITIONS MORE LATELY MADE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, AND INDIAN REBELS, IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF NEW-ENGLAND, issued in 1716 in Boston. An edition would be reprinted during the 1770s by Ezra Stiles. It would be re-published in 1829 in Exeter NH by J.&B. Williams. During the Jacksonian era, the New England antiquarian and bookseller Samuel Drake would republish this narrative a number of times.



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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1754

February 15, Friday [John Checkley](#) died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The inventory of his estate listed no war club or other valuable historical [Metacom](#) artifacts; in fact it indicates only some “Indian toys.”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1772

King George III appointed [Benjamin West](#) as historical painter to the monarch, with an annual allowance of 1,000 pounds.



When [Paul Revere](#) went to create an image of King Phillip in this year for use in [Ezra Stiles](#)'s edition of [Benjamin Church](#)'s ENTERTAINING HISTORY, he displayed no more originality than was usual for him. It is likely that he created this depiction of a man who had died in the previous century well before he was born on the basis of a series of mezzotints that had been published in London in 1710 which purported to depict not this [Wampanoag](#) leader but instead a couple of his *Mohawk* enemies, named Ho Nee Yeath and Sa Ga Yeath (and also, a group of Ohio natives that [Benjamin West](#) had painted in 1764). We note that neither of [Metacom](#)'s hands appear crippled in this famous Revere engraving, when the one salient fact that we have about his appearance is that a hand had been maimed, evidently when a pistol he was firing split in his gun hand (not knowing whether he was right-handed or left-handed, and the records not telling us which hand was in

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Alderman's bucket of rum, we don't know which hand Phillip had maimed).



This crude and derivative engraving would subsequently be used by New England whites to demonstrate that the sachem Metacom had indeed been in his person quite as hideous and malformed and dwarfish as his white enemies in his generation had been pleased to suppose.



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1774

The descendants of the native Americans who had been [enslaved](#) after “[King Phillip’s War](#)” were [manumitted](#) in Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#).<sup>138</sup>

138. As of the Year of our Lord 1781, freedom would come to visit the descendants of the native Americans who had been [enslaved](#) in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as well. Work gangs of these race [slaves](#) had been utilized throughout New England to construct much of that attractive, mossy old stone walls, field fencing which today we fancy to have been constructed through the dedicated labor of “our” stereotypically sturdy and industrious –because white– Yankee-farmer forebears.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

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1793

June: [Friend Elias Hicks](#) of Long Island visited the monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#).<sup>139</sup>

This was part of [Friend](#) Elias's 14th ministry journey. That summer he was traveling with the young [James Mott, Jr.](#), future bridegroom of the newborn Lucretia Coffin.

LUCRETIA MOTT



On this long journey, he had gone from the Jericho meetinghouse on *Paumanok* Long Island (still extant, pictured above) across the sound to Port Chester meeting, up the Connecticut shore to Stamford meeting, on up the shore to Stonington meeting, into [Rhode Island](#) to the [Westerly](#) meeting, up to the meetings in and around [Providence](#) and Taunton, back down and round through the [Newport](#) meeting and the [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) meeting to the Falmouth meeting, and at this point out to the meeting on [Nantucket Island](#). He would continue back up across Cape Cod to the Sandwich meeting and on up along the South Shore to the Scituate meeting, and on to the [Boston](#) area and the Salem meeting, and north to the Newburyport, Massachusetts and Hampton and Dover, New Hampshire meetings, and on to the Portland ME meeting, and beyond that crossing the “great river Kennebeck” twice and reaching to the Fairfield and Winthrop meetings, and then the Pittsfield, New Hampshire meeting, and then back down into Massachusetts and to [Boston](#), visiting again some meetings already preached at and attending New England [Yearly Meeting](#), and then striking west presumably through [Concord](#), over to the North Adams meeting in the north-west corner of

139. Other famous-name visitors to [Nantucket Island](#): John Easton, former [Rhode Island](#) deputy governor, [Metacom](#), sachem of the [Wampanoag](#), Frederick Douglass, and [Henry Thoreau](#).



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Massachusetts, and up through Vermont to the Sharon, Hanover, and Vergennes meetings, and up across Lake Champlain to the Grand Isle meeting, and then back down through Vergennes again to the meetings in Saratoga and Albany and Hudson NY, and then back home to Jericho by way of the Brooklyn meeting of New-York. Total mileage they would put on their horses during this traveling season: 2,283 miles. During this absence his child Sarah would be born, and the two traveling ministers by November had spoken at about 123 meetings.

It was at some point during this year that Friend Elias's young orphaned relative, [Edward Hicks](#) who had been taken into the Quaker household of David and Elizabeth Lewis Twining, having reached the age of 13, was being put out as an apprentice to the Tomlinson brothers, coachmakers in Attleborough.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1800



Here is a silhouette of that famous [Quaker](#) preacher of Pennsylvania, Friend Nicholas Waln, who opinioned famously, in opposition to the orthodox dress code, that he did not care a button for a religion that cared about buttons.



This Public Friend lived from 1742 to 1813. In addition to being a Public Friend, this man was a Philadelphia lawyer — so you can now think about all the jokes you’ve heard about Philadelphia lawyers. You can also ask yourself, whether in making this remark about religion and buttons, he may deliberately have been echoing the remark made by [Metacom](#) that the white man’s profession of Christianity was not worth so much as a button, that had so angered [Cotton Mather](#) that –eventually– the reverend would add King Phillip’s jawbone to his personal collection of human body parts (how very Christian of him).

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1814



Washington Irving served as a colonel in the New York Militia and as an aide-de-camp to Governor Daniel Tompkins. His “Philip of Pokanoket” constructed the sachem Metacom of the Wampanoag as “a patriot attached to his native soil — a prince true to his subjects, and indignant of their wrongs — a soldier, daring in battle, firm in adversity, patient of fatigue, of hunger, of every variety of bodily suffering, and ready to perish in the cause he had espoused”:<sup>140</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



METAMORA



While the Mathers had considered Philip a devilish, barbarous villain and even, in Cotton’s words, a “blasphemous leviathan,” Washington Irving recast the Wampanoag leader as an honorable, patriotic hero, nobler than the noblest of Noble Savage. In effect, Irving reversed the version of King Philip’s War that had been popular during the American Revolution. In 1775 Americans had been asked to think of the British as simply “more distant savages” than the Indian neighbors their forefathers had fought in 1675. They had seen King Philip’s War (American colonists vs. redskins) as a crude rehearsal for the American Revolution (American colonists vs. redcoats). Washington Irving disagreed. He asked Americans to identify less with Mather, Church, and Hubbard and more with Metacom and his warriors. Philip, in Irving’s estimation, was a courageous leader struggling to free his people from the foreign tyranny embodied by colonial authorities.

140. Here the actor Edwin Forrest is posing in his sachem stage costume in the studio of Mathew B. Brady in about 1860 as the tragic hero “Metamora” of the oft-staged play about Metacom designed for him in 1828 by Concord’s John Augustus Stone (METAMORA: OR THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAGS). The pose minimizes the actor’s immense calves, which were notorious in his era. Brady used his impressive Imperial format, with a collodion negative that measures 20 x 17 inches uncropped, a format that needed to be prepared and exposed while still wet. This is a bitmapped image of a modern salted paper print from that original collodion negative, which is a gift of The Edwin Forrest Home at the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



“The People make their recollection fit in with their sufferings.”

— Thucydides, HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1819



June 23, Wednesday: Under the pseudonym Geoffrey Crayon, [Washington Irving](#) put out the 1st American installment of his THE SKETCH BOOK, including “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow.”<sup>141</sup> In this text this racist author (the same racist author who announced that a Negro was “an abomination”) regurgitated our “Philip of Pokanoket” legend dating to “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, titillating us yet again with our very precious memory of a dead Indian chief.

### READ THE FULL TEXT

At [Concord](#), John D. Folsom of Concord got married with Betsy W. Dakin of Concord.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 23rd of 6th M 1819 / Our Meeting this Afternoon was a very triumphant one. Truth rose into dominion in a very remarkable manner. The meeting was as large as it ever is on first day at Yearly Meeting time, & more quiet than usual at that time. The Govoner of this state with both Houses of the Legislature attended & sat in a body. – Elizabeth first appeared in humble prayer, chiefly on behalf of those placed in Authority over us. Then in a very pertinent address to the members of the Legislature on the subject of intemperance & War. Then the current of testimony run chiefly to the female part of the Audience & lastly to an hardened, rebellious state which she felt to be present. & the latter part of her testimony in particular came with such living power & gospel Authority that it seemed to me, that had she preached before the Apostle Paul he would at least have qualified his charge, forbidding Women to “preach or to teach” &c. – The Audience was all attentive & many deeply impressed with the Power of her ministry, as was evident in many who took her by the hand at the close of the Meeting with tears in their eyes. – The Govoner observed that he never heard Such preaching before. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

141. There is in [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s THE SCARLET LETTER a literary reference to Irving’s headless horseman figure:

THE SCARLET LETTER: Meanwhile, the press had taken up my affair, and kept me for a week or two careering through the public prints, in my decapitated state, like Irving’s Headless Horseman, ghastly and grim, and longing to be buried, as a political dead man ought. So much for my figurative self. The real human being all this time, with his head safely on his shoulders, had brought himself to the comfortable conclusion that everything was for the best; and making an investment in ink, paper, and steel pens, had opened his long-disused writing desk, and was again a literary man.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

The Supreme Council of the Province of Texas declared the independence of [Texas](#) from [Mexico](#):

As all Governments were originally established by the will of the people for the benefit of society, whenever the existing Government, in any community, fails to effect the purposes for which it was instituted, it is competent to the community at large to rescind its express or tacit allegiance to the ruling power, and to organize a new constitution and form of government, more consistent with its interests, and more consonant with its feelings. In exercising this unquestionable right, an independent people have only to consult their own discretion. But, though amenable to no tribunal for its municipal acts, a free state, in claiming admission to the immunity of nations, owes of itself an exposition of the motives which have prompted it to the assertion of its rights, as well as of the principles which it assumes to vindicate. The citizens of Texas have long indulged the hope, that in the adjustment of the boundaries of the Spanish possessions in America, and of the territories of the United States, that they should be included within the limits of the latter. The claims of the United States, long and strenuously urged, encouraged the hope. An expectation so flattering prevented any effectual effort to throw off the yoke of Spanish authority, though it could not restrain some ineffectual rebellions against an odious tyranny. The recent treaty between Spain and the United States of America has dissipated an illusion too long fondly cherished, and has roused the citizens of Texas from [the] torpor to which a fancied security had lulled them. They have seen themselves, by a convention to which they were no party, literally abandoned to the dominion of the crown of Spain and left a prey not only to impositions already intolerable, but to all those exactions which Spanish rapacity is fertile in devising. The citizens of Texas would have proved themselves unworthy of the age in which they live, unworthy of their ancestry, of the kindred of the republics of the American continent, could they have hesitated in this emergency what course to pursue. Spurning the fetters of colonial vassalage, disdaining to submit to the most atrocious despotism that ever disgraced the annals of Europe, they have resolved under the blessing of God to be free. By this magnanimous resolution, the maintenance of which their lives and fortunes are pledged, they secure to themselves an elective and representative government, equal laws and the faithful administration of justice, the rights of conscience, and religious liberty, the freedom of the press, the advantage of liberal education, and unrestricted commercial intercourse with all the world. Animated by a just confidence in the goodness of their cause, and stimulated by the high object to be obtained by the contest, they have prepared themselves unshrinkingly to meet and firmly to sustain any conflict in which this declaration may involve them. Done at Nacogdoches, the 23rd day of June, in the year of our Lord 1819.

James Long, President of the Supreme Council



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

Bis[en]te [sic] Tarin, Secretary



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**PHILIP OF POKANOKET.**

**AN INDIAN MEMOIR.**

As monumental bronze unchanged his look:  
A soul that pity touch'd, but never shook;  
Train'd from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier,  
The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook  
Impassive – fearing but the shame of fear –  
Stoic of the woods – a man without a tear.

CAMPBELL.

IT is to be regretted that those early writers who treated of the discovery and settlement of America have not given us more particular and candid accounts of the remarkable characters that flourished in savage life. The scanty anecdotes which have reached us are full of peculiarity and interest; they furnish us with nearer glimpses of human nature, and show what man is in a comparatively primitive state and what he owes to civilization. There is something of the charm of discovery in lighting upon these wild and unexplored tracts of human nature – in witnessing, as it were, the native growth of moral sentiment, and perceiving those generous and romantic qualities which have been artificially cultivated by society vegetating in spontaneous hardihood and rude magnificence.

In civilized life, where the happiness, and indeed almost the existence, of man depends so much upon the opinion of his fellow-men, he is constantly acting a studied part. The bold and peculiar traits of native character are refined away or softened down by the levelling influence of what is termed good-breeding, and he practises so many petty deceptions and affects so many generous sentiments for the purposes of popularity that it is difficult to distinguish his real from his artificial character. The Indian, on the contrary, free from the restraints and refinements of polished life, and in a great degree a solitary and independent being, obeys the impulses of his inclination or the dictates of his judgment; and thus the attributes of his nature, being freely indulged, grow singly great and striking. Society is like a lawn, where every roughness is smoothed, every bramble eradicated, and where the eye is delighted by the smiling verdure of a velvet surface; he, however, who would study Nature in its wildness and variety must plunge into the forest, must explore the glen, must stem the torrent, and dare the precipice.

These reflections arose on casually looking through a volume of early colonial history wherein are recorded, with great bitterness, the outrages of the Indians and their wars with the settlers New England. It is painful to perceive, even from these partial narratives, how the footsteps of civilization may be traced in the blood of the aborigines; how easily the colonists



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were moved to hostility by the lust of conquest; how merciless and exterminating was their warfare. The imagination shrinks at the idea of how many intellectual beings were hunted from the earth, how many brave and noble hearts, of Nature's sterling coinage, were broken down and trampled in the dust.

Such was the fate of PHILIP OF POKANOKET, an Indian warrior whose name was once a terror throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut. He was the most distinguished of a number of contemporary sachems who reigned over the Pequods, the Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, and the other eastern tribes at the time of the first settlement of New England – a band of native untaught heroes who made the most generous struggle of which human nature is capable, fighting to the last gasp in the cause of their country, without a hope of victory or a thought of renown. Worthy of an age of poetry and fit subjects for local story and romantic fiction, they have left scarcely any authentic traces on the page of history, but stalk like gigantic shadows in the dim twilight of tradition.<sup>142</sup>

When the Pilgrims, as the Plymouth settlers are called by their descendants, first took refuge on the shores of the New World from the religious persecutions of the Old, their situation was to the last degree gloomy and disheartening. Few in number, and that number rapidly perishing away through sickness and hardships, surrounded by a howling wilderness and savage tribes, exposed to the rigors of an almost arctic winter and the vicissitudes of an ever-shifting climate, their minds were filled with doleful forebodings, and nothing preserved them from sinking into despondency but the strong excitement of religious enthusiasm. In this forlorn situation they were visited by Massasoit, chief sagamore of the Wampanoags, a powerful chief who reigned over a great extent of country. Instead of taking advantage of the scanty number of the strangers and expelling them from his territories, into which they had intruded, he seemed at once to conceive for them a generous friendship, and extended towards them the rites of primitive hospitality. He came early in the spring to their settlement of New Plymouth, attended by a mere handful of followers, entered into a solemn league of peace and amity, sold them a portion of the soil, and promised to secure for them the good-will of his savage allies. Whatever may be said of Indian perfidy, it is certain that the integrity and good faith of Massasoit have never been impeached. He continued a firm and magnanimous friend of the white men, suffering them to extend their possessions and to strengthen themselves in the land, and betraying no jealousy of their increasing power and prosperity. Shortly before his death he came once more to New Plymouth with his son Alexander, for the purpose of renewing the covenant of peace and of securing it to his posterity.

At this conference he endeavored to protect the religion of his forefathers from the encroaching zeal of the missionaries, and stipulated that no further attempt should be made to draw off his people from their ancient faith; but, finding the English

142. While correcting the proof-sheets of this article the author is informed that a celebrated English poet has nearly finished an heroic poem on the story of Philip of Pokanoket.

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obstinately opposed to any such condition, he mildly relinquished the demand. Almost the last act of his life was to bring his two sons, Alexander and Philip (as they had been named by the English), to the residence of a principal settler, recommending mutual kindness and confidence, and entreating that the same love and amity which had existed between the white men and himself might be continued afterwards with his children. The good old sachem died in peace, and was happily gathered to his fathers before sorrow came upon his tribe; his children remained behind to experience the ingratitude of white men.

His eldest son, Alexander, succeeded him. He was of a quick and impetuous temper, and proudly tenacious of his hereditary rights and dignity. The intrusive policy and dictatorial conduct of the strangers excited his indignation, and he beheld with uneasiness their exterminating wars with the neighboring tribes. He was doomed soon to incur their hostility, being accused of plotting with the Narragansetts to rise against the English and drive them from the land. It is impossible to say whether this accusation was warranted by facts or was grounded on mere suspicions. It is evident, however, by the violent and overbearing measures of the settlers that they had by this time begun to feel conscious of the rapid increase of their power, and to grow harsh and inconsiderate in their treatment of the natives. They despatched an armed force to seize upon Alexander and to bring him before their courts. He was traced to his woodland haunts, and surprised at a hunting-house where he was reposing with a band of his followers, unarmed, after the toils of the chase. The suddenness of his arrest and the outrage offered to his sovereign dignity so preyed upon the irascible feelings of this proud savage as to throw him into a raging fever. He was permitted to return home on condition of sending his son as a pledge for his re-appearance; but the blow he had received was fatal, and before he reached his home he fell a victim to the agonies of a wounded spirit.

The successor of Alexander was Metamocet, or King Philip, as he was called by the settlers on account of his lofty spirit and ambitious temper. These, together with his well-known energy and enterprise, had rendered him an object of great jealousy and apprehension, and he was accused of having always cherished a secret and implacable hostility towards the whites. Such may very probably and very naturally have been the case. He considered them as originally but mere intruders into the country, who had presumed upon indulgence and were extending an influence baneful to savage life. He saw the whole race of his countrymen melting before them from the face of the earth, their territories slipping from their hands, and their tribes becoming feeble, scattered, and dependent. It may be said that the soil was originally purchased by the settlers; but who does not know the nature of Indian purchases in the early periods of colonization? The Europeans always made thrifty bargains through their superior adroitness in traffic, and they gained vast accessions of territory by easily-provoked hostilities. An uncultivated savage is never a nice inquirer into the refinements of law by which an injury may be gradually and



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legally inflicted. Leading facts are all by which he judges; and it was enough for Philip to know that before the intrusion of the Europeans his countrymen were lords of the soil, and that now they were becoming vagabonds in the land of their fathers. But whatever may have been his feelings of general hostility and his particular indignation at the treatment of his brother, he suppressed them for the present, renewed the contract with the settlers, and resided peaceably for many years at Pokanoket, or as, it was called by the English, [Mount Hope](#),<sup>143</sup> the ancient seat of dominion of his tribe. Suspicions, however, which were at first but vague and indefinite, began to acquire form and substance, and he was at length charged with attempting to instigate the various eastern tribes to rise at once, and by a simultaneous effort to throw off the yoke of their oppressors. It is difficult at this distant period to assign the proper credit due to these early accusations against the Indians. There was a proneness to suspicion and an aptness to acts of violence on the part of the whites that gave weight and importance to every idle tale. Informers abounded where tale-bearing met with countenance and reward, and the sword was readily unsheathed when its success was certain and it carved out empire.

The only positive evidence on record against Philip is the accusation of one Sausaman, a renegado Indian, whose natural cunning had been quickened by a partial education which he had received among the settlers. He changed his faith and his allegiance two or three times with a facility that evinced the looseness of his principles. He had acted for some time as Philip's confidential secretary and counsellor, and had enjoyed his bounty and protection. Finding, however, that the clouds of adversity were gathering round his patron, he abandoned his service and went over to the whites, and in order to gain their favor charged his former benefactor with plotting against their safety. A rigorous investigation took place. Philip and several of his subjects submitted to be examined, but nothing was proved against them. The settlers, however, had now gone too far to retract; they had previously determined that Philip was a dangerous neighbor; they had publicly evinced their distrust, and had done enough to insure his hostility; according, therefore, to the usual mode of reasoning in these cases, his destruction had become necessary to their security. Sausaman, the treacherous informer, was shortly afterwards found dead in a pond, having fallen a victim to the vengeance of his tribe. Three Indians, one of whom was a friend and counsellor of Philip, were apprehended and tried, and on the testimony of one very questionable witness were condemned and executed as murderers. This treatment of his subjects and ignominious punishment of his friend outraged the pride and exasperated the passions of Philip. The bolt which had fallen thus at his very feet awakened him to the gathering storm, and he determined to trust himself no longer in the power of the white men. The fate of his insulted and broken-hearted brother still rankled in his mind; and he had a further warning in the tragical story of Miantonimo, a great Sachem of the Narragansetts, who, after manfully facing his

143. Now Bristol, Rhode Island.



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accusers before a tribunal of the colonists, exculpating himself from a charge of conspiracy and receiving assurances of amity, had been perfidiously despatched at their instigation. Philip therefore gathered his fighting-men about him, persuaded all strangers that he could join his cause, sent the women and children to the Narragansetts for safety, and wherever he appeared was continually surrounded by armed warriors.

When the two parties were thus in a state of distrust and irritation, the least spark was sufficient to set them in a flame. The Indians, having weapons in their hands, grew mischievous and committed various petty depredations. In one of their maraudings a warrior was fired on and killed by a settler. This was the signal for open hostilities; the Indians pressed to revenge the death of their comrade, and the alarm of war resounded through the Plymouth colony.

In the early chronicles of these dark and melancholy times we meet with many indications of the diseased state of the public mind. The gloom of religious abstraction and the wildness of their situation among trackless forests and savage tribes had disposed the colonists to superstitious fancies, and had filled their imaginations with the frightful chimeras of witchcraft and spectrology. They were much given also to a belief in omens. The troubles with Philip and his Indians were preceded, we are told, by a variety of those awful warnings which forerun great and public calamities. The perfect form of an Indian bow appeared in the air at New Plymouth, which was looked upon by the inhabitants as a “prodigious apparition.” At Hadley, Northampton, and other towns in their neighborhood “was heard the report of a great piece of ordnance, with a shaking of the earth and a considerable echo.”<sup>144</sup> Others were alarmed on a still sunshiny morning by the discharge of guns and muskets; bullets seemed to whistle past them, and the noise of drums resounded in the air, seeming to pass away to the westward; others fancied that they heard the galloping of horses over their heads; and certain monstrous births which took place about the time filled the superstitious in some towns with doleful forebodings. Many of these portentous sights and sounds may be ascribed to natural phenomena – to the northern lights which occur vividly in those latitudes, the meteors which explode in the air, the casual rushing of a blast through the top branches of the forest, the crash of fallen trees or disrupted rocks, and to those other uncouth sounds and echoes which will sometimes strike the ear so strangely amidst the profound stillness of woodland solitudes. These may have startled some melancholy imaginations, may have been exaggerated by the love for the marvellous, and listened to with that avidity with which we devour whatever is fearful and mysterious. The universal currency of these superstitious fancies and the grave record made of them by one of the learned men of the day are strongly characteristic of the times.

The nature of the contest that ensued was such as too often distinguishes the warfare between civilized men and savages. On the part of the whites it was conducted with superior skill and

144. The Rev. Increase Mather’s History.



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success, but with a wastefulness of the blood and a disregard of the natural rights of their antagonists: on the part of the Indians it was waged with the desperation of men fearless of death, and who had nothing to expect from peace but humiliation, dependence, and decay.

The events of the war are transmitted to us by a worthy clergyman of the time, who dwells with horror and indignation on every hostile act of the Indians, however justifiable, whilst he mentions with applause the most sanguinary atrocities of the whites. Philip is reviled as a murderer and a traitor, without considering that he was a true-born prince gallantly fighting at the head of his subjects to avenge the wrongs of his family, to retrieve the tottering power of his line, and to deliver his native land from the oppression of usurping strangers.

The project of a wide and simultaneous revolt, if such had really been formed, was worthy of a capacious mind, and had it not been prematurely discovered might have been overwhelming in its consequences. The war that actually broke out was but a war of detail, a mere succession of casual exploits and unconnected enterprises. Still, it sets forth the military genius and daring prowess of Philip, and wherever, in the prejudiced and passionate narrations that have been given of it, we can arrive at simple facts, we find him displaying a vigorous mind, a fertility of expedients, a contempt of suffering and hardship, and an unconquerable resolution that command our sympathy and applause.

Driven from his paternal domains at Mount Hope, he threw himself into the depths of those vast and trackless forests that skirted the settlements and were almost impervious to anything but a wild beast or an Indian. Here he gathered together his forces, like the storm accumulating its stores of mischief in the bosom of the thundercloud, and would suddenly emerge at a time and place least expected, carrying havoc and dismay into the villages. There were now and then indications of these impending ravages that filled the minds of the colonists with awe and apprehension. The report of a distant gun would perhaps be heard from the solitary woodland, where there was known to be no white man; the cattle which had been wandering in the woods would sometimes return home wounded; or an Indian or two would be seen lurking about the skirts of the forests and suddenly disappearing, as the lightning will sometimes be seen playing silently about the edge of the cloud that is brewing up the tempest.

Though sometimes pursued and even surrounded by the settlers, yet Philip as often escaped almost miraculously from their toils, and, plunging into the wilderness, would be lost to all search or inquiry until he again emerged at some far distant quarter, laying the country desolate. Among his strongholds were the great swamps or morasses which extend in some parts of New England, composed of loose bogs of deep black mud, perplexed with thickets, brambles, rank weeds, the shattered and mouldering trunks of fallen trees, overshadowed by lugubrious hemlocks. The uncertain footing and the tangled mazes of these shaggy wilds rendered them almost impracticable to the white



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man, though the Indian could thread their labyrinths with the agility of a deer. Into one of these, the great swamp of Pocasset Neck, was Philip once driven with a band of his followers. The English did not dare to pursue him, fearing to venture into these dark and frightful recesses, where they might perish in fens and miry pits or be shot down by lurking foes. They therefore invested the entrance to the Neck, and began to build a fort with the thought of starving out the foe; but Philip and his warriors wafted themselves on a raft over an arm of the sea in the dead of night, leaving the women and children behind, and escaped away to the westward, kindling the flames of war among the tribes of Massachusetts and the Nipmuck country and threatening the colony of Connecticut.

In this way Philip became a theme of universal apprehension. The mystery in which he was enveloped exaggerated his real terrors. He was an evil that walked in darkness, whose coming none could foresee and against which none knew when to be on the alert. The whole country abounded with rumors and alarms. Philip seemed almost possessed of ubiquity, for in whatever part of the widely-extended frontier an irruption from the forest took place, Philip was said to be its leader. Many superstitious notions also were circulated concerning him. He was said to deal in necromancy, and to be attended by an old Indian witch or prophetess, whom he consulted and who assisted him by her charms and incantations. This, indeed, was frequently the case with Indian chiefs, either through their own credulity or to act upon that of their followers; and the influence of the prophet and the dreamer over Indian superstition has been fully evidenced in recent instances of savage warfare.

At the time that Philip effected his escape from Pocasset his fortunes were in a desperate condition. His forces had been thinned by repeated fights and he had lost almost the whole of his resources. In this time of adversity he found a faithful friend in Canonchet, chief Sachem of all the Narragansetts. He was the son and heir of Miantonimo, the great sachem who, as already mentioned, after an honorable acquittal of the charge of conspiracy, had been privately put to death at the perfidious instigations of the settlers. "He was the heir," says the old chronicler, "of all his father's pride and insolence, as well as of his malice towards the English;" he certainly was the heir of his insults and injuries and the legitimate avenger of his murder. Though he had forborne to take an active part in this hopeless war, yet he received Philip and his broken forces with open arms and gave them the most generous countenance and support. This at once drew upon him the hostility of the English, and it was determined to strike a signal blow that should involve both the Sachems in one common ruin. A great force was therefore gathered together from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and was sent into the Narragansett country in the depth of winter, when the swamps, being frozen and leafless, could be traversed with comparative facility and would no longer afford dark and impenetrable fastnesses to the Indians.

Apprehensive of attack, Canonchet had conveyed the greater part of his stores, together with the old, the infirm, the women and



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children of his tribe, to a strong fortress, where he and Philip had likewise drawn up the flower of their forces. This fortress, deemed by the Indians impregnable, was situated upon a rising mound or kind of island of five or six acres in the midst of a swamp; it was constructed with a degree of judgment and skill vastly superior to what is usually displayed in Indian fortification, and indicative of the martial genius of these two chieftains.

Guided by a renegado Indian, the English penetrated, through December snows, to this stronghold and came upon the garrison by surprise. The fight was fierce and tumultuous. The assailants were repulsed in their first attack, and several of their bravest officers were shot down in the act of storming the fortress, sword in hand. The assault was renewed with greater success. A lodgment was effected. The Indians were driven from one post to another. They disputed their ground inch by inch, fighting with the fury of despair. Most of their veterans were cut to pieces, and after a long and bloody battle, Philip and Canonchet, with a handful of surviving warriors, retreated from the fort and took refuge in the thickets of the surrounding forest.

The victors set fire to the wigwams and the fort; the whole was soon in a blaze; many of the old men, the women, and the children perished in the flames. This last outrage overcame even the stoicism of the savage. The neighboring woods resounded with the yells of rage and despair uttered by the fugitive warriors, as they beheld the destruction of their dwellings and heard the agonizing cries of their wives and offspring. "The burning of the wigwams," says a contemporary writer, "the shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrible and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers." The same writer cautiously adds, "They were in much doubt then, and afterwards seriously inquired, whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity, and the benevolent principles of the gospel."<sup>145</sup>

The fate of the brave and generous Canonchet is worthy of particular mention: the last scene of his life is one of the noblest instances on record of Indian magnimity.

Broken down in his power and resources by this signal defeat, yet faithful to his ally and to the hapless cause which he had espoused, he rejected all overtures of peace offered on condition of betraying Philip and his followers, and declared that "he would fight it out to the last man, rather than become a servant to the English." His home being destroyed, his country harassed and laid waste by the incursions of the conquerors, he was obliged to wander away to the banks of the Connecticut, where he formed a rallying-point to the whole body of western Indians and laid waste several of the English settlements.

Early in the spring he departed on a hazardous expedition, with only thirty chosen men, to penetrate to Seaconck, in the vicinity of Mount Hope, and to procure seed corn to plant for the sustenance of his troops. This little hand of adventurers

145. MS. of the Rev. W. Ruggles.



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had passed safely through the Pequod country, and were in the centre of the Narragansett, resting at some wigwams near Pautucket River, when an alarm was given of an approaching enemy. Having but seven men by him at the time, Canonchet despatched two of them to the top of a neighboring hill to bring intelligence of the foe.

Panic-struck by the appearance of a troop of English and Indians rapidly advancing, they fled in breathless terror past their chieftain, without stopping to inform him of the danger. Canonchet sent another scout, who did the same. He then sent two more, one of whom, hurrying back in confusion and affright, told him that the whole British army was at hand. Canonchet saw there was no choice but immediate flight. He attempted to escape round the hill, but was perceived and hotly pursued by the hostile Indians and a few of the fleetest of the English. Finding the swiftest pursuer close upon his heels, he threw off, first his blanket, then his silver-laced coat and belt of peag, by which his enemies knew him to be Canonchet and redoubled the eagerness of pursuit.

At length, in dashing through the river, his foot slipped upon a stone, and he fell so deep as to wet his gun. This accident so struck him with despair that, as he afterwards confessed, “his heart and his bowels turned within him, and he became like a rotten stick, void of strength.”

To such a degree was he unnerved that, being seized by a Pequod Indian within a short distance of the river, he made no resistance, though a man of great vigor of body and boldness of heart. But on being made prisoner the whole pride of his spirit arose within him, and from that moment we find, in the anecdotes given by his enemies, nothing but repeated flashes of elevated and prince-like heroism. Being questioned by one of the English who first came up with him, and who had not attained his twenty second year, the proud-hearted warrior, looking with lofty contempt upon his youthful countenance, replied, “You are a child—you cannot understand matters of war; let your brother or your chief come: him will I answer.”

Though repeated offers were made to him of his life on condition of submitting with his nation to the English, yet he rejected them with disdain, and refused to send any proposals of the kind to the great body of his subjects, saying that he knew none of them would comply. Being reproached with his breach of faith towards the whites, his boast that he would not deliver up a Wampanoag nor the paring of a Wampanoag’s nail, and his threat that he would burn the English alive in their houses, he disdained to justify himself, haughtily answering that others were as forward for the war as himself, and “he desired to hear no more thereof.”

So noble and unshaken a spirit, so true a fidelity to his cause and his friend, might have touched the feelings of the generous and the brave; but Canonchet was an Indian, a being towards whom war had no courtesy, humanity no law, religion no compassion: he was condemned to die. The last words of his that are recorded are worthy the greatness of his soul. When sentence of death was passed upon him, he observed “that he liked it well, for he



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should die before his heart was soft or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself.” His enemies gave him the death of a soldier, for he was shot at Stoning ham by three young Sachems of his own rank.

The defeat at the Narraganset fortress and the death of Canonchet were fatal blows to the fortunes of King Philip. He made an ineffectual attempt to raise a head of war by stirring up the Mohawks to take arms; but, though possessed of the native talents of a statesman, his arts were counteracted by the superior arts of his enlightened enemies, and the terror of their warlike skill began to subdue the resolution of the neighboring tribes. The unfortunate chieftain saw himself daily stripped of power, and his ranks rapidly thinning around him. Some were suborned by the whites; others fell victims to hunger and fatigue and to the frequent attacks by which they were harassed. His stores were all captured; his chosen friends were swept away from before his eyes; his uncle was shot down by his side; his sister was carried into captivity; and in one of his narrow escapes he was compelled to leave his beloved wife and only son to the mercy of the enemy. “His ruin,” says the historian, “being thus gradually carried on, his misery was not prevented, but augmented thereby; being himself made acquainted with the sense and experimental feeling of the captivity of his children, loss of friends, slaughter of his subjects, bereavement of all family relations, and being stripped of all outward comforts before his own life should be taken away.”

To fill up the measure of his misfortunes, his own followers began to plot against his life, that by sacrificing him they might purchase dishonorable safety. Through treachery a number of his faithful adherents, the subjects of Wetamoe, an Indian princess of Pocasset, a near kinswoman and confederate of Philip, were betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Wetamoe was among them at the time, and attempted to make her escape by crossing a neighboring river: either exhausted by swimming or starved with cold and hunger, she was found dead and naked near the water-side. But persecution ceased not at the grave. Even death, the refuge of the wretched, where the wicked commonly cease from troubling, was no protection to this outcast female, whose great crime was affectionate fidelity to her kinsman and her friend. Her corpse was the object of unmanly and dastardly vengeance: the head was severed from the body and set upon a pole, and was thus exposed at Taunton to the view of her captive subjects. They immediately recognized the features of their unfortunate queen, and were so affected at this barbarous spectacle that we are told they broke forth into the “most horrid and diabolical lamentations.”

However Philip had borne up against the complicated miseries and misfortunes that surrounded him, the treachery of his followers seemed to wring his heart and reduce him to despondency. It is said that “he never rejoiced afterwards, nor had success in any of his designs.” The spring of hope was broken—the ardor of enterprise was extinguished; he looked around, and all was danger and darkness; there was no eye to pity nor any arm that could bring deliverance. With a scanty band of followers, who



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still remained true to his desperate fortunes, the unhappy Philip wandered back to the vicinity of Mount Hope, the ancient dwelling of his fathers. Here he lurked about like a spectre among the scenes of former power and prosperity, now bereft of home, of family, and of friend. There needs no better picture of his destitute and piteous situation than that furnished by the homely pen of the chronicler, who is unwarily enlisting the feelings of the reader in favor of the hapless warrior whom he reviles. “Philip,” he says, “like a savage wild beast, having been hunted by the English forces through the woods above a hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den upon Mount Hope, where he retired, with a few of his best friends, into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast till the messengers of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him.”

Even in this last refuge of desperation and despair a sullen grandeur gathers round his memory. We picture him to ourselves seated among his care-worn followers, brooding in silence over his blasted fortunes, and acquiring a savage sublimity from the wildness and dreariness of his lurking-place. Defeated, but not dismayed—crushed to the earth, but not humiliated—he seemed to grow more haughty beneath disaster, and to experience a fierce satisfaction in draining the last dregs of bitterness. Little minds are tamed and subdued by misfortune, but great minds rise above it. The very idea of submission awakened the fury of Philip, and he smote to death one of his followers who proposed an expedient of peace. The brother of the victim made his escape, and in revenge betrayed the retreat of his chieftain, A body of white men and Indians were immediately despatched to the swamp where Philip lay crouched, glaring with fury and despair. Before he was aware of their approach they had begun to surround him. In a little while he saw five of his trustiest followers laid dead at his feet; all resistance was vain; he rushed forth from his covert, and made a headlong attempt to escape, but was shot through the heart by a renegado Indian of his own nation.

Such is the scanty story of the brave but unfortunate King Philip, persecuted while living, slandered and dishonored when dead. If, however, we consider even the prejudiced anecdotes furnished us by his enemies, we may perceive in them traces of amiable and lofty character sufficient to awaken sympathy for his fate and respect for his memory. We find that amidst all the harassing cares and ferocious passions of constant warfare he was alive to the softer feelings of connubial love and paternal tenderness and to the generous sentiment of friendship. The captivity of his “beloved wife and only son” are mentioned with exultation as causing him poignant misery: the death of any near friend is triumphantly recorded as a new blow on his sensibilities; but the treachery and desertion of many of his followers, in whose affections he had confided, is said to have desolated his heart and to have bereaved him of all further comfort. He was a patriot attached to his native soil—a prince true to his subjects and indignant of their wrongs—a soldier daring in battle, firm in adversity, patient of fatigue, of hunger, of every variety of bodily suffering, and ready to



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perish in the cause he had espoused. Proud of heart and with an untamable love of natural liberty, he preferred to enjoy it among the beasts of the forests or in the dismal and famished recesses of swamps and morasses, rather than bow his haughty spirit to submission and live dependent and despised in the ease and luxury of the settlements. With heroic qualities and bold achievements that would have graced a civilized warrior, and have rendered him the theme of the poet and the historian, he lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a lonely bark foundering amid darkness and tempest, without a pitying eye to weep his fall or a friendly hand to record his struggle.



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## PHILIP OF POKANOKET: AN INDIAN MEMOIR

from *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. (1819-1820)*  
by Washington Irving

As monumental bronze unchanged his look:  
A soul that pity touch'd, but never shook:  
Train'd from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier  
The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook  
Impassive- fearing but the shame of fear-  
A stoic of the woods-  
a man without a tear.

CAMPBELL.

IT IS to be regretted that those early writers, who treated of the discovery and settlement of America, have not given us more particular and candid accounts of the remarkable characters that flourished in savage life. The scanty anecdotes which have reached us are full of peculiarity and interest; they furnish us with nearer glimpses of human nature, and show what man is in a comparatively primitive state, and what he owes to civilization. There is something of the charm of discovery in lighting upon these wild and unexplored tracts of human nature; in witnessing, as it were, the native growth of moral sentiment, and perceiving those generous and romantic qualities which have been artificially cultivated by society, vegetating in spontaneous hardihood and rude magnificence. In civilized life, where the happiness, and indeed almost the existence, of man depends so much upon the opinion of his fellow-men, he is constantly acting a studied part. The bold and peculiar traits of native character are refined away, or softened down by the levelling influence of what is termed good-breeding; and he practises so many petty deceptions, and affects so many generous sentiments, for the purposes of popularity, that it is difficult to distinguish his real from his artificial character. The Indian, on the contrary, free from the restraints and refinements of polished life, and, in a great degree, a solitary and independent being, obeys the impulses of his inclination or the dictates of his judgment; and thus the attributes of his nature, being freely indulged, grow singly great and striking. Society is like a lawn, where every roughness is smoothed, every bramble eradicated, and where the eye is delighted by the smiling verdure of a velvet surface; he, however, who would study nature in its wildness and variety, must plunge into the forest, must explore the glen, must stem the torrent, and dare the precipice. These reflections arose on casually looking through a volume of early colonial history, wherein are recorded, with great bitterness, the outrages of the Indians, and their wars with the settlers of New England. It is painful to perceive even from these partial narratives, how the



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footsteps of civilization may be traced in the blood of the aborigines; how easily the colonists were moved to hostility by the lust of conquest; how merciless and exterminating was their warfare. The imagination shrinks at the idea, how many intellectual beings were hunted from the earth, how many brave and noble hearts, of nature's sterling coinage, were broken down and trampled in the dust! Such was the fate of PHILIP OF POKANOKET, an Indian warrior, whose name was once a terror throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut. He was the most distinguished of a number of contemporary Sachems who reigned over the Pequods, the Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, and the other eastern tribes, at the time of the first settlement of New England; a band of native untaught heroes, who made the most generous struggle of which human nature is capable; fighting to the last gasp in the cause of their country, without a hope of victory or a thought of renown. Worthy of an age of poetry, and fit subjects for local story and romantic fiction, they have left scarcely any authentic traces on the page of history, but stalk, like gigantic shadows, in the dim twilight of tradition.<sup>146</sup>

When the pilgrims, as the Plymouth settlers are called by their descendants, first took refuge on the shores of the New World, from the religious persecutions of the Old, their situation was to the last degree gloomy and disheartening. Few in number, and that number rapidly perishing away through sickness and hardships; surrounded by a howling wilderness and savage tribes; exposed to the rigors of an almost arctic winter, and the vicissitudes of an ever-shifting climate; their minds were filled with doleful forebodings, and nothing preserved them from sinking into despondency but the strong excitement of religious enthusiasm. In this forlorn situation they were visited by Massasoit, chief Sagamore of the Wampanoags, a powerful chief, who reigned over a great extent of country. Instead of taking advantage of the scanty number of the strangers, and expelling them from his territories, into which they had intruded, he seemed at once to conceive for them a generous friendship, and extended towards them the rites of primitive hospitality. He came early in the spring to their settlement of New Plymouth, attended by a mere handful of followers, entered into a solemn league of peace and amity; sold them a portion of the soil, and promised to secure for them the good-will of his savage allies. Whatever may be said of Indian perfidy, it is certain that the integrity and good faith of Massasoit have never been impeached. He continued a firm and magnanimous friend of the white men; suffering them to extend their possessions, and to strengthen themselves in the land; and betraying no jealousy of their increasing power and prosperity. Shortly before his death he came once more to New Plymouth, with his son Alexander, for the purpose of renewing the covenant of peace, and of securing it to his posterity. At this conference he endeavored to protect the religion of his forefathers from the encroaching zeal of the missionaries; and stipulated that no further attempt should be

146. While correcting the proof sheets of this article, the author is informed that a celebrated English poet has nearly finished an heroic poem on the story of Philip of Pokanoket.

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made to draw off his people from their ancient faith; but, finding the English obstinately opposed to any such condition, he mildly relinquished the demand. Almost the last act of his life was to bring his two sons, Alexander and Philip (as they had been named by the English), to the residence of a principal settler, recommending mutual kindness and confidence; and entreating that the same love and amity which had existed between the white men and himself might be continued afterwards with his children. The good old Sachem died in peace, and was happily gathered to his fathers before sorrow came upon his tribe; his children remained behind to experience the ingratitude of whitemen. His eldest son, Alexander, succeeded him. He was of a quick and impetuous temper, and proudly tenacious of his hereditary rights and dignity. The intrusive policy and dictatorial conduct of the strangers excited his indignation; and he beheld with uneasiness their exterminating wars with the neighboring tribes. He was doomed soon to incur their hostility, being accused of plotting with the Narragansetts to rise against the English and drive them from the land. It is impossible to say whether this accusation was warranted by facts or was grounded on mere suspicion. It is evident, however, by the violent and overbearing measures of the settlers, that they had by this time begun to feel conscious of the rapid increase of their power, and to grow harsh and inconsiderate in their treatment of the natives. They despatched an armed force to seize upon Alexander, and to bring him before their courts. He was traced to his woodland haunts, and surprised at a hunting house, where he was reposing with a band of his followers, unarmed, after the toils of the chase. The suddenness of his arrest, and the outrage offered to his sovereign dignity, so preyed upon the irascible feelings of this proud savage, as to throw him into a raging fever. He was permitted to return home, on condition of sending his son as a pledge for his reappearance; but the blow he had received was fatal, and before he had reached his home he fell a victim to the agonies of a wounded spirit. The successor of Alexander was Metacomet, or King Philip, as he was called by the settlers, on account of his lofty spirit and ambitious temper. These, together with his well-known energy and enterprise, had rendered him an object of great jealousy and apprehension, and he was accused of having always cherished a secret and implacable hostility towards the whites. Such may very probably, and very naturally, have been the case. He considered them as originally but mere intruders into the country, who had presumed upon indulgence, and were extending an influence baneful to savage life. He saw the whole race of his countrymen melting before them from the face of the earth; their territories slipping from their hands, and their tribes becoming feeble, scattered and dependent. It may be said that the soil was originally purchased by the settlers; but who does not know the nature of Indian purchases, in the early periods of colonization? The Europeans always made thrifty bargains through their superior adroitness in traffic; and they gained vast accessions of territory by easily provoked hostilities. An uncultivated savage is never a



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nice inquirer into the refinements of law, by which an injury may be gradually and legally inflicted. Leading facts are all by which he judges; and it was enough for Philip to know that before the intrusion of the Europeans his countrymen were lords of the soil, and that now they were becoming vagabonds in the land of their fathers. But whatever may have been his feelings of general hostility, and his particular indignation at the treatment of his brother, he suppressed them for the present, renewed the contract with the settlers, and resided peaceably for many years at Pokanoket, or, as it was called by the English, Mount Hope,<sup>147</sup> the ancient seat of dominion of his tribe. Suspicions, however, which were at first but vague and indefinite, began to acquire form and substance; and he was at length charged with attempting to instigate the various Eastern tribes to rise at once, and, by a simultaneous effort, to throw off the yoke of their oppressors. It is difficult at this distant period to assign the proper credit due to these early accusations against the Indians. There was a proneness to suspicion, and an aptness to acts of violence, on the part of the whites, that gave weight and importance to every idle tale. Informers abounded where talebearing met with countenance and reward; and the sword was readily unsheathed when its success was certain, and it carved out empire.

The only positive evidence on record against Philip is the accusation of one Sausaman, a renegade Indian, whose natural cunning had been quickened by a partial education which he had received among the settlers. He changed his faith and his allegiance two or three times, with a facility that evinced the looseness of his principles. He had acted for some time as Philip's confidential secretary and counsellor, and had enjoyed his bounty and protection. Finding, however, that the clouds of adversity were gathering round his patron, he abandoned his service and went over to the whites; and, in order to gain their favor, charged his former benefactor with plotting against their safety. A rigorous investigation took place. Philip and several of his subjects submitted to be examined, but nothing was proved against them. The settlers, however, had now gone too far to retract; they had previously determined that Philip was a dangerous neighbor; they had publicly evinced their distrust; and had done enough to insure his hostility; according, therefore, to the usual mode of reasoning in these cases, his destruction had become necessary to their security. Sausaman, the treacherous informer, was shortly afterwards found dead, in a pond, having fallen a victim to the vengeance of his tribe. Three Indians, one of whom was a friend and counsellor of Philip, were apprehended and tried, and, on the testimony of one very questionable witness, were condemned and executed as murderers. This treatment of his subjects, and ignominious punishment of his friend, outraged the pride and exasperated the passions of Philip. The bolt which had fallen thus at his very feet awakened him to the gathering storm, and he determined to trust himself no longer in the power of the white men. The fate of his insulted and broken-hearted brother still rankled in his mind; and he had

147. Now Bristol, Rhode Island.



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a further warning in the tragical story of Miantonimo, a great Sachem of the Narragansetts, who, after manfully facing his accusers before a tribunal of the colonists, exculpating himself from a charge of conspiracy, and receiving assurances of amity, had been perfidiously despatched at their instigation. Philip, therefore, gathered his fighting men about him; persuaded all strangers that he could, to join his cause; sent the women and children to the Narragansetts for safety; and wherever he appeared, was continually surrounded by armed warriors. When the two parties were thus in a state of distrust and irritation, the least spark was sufficient to set them in a flame. The Indians, having weapons in their hands, grew mischievous, and committed various petty depredations. In one of their maraudings a warrior was fired on and killed by a settler. This was the signal for open hostilities; the Indians pressed to revenge the death of their comrade, and the alarm of war resounded through the Plymouth colony. In the early chronicles of these dark and melancholy times we meet with many indications of the diseased state of the public mind. The gloom of religious abstraction, and the wildness of their situation, among trackless forests and savage tribes, had disposed the colonists to superstitious fancies, and had filled their imaginations with the frightful chimeras of witchcraft and spectrology. They were much given also to a belief in omens. The troubles with Philip and his Indians were preceded, we are told, by a variety of those awful warnings which forerun great and public calamities. The perfect form of an Indian bow appeared in the air at New Plymouth, which was looked upon by the inhabitants as a "prodigious apparition." At Hadley, Northampton, and other towns in their neighborhood, "was heard the report of a great piece of ordnance, with a shaking of the earth and a considerable echo."<sup>148</sup> Others were alarmed on a still, sunshiny morning by the discharge of guns and muskets; bullets seemed to whistle past them, and the noise of drums resounded in the air, seeming to pass away to the westward; others fancied that they heard the galloping of horses over their heads; and certain monstrous births, which took place about the time, filled the superstitious in some towns with doleful forebodings. Many of these portentous sights and sounds may be ascribed to natural phenomena: to the northern lights which occur vividly in those latitudes; the meteors which explode in the air; the casual rushing of a blast through the top branches of the forest; the crash of fallen trees or disrupted rocks; and to those other uncouth sounds and echoes which will sometimes strike the ear so strangely amidst the profound stillness of woodland solitudes. These may have startled some melancholy imaginations, may have been exaggerated by the love for the marvellous, and listened to with that avidity with which we devour whatever is fearful and mysterious. The universal currency of these superstitious fancies, and the grave record made of them by one of the learned men of the day, are strongly characteristic of the times.

The nature of the contest that ensued was such as too often distinguishes the warfare between civilized men and savages. On

148. The Rev. Increase Mather's History.



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the part of the whites it was conducted with superior skill and success; but with a wastefulness of the blood, and a disregard of the natural rights of their antagonists: on the part of the Indians it was waged with the desperation of men fearless of death, and who had nothing to expect from peace, but humiliation, dependence, and decay. The events of the war are transmitted to us by a worthy clergyman of the time; who dwells with horror and indignation on every hostile act of the Indians, however justifiable, whilst he mentions with applause the most sanguinary atrocities of the whites. Philip is reviled as a murderer and a traitor; without considering that he was a true born prince, gallantly fighting at the head of his subjects to avenge the wrongs of his family; to retrieve the tottering power of his line; and to deliver his native land from the oppression of usurping strangers. The project of a wide and simultaneous revolt, if such had really been formed, was worthy of a capacious mind, and, had it not been prematurely discovered, might have been overwhelming in its consequences. The war that actually broke out was but a war of detail, a mere succession of casual exploits and unconnected enterprises. Still it sets forth the military genius and daring prowess of Philip; and wherever, in the prejudiced and passionate narrations that have been given of it, we can arrive at simple facts, we find him displaying a vigorous mind, a fertility of expedients, a contempt of suffering and hardship, and an unconquerable resolution, that command our sympathy and applause. Driven from his paternal domains at Mount Hope, he threw himself into the depths of those vast and trackless forests that skirted the settlements, and were almost impervious to any thing but a wild beast, or an Indian. Here he gathered together his forces, like the storm accumulating its stores of mischief in the bosom of the thunder cloud, and would suddenly emerge at a time and place least expected, carrying havoc and dismay into the villages. There were now and then indications of these impending ravages, that filled the minds of the colonists with awe and apprehension. The report of a distant gun would perhaps be heard from the solitary woodland, where there was known to be no white man; the cattle which had been wandering in the woods would sometimes return home wounded; or an Indian or two would be seen lurking about the skirts of the forests, and suddenly disappearing; as the lightning will sometimes be seen playing silently about the edge of the cloud that is brewing up the tempest. Though sometimes pursued and even surrounded by the settlers, yet Philip as often escaped almost miraculously from their toils, and, plunging into the wilderness, would be lost to all search or inquiry, until he again emerged at some far distant quarter, laying the country desolate. Among his strongholds, were the great swamps or morasses, which extend in some parts of New England; composed of loose bogs of deep black mud; perplexed with thickets, brambles, rank weeds, the shattered and mouldering trunks of fallen trees, overshadowed by lugubrious hemlocks. The uncertain footing and the tangled mazes of these shaggy wilds, rendered them almost impracticable to the white man, though the Indian could thread their labyrinths with the agility of a deer. Into



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one of these, the great swamp of Pocasset Neck, was Philip once driven with a band of his followers. The English did not dare to pursue him, fearing to venture into these dark and frightful recesses, where they might perish in fens and miry pits, or be shot down by lurking foes. They therefore invested the entrance to the Neck, and began to build a fort, with the thought of starving out the foe; but Philip and his warriors wafted themselves on a raft over an arm of the sea, in the dead of the night, leaving the women and children behind; and escaped away to the westward, kindling the flames of war among the tribes of Massachusetts and the Nipmuck country, and threatening the colony of Connecticut. In this way Philip became a theme of universal apprehension. The mystery in which he was enveloped exaggerated his real terrors. He was an evil that walked in darkness; whose coming none could foresee, and against which none knew when to be on the alert. The whole country abounded with rumors and alarms. Philip seemed almost possessed of ubiquity; for, in whatever part of the widely-extended frontier an irruption from the forest took place, Philip was said to be its leader. Many superstitious notions also were circulated concerning him. He was said to deal in necromancy, and to be attended by an old Indian witch or prophetess, whom he consulted, and who assisted him by her charms and incantations. This indeed was frequently the case with Indian chiefs; either through their own credulity, or to act upon that of their followers: and the influence of the prophet and the dreamer over Indian superstition has been fully evidenced in recent instances of savage warfare. At the time that Philip effected his escape from Pocasset, his fortunes were in a desperate condition. His forces had been thinned by repeated fights, and he had lost almost the whole of his resources. In this time of adversity he found a faithful friend in Canonchet, chief Sachem of all the Narragansetts. He was the son and heir of Miantonimo, the great Sachem, who, as already mentioned, after an honorable acquittal of the charge of conspiracy, had been privately put to death at the perfidious instigations of the settlers. "He was the heir," says the old chronicler, "of all his father's pride and insolence, as well as of his malice towards the English;"- he certainly was the heir of his insults and injuries, and the legitimate avenger of his murder. Though he had forborne to take an active part in this hopeless war, yet he received Philip and his broken forces with open arms; and gave them the most generous countenance and support. This at once drew upon him the hostility of the English; and it was determined to strike a signal blow that should involve both the Sachems in one common ruin. A great force was, therefore gathered together from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and was sent into the Narragansett country in the depth of winter, when the swamps, being frozen and leafless, could be traversed with comparative facility, and would no longer afford dark and impenetrable fastnesses to the Indians. Apprehensive of attack, Canonchet had conveyed the greater part of his stores, together with the old, the infirm, the women and children of his tribe, to a strong fortress; where he and Philip had likewise drawn up the flower



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of their forces. This fortress, deemed by the Indians impregnable, was situated upon a rising mound or kind of island, of five or six acres, in the midst of a swamp; it was constructed with a degree of judgment and skill vastly superior to what is usually displayed in Indian fortification, and indicative of the martial genius of these two chieftains. Guided by a renegade Indian, the English penetrated, through December snows, to this stronghold, and came upon the garrison by surprise. The fight was fierce and tumultuous. The assailants were repulsed in their first attack, and several of their bravest officers were shot down in the act of storming the fortress sword in hand. The assault was renewed with greater success. A lodgment was effected. The Indians were driven from one post to another. They disputed their ground inch by inch, fighting with the fury of despair. Most of their veterans were cut to pieces; and after a long and bloody battle, Philip and Canonchet, with a handful of surviving warriors, retreated from the fort, and took refuge in the thickets of the surrounding forest. The victors set fire to the wigwams and the fort; the whole was soon in a blaze; many of the old men, the women and the children perished in the flames. This last outrage overcame even the stoicism of the savage. The neighboring woods resounded with the yells of rage and despair, uttered by the fugitive warriors, as they beheld the destruction of their dwellings, and heard the agonizing cries of their wives and offspring. "The burning of the wigwams," says a contemporary writer, "the shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrible and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers." The same writer cautiously adds, "they were in much doubt then, and afterwards seriously inquired, whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity, and the benevolent principles of the Gospel."<sup>149</sup>

The fate of the brave and generous Canonchet is worthy of particular mention: the last scene of his life is one of the noblest instances on record of Indian magnanimity. Broken down in his power and resources by this signal defeat, yet faithful to his ally, and to the hapless cause which he had espoused, he rejected all overtures of peace, offered on condition of betraying Philip and his followers, and declared that "he would fight it out to the last man, rather than become a servant to the English." His home being destroyed; his country harassed and laid waste by the incursions of the conquerors; he was obliged to wander away to the banks of the Connecticut; where he formed a rallying point to the whole body of western Indians, and laid waste several of the English settlements. Early in the spring he departed on a hazardous expedition, with only thirty chosen men, to penetrate to Seaconck, in the vicinity of Mount Hope, and to procure seed corn to plant for the sustenance of his troops. This little band of adventurers had passed safely through the Pequod country, and were in the centre of the Narragansett, resting at some wigwams near Pawtucket River, when an alarm was given of an approaching enemy.- Having but seven

149. MS. of the Rev. W. Ruggles.

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men by him at the time, Canonchet despatched two of them to the top of a neighboring hill, to bring intelligence of the foe. Panic-struck by the appearance of a troop of English and Indians rapidly advancing, they fled in breathless terror past their chieftain, without stopping to inform him of the danger. Canonchet sent another scout, who did the same. He then sent two more, one of whom, hurrying back in confusion and affright, told him that the whole British army was at hand. Canonchet saw there was no choice but immediate flight. He attempted to escape round the hill, but was perceived and hotly pursued by the hostile Indians and a few of the fleetest of the English. Finding the swiftest pursuer close upon his heels, he threw off, first his blanket, then his silver-laced coat and belt of peag, by which his enemies knew him to be Canonchet, and redoubled the eagerness of pursuit. At length, in dashing through the river, his foot slipped upon a stone, and he fell so deep as to wet his gun. This accident so struck him with despair, that, as he afterwards confessed, "his heart and his bowels turned within him, and he became like a rotten stick, void of strength." To such a degree was he unnerved, that, being seized by a Pequod Indian within a short distance of the river, he made no resistance, though a man of great vigor of body and boldness of heart. But on being made prisoner the whole pride of his spirit arose within him; and from that moment, we find, in the anecdotes given by his enemies, nothing but repeated flashes of elevated and prince-like heroism. Being questioned by one of the English who first came up with him, and who had not attained his twenty-second year, the proud-hearted warrior, looking with lofty contempt upon his youthful countenance, replied, "You are a child- you cannot understand matters of war- let your brother or your chief come- him will I answer." Though repeated offers were made to him of his life, on condition of submitting with his nation to the English, yet he rejected them with disdain, and refused to send any proposals of the kind to the great body of his subjects; saying, that he knew none of them would comply. Being reproached with his breach of faith towards the whites; his boast that he would not deliver up a Wampanoag nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail; and his threat that he would burn the English alive in their houses; he disdained to justify himself, haughtily answering that others were as forward for the war as himself, and "he desired to hear no more thereof." So noble and unshaken a spirit, so true a fidelity to his cause and his friend, might have touched the feelings of the generous and the brave; but Canonchet was an Indian; a being towards whom war had no courtesy, humanity no law, religion no compassion- he was condemned to die. The last words of him that are recorded, are worthy the greatness of his soul. When sentence of death was passed upon him, he observed "that he liked it well, for he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself." His enemies gave him the death of a soldier, for he was shot at Stoningham, by three young Sachems of his own rank. The defeat at the Narragansett fortress, and the death of Canonchet, were fatal blows to the fortunes of King Philip. He made an ineffectual attempt to raise a head of war,

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by stirring up the Mohawks to take arms; but though possessed of the native talents of a statesman, his arts were counteracted by the superior arts of his enlightened enemies, and the terror of their warlike skill began to subdue the resolution of the neighboring tribes. The unfortunate chieftain saw himself daily stripped of power, and his ranks rapidly thinning around him. Some were suborned by the whites; others fell victims to hunger and fatigue, and to the frequent attacks by which they were harassed. His stores were all captured; his chosen friends were swept away from before his eyes; his uncle was shot down by his side; his sister was carried into captivity; and in one of his narrow escapes he was compelled to leave his beloved wife and only son to the mercy of the enemy. "His ruin," says the historian, "being thus gradually carried on, his misery was not prevented, but augmented thereby; being himself made acquainted with the sense and experimental feeling of the captivity of his children, loss of friends, slaughter of his subjects, bereavement of all family relations, and being stripped of all outward comforts, before his own life should be taken away." To fill up the measure of his misfortunes, his own followers began to plot against his life, that by sacrificing him they might purchase dishonorable safety. Through treachery a number of his faithful adherents, the subjects of Wetamoe, an Indian princess of Pocasset, a near kinswoman and confederate of Philip, were betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Wetamoe was among them at the time, and attempted to make her escape by crossing a neighboring river: either exhausted by swimming, or starved by cold and hunger, she was found dead and naked near the water side. But persecution ceased not at the grave. Even death, the refuge of the wretched, where the wicked commonly cease from troubling, was no protection to this outcast female, whose great crime was affectionate fidelity to her kinsman and her friend. Her corpse was the object of unmanly and dastardly vengeance; the head was severed from the body and set upon a pole, and was thus exposed at Taunton, to the view of her captive subjects. They immediately recognized the features of their unfortunate queen, and were so affected at this barbarous spectacle, that we are told they broke forth into the "most horrid and diabolical lamentations." However Philip had borne up against the complicated miseries and misfortunes that surrounded him, the treachery of his followers seemed to wring his heart and reduce him to despondency. It is said that "he never rejoiced afterwards, nor had success in any of his designs." The spring of hope was broken- the ardor of enterprise was extinguished- he looked around, and all was danger and darkness; there was no eye to pity, nor any arm that could bring deliverance. With a scanty band of followers, who still remained true to his desperate fortunes, the unhappy Philip wandered back to the vicinity of Mount Hope, the ancient dwelling of his fathers. Here he lurked about, like a spectre, among the scenes of former power and prosperity, now bereft of home, of family and friend. There needs no better picture of his destitute and piteous situation, than that furnished by the homely pen of the chronicler, who is unwarily enlisting the feelings of the reader



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in favor of the hapless warrior whom he reviles. “Philip,” he says, “like a savage wild beast, having been hunted by the English forces through the woods, above a hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den upon Mount Hope, where he retired, with a few of his best friends, into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast till the messengers of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him.” Even in this last refuge of desperation and despair, a sullen grandeur gathers round his memory. We picture him to ourselves seated among his care-worn followers, brooding in silence over his blasted fortunes, and acquiring a savage sublimity from the wildness and dreariness of his lurking-place. Defeated, but not dismayed -crushed to the earth, but not humiliated- he seemed to grow more haughty beneath disaster, and to experience a fierce satisfaction in draining the last dregs of bitterness. Little minds are tamed and subdued by misfortune; but great minds rise above it. The very idea of submission awakened the fury of Philip, and he smote to death one of his followers, who proposed an expedient of peace. The brother of the victim made his escape, and in revenge betrayed the retreat of his chieftain. A body of white men and Indians were immediately despatched to the swamp where Philip lay crouched, glaring with fury and despair. Before he was aware of their approach, they had begun to surround him. In a little while he saw five of his trustiest followers laid dead at his feet; all resistance was vain; he rushed forth from his covert, and made a headlong attempt to escape, but was shot through the heart by a renegade Indian of his own nation. Such is the scanty story of the brave, but unfortunate King Philip; persecuted while living, slandered and dishonored when dead. If, however, we consider even the prejudiced anecdotes furnished us by his enemies, we may perceive in them traces of amiable and lofty character sufficient to awaken sympathy for his fate, and respect for his memory. We find that, amidst all the harassing cares and ferocious passions of constant warfare, he was alive to the softer feelings of connubial love and paternal tenderness, and to the generous sentiment of friendship. The captivity of his “beloved wife and only son” are mentioned with exultation as causing him poignant misery: the death of any near friend is triumphantly recorded as a new blow on his sensibilities; but the treachery and desertion of many of his followers, in whose affections he had confided, is said to have desolated his heart, and to have bereaved him of all further comfort. He was a patriot attached to his native soil- a prince true to his subjects, and indignant of their wrongs- a soldier, daring in battle, firm in adversity, patient of fatigue, of hunger, of every variety of bodily suffering, and ready to perish in the cause he had espoused. Proud of heart, and with an untamable love of natural liberty, he preferred to enjoy it among the beasts of the forests or in the dismal and famished recesses of swamps and morasses, rather than bow his haughty spirit to submission, and live dependent and despised in the ease and luxury of the settlements. With heroic qualities and bold achievements that would have graced a civilized warrior,



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and have rendered him the theme of the poet and the historian; he lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a lonely bark foundering amid darkness and tempest—without a pitying eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle.



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TRAITS OF INDIAN CHARACTER

from **The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. (1819-1820)**  
by **Washington Irving**

“I appeal to any white man if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry, and he gave him not to eat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not.”

SPEECH OF AN INDIAN CHIEF.

THERE is something in the character and habits of the North American savage, taken in connection with the scenery over which he is accustomed to range, its vast lakes, boundless forests, majestic rivers, and trackless plains, that is, to my mind, wonderfully striking and sublime. He is formed for the wilderness, as the Arab is for the desert. His nature is stern, simple and enduring; fitted to grapple with difficulties, and to support privations. There seems but little soil in his heart for the support of the kindly virtues; and yet, if we would but take the trouble to penetrate through that proud stoicism and habitual taciturnity, which lock up his character from casual observation, we should find him linked to his fellow-man of civilized life by more of those sympathies and affections than are usually ascribed to him. It has been the lot of the unfortunate aborigines of America, in the early periods of colonization, to be doubly wronged by the whitemen. They have been dispossessed of their hereditary possessions by mercenary and frequently wanton warfare: and their characters have been traduced by bigoted and interested writers. The colonist often treated them like beasts of the forest; and the author has endeavored to justify him in his outrages. The former found it easier to exterminate than to civilize; the latter to vilify than to discriminate. The appellations of savage and pagan were deemed sufficient to sanction the hostilities of both; and thus the poor wanderers of the forest were persecuted and defamed, not because they were guilty, but because they were ignorant. The rights of the savage have seldom been properly appreciated or respected by the white man. In peace he has too often been the dupe of artful traffic; in war he has been regarded as a ferocious animal, whose life or death was a question of mere precaution and convenience. Man is cruelly wasteful of life when his own safety is endangered, and he is sheltered by impunity; and little mercy is to be expected from him, when he feels the sting of the reptile and is conscious of the power to destroy. The same prejudices, which were indulged thus early, exist in common circulation at the present day. Certain learned societies have, it is true, with laudable diligence, endeavored to investigate and record the real characters and manners of the Indian tribes; the American government, too, has wisely and humanely exerted itself to inculcate a friendly and forbearing



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spirit towards them, and to protect them from fraud and injustice.<sup>150</sup> The current opinion of the Indian character, however, is too apt to be formed from the miserable hordes which infest the frontiers, and hang on the skirts of the settlements. These are too commonly composed of degenerate beings, corrupted and enfeebled by the vices of society, without being benefited by its civilization. That proud independence, which formed the main pillar of savage virtue, has been shaken down, and the whole moral fabric lies in ruins. Their spirits are humiliated and debased by a sense of inferiority, and their native courage cowed and daunted by the superior knowledge and power of their enlightened neighbors. Society has advanced upon them like one of those withering airs that will sometimes breed desolation over a whole region of fertility. It has enervated their strength, multiplied their diseases, and superinduced upon their original barbarity the low vices of artificial life. It has given them a thousand superfluous wants, whilst it has diminished their means of mere existence. It has driven before it the animals of the chase, who fly from the sound of the axe and the smoke of the settlement, and seek refuge in the depths of remoter forests and yet untrodden wilds. Thus do we too often find the Indians on our frontiers to be the mere wrecks and remnants of once powerful tribes, who have lingered in the vicinity of the settlements, and sunk into precarious and vagabond existence. Poverty, repining and hopeless poverty, a canker of the mind unknown in savage life, corrodes their spirits, and blights every free and noble quality of their natures. They become drunken, indolent, feeble, thievish, and pusillanimous. They loiter like vagrants about the settlements, among spacious dwellings replete with elaborate comforts, which only render them sensible of the comparative wretchedness of their own condition. Luxury spreads its ample board before their eyes; but they are excluded from the banquet. Plenty revels over the fields; but they are starving in the midst of its abundance: the whole wilderness has blossomed into a garden; but they feel as reptiles that infest it. How different was their state while yet the undisputed lords of the soil! Their wants were few, and the means of gratification within their reach. They saw every one around them sharing the same lot, enduring the same hardships, feeding on the same aliments, arrayed in the same rude garments. No roof then rose, but was open to the homeless stranger; no smoke curled among the trees, but he was welcome to sit down by its fire, and join the hunter in his repast. “For,” says an old historian of New England, “their life is so void of care, and they are so loving also, that they make use of those things they enjoy as common goods, and are therein so compassionate, that rather than one should starve through want, they would starve all; thus they pass their time merrily, not regarding our pomp, but are better content with their own, which some men esteem so meanly of.” Such were the Indians, whilst in

150. The American government has been indefatigable in its exertions to ameliorate the situation of the Indians, and to introduce among them the arts of civilization, and civil and religious knowledge. To protect them from the frauds of the white traders, no purchase of land from them by individuals is permitted; nor is any person allowed to receive lands from them as a present, without the express sanction of government. These precautions are strictly enforced.



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the pride and energy of their primitive natures: they resembled those wild plants, which thrive best in the shades of the forest, but shrink from the hand of cultivation, and perish beneath the influence of the sun. In discussing the savage character, writers have been too prone to indulge in vulgar prejudice and passionate exaggeration, instead of the candid temper of true philosophy. They have not sufficiently considered the peculiar circumstances in which the Indians have been placed, and the peculiar principles under which they have been educated. No being acts more rigidly from rule than the Indian. His whole conduct is regulated according to some general maxims early implanted in his mind. The moral laws that govern him are, to be sure, but few; but then he conforms to them all;- the white man abounds in laws of religion, morals, and manners, but how many does he violate? A frequent ground of accusation against the Indians is their disregard of treaties, and the treachery and wantonness with which, in time of apparent peace, they will suddenly fly to hostilities. The intercourse of the white men with the Indians, however, is too apt to be cold, distrustful, oppressive, and insulting. They seldom treat them with that confidence and frankness which are indispensable to real friendship; nor is sufficient caution observed not to offend against those feelings of pride or superstition, which often prompts the Indian to hostility quicker than mere considerations of interest. The solitary savage feels silently, but acutely. His sensibilities are not diffused over so wide a surface as those of the white man; but they run in steadier and deeper channels. His pride, his affections, his superstitions, are all directed towards fewer objects; but the wounds inflicted on them are proportionably severe, and furnish motives of hostility, which we cannot sufficiently appreciate. Where a community is also limited in number, and forms one great patriarchal family, as in an Indian tribe, the injury of an individual is the injury of the whole; and the sentiment of vengeance is almost instantaneously diffused. One council fire is sufficient for the discussion and arrangement of a plan of hostilities. Here all the fighting men and sages assemble. Eloquence and superstition combine to inflame the minds of the warriors. The orator awakens their martial ardor, and they are wrought up to a kind of religious desperation, by the visions of the prophet and the dreamer. An instance of one of those sudden exasperations, arising from a motive peculiar to the Indian character, is extant in an old record of the early settlement of Massachusetts. The planters of Plymouth had defaced the monuments of the dead at Passonagessit, and had plundered the grave of the Sachem's mother of some skins with which it had been decorated. The Indians are remarkable for the reverence which they entertain for the sepulchres of their kindred. Tribes that have passed generations exiled from the abodes of their ancestors, when by chance they have been travelling in the vicinity, have been known to turn aside from the highway, and guided by wonderfully accurate tradition, have crossed the country for miles to some tumulus, buried perhaps in woods, where the bones of their tribe were anciently deposited; and



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there have passed hours in silent meditation. Influenced by this sublime and holy feeling, the Sachem, whose mother's tomb had been violated, gathered his men together, and addressed them in the following beautifully simple and pathetic harangue; a curious specimen of Indian eloquence, and an affecting instance of filial piety in a savage. "When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath this globe, and birds grew silent, I began to settle, as my custom is, to take repose. Before mine eyes were fast closed, methought I saw a vision, at which my spirit was much troubled; and trembling at that doleful sight, a spirit cried aloud, 'Behold, my son, whom I have cherished, see the breasts that gave thee suck, the hands that lapped thee warm, and fed thee oft. Canst thou forget to take revenge of those wild people who have defaced my monument in a despiteful manner, disdainng our antiquities and honorable customs? See, now, the Sachem's grave lies like the common people, defaced by an ignoble race. Thy mother doth complain, and implores thy aid against this thievish people, who have newly intruded on our land. If this be suffered, I shall not rest quiet in my everlasting habitation.' This said, the spirit vanished, and I, all in a sweat, not able scarce to speak, began to get some strength, and recollect my spirits that were fled, and determined to demand your counsel and assistance." I have adduced this anecdote at some length, as it tends to show how these sudden acts of hostility, which have been attributed to caprice and perfidy, may often arise from deep and generous motives, which our inattention to Indian character and customs prevents our properly appreciating. Another ground of violent outcry against the Indians is their barbarity to the vanquished. This had its origin partly in policy and partly in superstition. The tribes, though sometimes called nations, were never so formidable in their numbers, but that the loss of several warriors was sensibly felt; this was particularly the case when they had been frequently engaged in warfare; and many an instance occurs in Indian history, where a tribe, that had long been formidable to its neighbors, has been broken up and driven away, by the capture and massacre of its principal fighting men. There was a strong temptation, therefore, to the victor to be merciless; not so much to gratify any cruel revenge, as to provide for future security. The Indians had also the superstitious belief, frequent among barbarous nations, and prevalent also among the ancients, that the manes of their friends who had fallen in battle were soothed by the blood of the captives. The prisoners, however, who are not thus sacrificed, are adopted into their families in the place of the slain, and are treated with the confidence and affection of relatives and friends; nay, so hospitable and tender is their entertainment, that when the alternative is offered them, they will often prefer to remain with their adopted brethren, rather than return to the home and the friends of their youth. The cruelty of the Indians towards their prisoners has been heightened since the colonization of the whites. What was formerly a compliance with policy and superstition, has been exasperated into a gratification of vengeance. They cannot but



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be sensible that the whitemen are the usurpers of their ancient dominion, the cause of their degradation, and the gradual destroyers of their race. They go forth to battle, smarting with injuries and indignities which they have individually suffered, and they are driven to madness and despair by the wide-spreading desolation, and the overwhelming ruin of European warfare. The whites have too frequently set them an example of violence, by burning their villages, and laying waste their slender means of subsistence: and yet they wonder that savages do not show moderation and magnanimity towards those who have left them nothing but mere existence and wretchedness. We stigmatize the Indians, also, as cowardly and treacherous, because they use stratagem in warfare, in preference to open force; but in this they are fully justified by their rude code of honor. They are early taught that stratagem is praiseworthy; the bravest warrior thinks it no disgrace to lurk in silence, and take every advantage of his foe: he triumphs in the superior craft and sagacity by which he has been enabled to surprise and destroy an enemy. Indeed, man is naturally more prone to subtlety than open valor, owing to his physical weakness in comparison with other animals. They are endowed with natural weapons of defence: with horns, with tusks, with hoofs, and talons; but man has to depend on his superior sagacity. In all his encounters with these, his proper enemies, he resorts to stratagem; and when he perversely turns his hostility against his fellow-man, he at first continues the same subtle mode of warfare. The natural principle of war is to do the most harm to our enemy with the least harm to ourselves; and this of course is to be effected by stratagem. That chivalrous courage which induces us to despise the suggestions of prudence, and to rush in the face of certain danger, is the offspring of society, and produced by education. It is honorable, because it is in fact the triumph of lofty sentiment over an instinctive repugnance to pain, and over those yearnings after personal ease and security, which society has condemned as ignoble. It is kept alive by pride and the fear of shame; and thus the dread of real evil is overcome by the superior dread of an evil which exists but in the imagination. It has been cherished and stimulated also by various means. It has been the theme of spirit-stirring song and chivalrous story. The poet and minstrel have delighted to shed round it the splendors of fiction; and even the historian has forgotten the sober gravity of narration, and broken forth into enthusiasm and rhapsody in its praise. Triumphs and gorgeous pageants have been its reward: monuments, on which art has exhausted its skill, and opulence its treasures, have been erected to perpetuate a nation's gratitude and admiration. Thus artificially excited, courage has risen to an extraordinary and factitious degree of heroism: and arrayed in all the glorious "pomp and circumstance of war," this turbulent quality has even been able to eclipse many of those quiet, but invaluable virtues, which silently ennoble the human character, and swell the tide of human happiness. But if courage intrinsically consists in the defiance of danger and pain, the life of the Indian is a continual exhibition of it. He lives in a state of



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perpetual hostility and risk. Peril and adventure are congenial to his nature; or rather seem necessary to arouse his faculties and to give an interest to his existence. Surrounded by hostile tribes, whose mode of warfare is by ambush and surprisal, he is always prepared for fight, and lives with his weapons in his hands. As the ship careers in fearful singleness through the solitudes of ocean;- as the bird mingles among clouds and storms, and wings its way, a mere speck, across the pathless fields of air;- so the Indian holds his course, silent, solitary, but undaunted, through the boundless bosom of the wilderness. His expeditions may vie in distance and danger with the pilgrimage of the devotee, or the crusade of the knight-errant. He traverses vast forests, exposed to the hazards of lonely sickness, of lurking enemies, and pining famine. Stormy lakes, those great inland seas, are no obstacles to his wanderings: in his light canoe of bark he sports, like a feather, on their waves, and darts, with the swiftness of an arrow, down the roaring rapids of the rivers. His very subsistence is snatched from the midst of toil and peril. He gains his food by the hardships and dangers of the chase: he wraps himself in the spoils of the bear, the panther, and the buffalo, and sleeps among the thunders of the cataract. No hero of ancient or modern days can surpass the Indian in his lofty contempt of death, and the fortitude with which he sustains its cruellest infliction. Indeed we here behold him rising superior to the white man, in consequence of his peculiar education. The latter rushes to glorious death at the cannon's mouth; the former calmly contemplates its approach, and triumphantly endures it, amidst the varied torments of surrounding foes and the protracted agonies of fire. He even takes a pride in taunting his persecutors, and provoking their ingenuity of torture; and as the devouring flames prey on his very vitals, and the flesh shrinks from the sinews, he raises his last song of triumph, breathing the defiance of an unconquered heart, and invoking the spirits of his fathers to witness that he dies without a groan. Notwithstanding the obloquy with which the early historians have overshadowed the characters of the unfortunate natives, some bright gleams occasionally break through, which throw a degree of melancholy lustre on their memories. Facts are occasionally to be met with in the rude annals of the eastern provinces, which, though recorded with the coloring of prejudice and bigotry, yet speak for themselves; and will be dwelt on with applause and sympathy, when prejudice shall have passed away. In one of the homely narratives of the Indian wars in New England, there is a touching account of the desolation carried into the tribe of the Pequod Indians. Humanity shrinks from the cold-blooded detail of indiscriminate butchery. In one place we read of the surprisal of an Indian fort in the night, when the wigwams were wrapped in flames, and the miserable inhabitants shot down and slain in attempting to escape, "all being despatched and ended in the course of an hour." After a series of similar transactions, "our soldiers," as the historian piously observes, "being resolved by God's assistance to make a final destruction of them," the unhappy savages being hunted



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from their homes and fortresses, and pursued with fire and sword, a scanty, but gallant band, the sad remnant of the Pequod warriors, with their wives and children, took refuge in a swamp. Burning with indignation, and rendered sullen by despair; with hearts bursting with grief at the destruction of their tribe, and spirits galled and sore at the fancied ignominy of their defeat, they refused to ask their lives at the hands of an insulting foe, and preferred death to submission. As the night drew on they were surrounded in their dismal retreat, so as to render escape impracticable. Thus situated, their enemy "plied them with shot all the time, by which means many were killed and buried in the mire." In the darkness and fog that preceded the dawn of day some few broke through the besiegers and escaped into the woods: "the rest were left to the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp, like sullen dogs who would rather, in their self-willedness and madness, sit still and be shot through, or cut to pieces," than implore for mercy. When the day broke upon this handful of forlorn but dauntless spirits, the soldiers, we are told, entering the swamp, "saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces, laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of the pieces under the boughs, within a few yards of them; so as, besides those that were found dead, many more were killed and sunk into the mire, and never were minded more by friend or foe. Can any one read this plain unvarnished tale, without admiring the stern resolution, the unbending pride, the loftiness of spirit, that seemed to nerve the hearts of these self-taught heroes, and to raise them above the instinctive feelings of human nature? When the Gauls laid waste the city of Rome, they found the senators clothed in their robes, and seated with stern tranquillity in their curule chairs; in this manner they suffered death without resistance or even supplication. Such conduct was, in them, applauded as noble and magnanimous; in the hapless Indian it was reviled as obstinate and sullen! How truly are we the dupes of show and circumstance! How different is virtue, clothed in purple and enthroned in state, from virtue, naked and destitute, and perishing obscurely in a wilderness! But I forbear to dwell on these gloomy pictures. The eastern tribes have long since disappeared; the forests that sheltered them have been laid low, and scarce any traces remain of them in the thickly-settled states of New England, excepting here and there the Indian name of a village or a stream. And such must, sooner or later, be the fate of those other tribes which skirt the frontiers, and have occasionally been inveigled from their forests to mingle in the wars of white men. In a little while, and they will go the way that their brethren have gone before. The few hordes which still linger about the shores of Huron and Superior, and the tributary streams of the Mississippi, will share the fate of those tribes that once spread over Massachusetts and Connecticut, and lorded it along the proud banks of the Hudson; of that gigantic race said to have existed on the borders of the Susquehanna; and of those various nations that flourished about the Potomac and the Rappahannock, and that peopled the forests of the vast valley



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of Shenandoah. They will vanish like a vapor from the face of the earth; their very history will be lost in forgetfulness; and “the places that now know them will know them no more for ever.” Or if, perchance, some dubious memorial of them should survive, it may be in the romantic dreams of the poet, to people in imagination his glades and groves, like the fauns and satyrs and sylvan deities of antiquity. But should he venture upon the dark story of their wrongs and wretchedness; should he tell how they were invaded, corrupted, despoiled, driven from their native abodes and the sepulchres of their fathers, hunted like wild beasts about the earth, and sent down with violence and butchery to the grave, posterity will either turn with horror and incredulity from the tale, or blush with indignation at the inhumanity of their forefathers.- “We are driven back,” said an old warrior, “until we can retreat no farther- our hatchets are broken, our bows are snapped, our fires are nearly extinguished:- a little longer, and the white man will cease to persecute us- for we shall cease to exist!”



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*YAMOYDEN*, A TALE OF THE WARS OF [KING PHILIP](#); IN SIX CANTOS. BY THE LATE REV. JAMES WALLIS EASTBURN AND HIS FRIEND (New-York: James Eastburn, Clayton & Kingland), a narrative poem of pathos and longing describing a “fair lake, unruffled and sparkling,” on the waters of which lay “the green isle of lovers.” Said lake, however, is in the midst of “fens where the hunter ne’er ventured to tread” because it exists only in the imagination: “[H]e who has sought to set foot on its shore, / In mazes perplexed, has beheld it no more.”



SWAMP

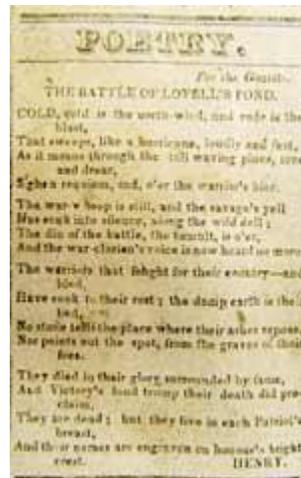
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 November 17, Friday: A first poem by a new poet, “The Battle of Lovell’s Pond” by [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) (age 13), appeared in the Portland, Maine [Gazette](#).

This is what the poet had looked like at age 8, in 1815:



And now, this is what the clipping would look like (after it had a chance to get nice and yellowish):



Cold, cold is the north wind and rude is the blast  
That sweeps like a hurricane loudly and fast,  
As it moans through the tall waving pines lone and drear,  
Sighs a requiem sad o'er the warrior's bier.

The war-whoop is still, and the savage's yell  
Has sunk into silence along the wild dell;  
The din of the battle, the tumult, is o'er,  
And the war-clarion's voice is now heard no more.

The warriors that fought for their country, and bled,  
Have sunk to their rest; the damp earth is their bed;  
No stone tells the place where their ashes repose,  
Nor points out the spot from the graves of their foes.

They died in their glory, surrounded by fame,  
And Victory's loud trump their death did proclaim;  
They are dead; but they live in each Patriot's breast,

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And their names are engraven on honor's bright crest.

The topic was a dustup during [King Phillip's War](#) and you may well note that the “warriors that fought for their country, and bled” were not those pesky redskins. I'll leave it up to you to decide whether this 13-year-old's initial published poem was any improvement over the traditional one that had been recounting the event:

Of worthy Captain LOVEWELL, I purpose now to sing,  
How valiantly he served his country and his King;  
He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,  
And hardships they endured to quell the Indian's pride.

'Twas nigh unto Pigwacket, on the eighth day of May,  
They spied a rebel Indian soon after break of day;  
He on a bank was walking, upon a neck of land,  
Which leads into a pond as we're made to understand.

Our men resolved to have him, and travelled two miles round,  
Until they met the Indian, who boldly stood his ground;  
Then up speaks Captain LOVEWELL, “Take you good heed,” says he,  
“This rogue is to decoy us, I very plainly see.

“The Indians lie in ambush, in some place nigh at hand,  
In order to surround us upon this neck of land;  
Therefore we'll march in order, and each man leave his pack;  
That we may briskly fight them when they make their attack.”

They came unto this Indian, who did them thus defy,  
As soon as they came nigh him, two guns he did let fly,  
Which wounded Captain LOVEWELL, and likewise one man more,  
But when this rogue was running, they laid him in his gore.

Then having scalped the Indian, they went back to the spot,  
Where they had laid their packs down, but there they found them not,  
For the Indians having spied them, when they them down did lay,  
Did seize them for their plunder, and carry them away.

These rebels lay in ambush, this very place hard by,  
So that an English soldier did one of them espy,  
And cried out, “Here's an Indian”; with that they started out,  
As fiercely as old lions, and hideously did shout.

With that our valiant English all gave a loud huzza,  
To show the rebel Indians they feared them not a straw:  
So now the fight began, and as fiercely as could be,  
The Indians ran up to them, but soon were forced to flee.

Then spake up Captain LOVEWELL, when first the fight began,  
“Fight on my valiant heroes! you see they fall like rain.”  
For as we are informed, the Indians were so thick,  
A man could scarcely fire a gun and not some of them hit.

Then did the rebels try their best our soldiers to surround,  
But they could not accomplish it, because there was a pond,  
To which our men retreated and covered all the rear,  
The rogues were forced to flee them, although they skulked for fear.

Two logs there were behind them that close together lay,  
Without being discovered, they could not get away;  
Therefore our valiant English they travelled in a row,  
And at a handsome distance as they were wont to go.

'Twas ten o'clock in the morning when first the fight begun,  
And fiercely did continue until the setting sun;  
Excepting that the Indians some hours before 'twas night,  
Drew off into the bushes and ceased a while to fight.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

But soon again returned, in fierce and furious mood,  
Shouting as in the morning, but yet not half so loud;  
For as we are informed, so thick and fast they fell,  
Scarce twenty of their number at night did get home well.

And that our valiant English till midnight there did stay,  
To see whether the rebels would have another fray;  
But they no more returning, they made off towards their home,  
And brought away their wounded as far as they could come.

Of all our valiant English there were but thirty-four,  
And of the rebel Indians there were about fourscore.  
And sixteen of our English did safely home return,  
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

Our worthy Captain LOVEWELL among them there did die,  
They killed Lieut. ROBBINS, and wounded good young FRYE,  
Who was our English Chaplain; he many Indians slew,  
And some of them he scalped when bullets round him flew.

Young FULLAM too I'll mention, because he fought so well,  
Endeavoring to save a man, a sacrifice he fell:  
But yet our valiant Englishmen in fight were ne'er dismayed,  
But still they kept their motion, and WYMAN'S Captain made,

Who shot the old chief PAUGUS, which did the foe defeat,  
Then set his men in order, and brought off the retreat;  
And braving many dangers and hardships in the way,  
They safe arrived at Dunstable, the thirteenth day of May.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

A WEEK: In the words of the old nursery tale, sung about a hundred years ago, –

“He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,  
And hardships they endured to quell the Indian’s pride.”

In the shaggy pine forest of Pequawket they met the “rebel Indians,” and prevailed, after a bloody fight, and a remnant returned home to enjoy the fame of their victory. A township called Lovewell’s Town, but now, for some reason, or perhaps without reason, Pembroke, was granted them by the State.

“Of all our valiant English, there were but thirty-four,  
And of the rebel Indians, there were about four-score;  
And sixteen of our English did safely home return,  
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

“Our worthy Capt. Lovewell among them there did die,  
They killed Lieut. Robbins, and wounded good young Frye,  
Who was our English Chaplin; he many Indians slew,  
And some of them he scalped while bullets round him flew.”

Our brave forefathers have exterminated all the Indians, and their degenerate children no longer dwell in garrisoned houses nor hear any war-whoop in their path. It would be well, perchance, if many an “English Chaplin” in these days could exhibit as unquestionable trophies of his valor as did “good young Frye.” We have need to be as sturdy pioneers still as Miles Standish, or Church, or Lovewell. We are to follow on another trail, it is true, but one as convenient for ambushes. What if the Indians are exterminated, are not savages as grim prowling about the clearings to-day? –

“And braving many dangers and hardships in the way,  
They safe arrived at Dunstable the thirteenth (?) day of May.”

But they did not all “safe arrive in Dunstable the thirteenth,” or the fifteenth, or the thirtieth “day of May.”

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

METACOM

MYLES STANDISH

BENJAMIN CHURCH

CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1822



Thomas Church, Esq. THE HISTORY OF [KING PHILIP'S](#) WAR COMMONLY CALLED THE GREAT INDIAN WARS AT THE EASTWARD, IN 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696, AND 1704. With Notes and Appendix by Samuel G. Drake. J.B. Williams, Exeter, New Hampshire.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

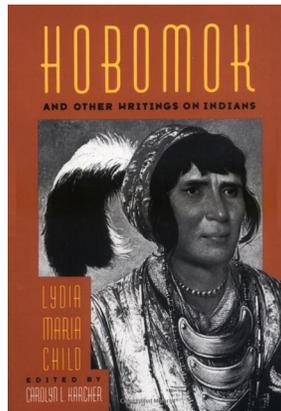
## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1824



Early in the year: Early in the year, in Watertown, Massachusetts, within the span of six weeks [Lydia Maria Francis](#) ([Lydia Maria Child](#)) wrote *HOBOMOK: A TALE OF EARLY TIMES*.



### 1824'S NEW LITERATURE

This was a novel about the noble sacrifice made in colonial times by a Native American man with a white wife, when his wife's English husband, thought to have been lost at sea, unexpectedly reappears. Despite the fact that she has given birth to a halfbreed boy, Hobomok steps aside. The English husband adopts Hobomok's son. This can serve as a reminder for us all that what may be construed in one era to be non-racism may well be denounceable in a following era as a continuation of racism. By the way, this was the 1st New England literary

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

production in the genre we now denominate “the historical novel.”



HOBOMOK

LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.  
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

➡ May: [James Fenimore Cooper](#) relocated his family from 3 Beach Street, New-York, to 345 Greenwich Street.

[Lydia Maria Francis](#)'s ([Lydia Maria Child](#)'s) novel *HOBOMOK*, A TALE OF EARLY TIMES.<sup>151</sup>



*HOBOMOK*

This was anonymously issued in 1,000 copies through a vanity press, Cummings, Hilliard, & Company, at a charge to the author of \$495.<sup>00</sup>, and was marked to sell at retail for \$0.<sup>75</sup> each. We may well notice that in this novel a mixed marriage occurred not between a white male and a red female, which has ever been more or less countenanced, but between a white female and a red male. The result was that readership found the novel “not only unnatural, but revolting ... to every feeling of delicacy in man or woman.” This has been completely missed in such analyses of the setting of this unsettling novel as that of David Leverenz in *MANHOOD AND THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE*. According to Nancy B. Black and Bette S. Wiedman in their edition *WHITE ON RED* (NY: Kennikat Press, 1976):

Child's humanitarian spirit led her to portray, in *HOBOMOK*, a most noble savage. Friend of the English, he remains loyal to members of the small white settlement at Salem despite stirrings of Indian hostility; he expresses his love for Mary Conant only when she is desolated by the loss of her mother and her white lover. Mary marries Hobomok while she is in a state of grief bordering on insanity, but after the birth of a son and the passage of two years, she begins to recognize and admire his manly qualities. The purportedly drowned lover returns at this

151. [Henry Thoreau](#) would read this in 1834.



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time; Hobomok calls up all of his nobility and sacrifices his happiness. He goes west alone to die, foreshadowing the fate of his whole race. Despite her liberalism, Child makes it clear that Mary has lowered herself in marrying Hobomok; her “savage” husband’s nobility is measured by his self-abasement.... The book dramatizes the theory of the inevitable, benevolent displacement of the Indian; it is equally severe to rigid Puritanism and to Indian resistance. Child prefers to have her Indians survive in memory, rather than physical reality. Hobomok’s child, conveniently given his mother’s patronym, after the matrilineal style of the Indians, becomes a Cambridge graduate. Child notes, with some relief, “His father was seldom spoken of; and by degrees his Indian appellation was silently omitted.”

For several weeks Mary remained in the same stupefied state in which she had been at the time of her marriage. She would lie through the livelong day, unless she was requested to rise; and once risen, nothing could induce her to change her posture. Language has no power to shadow forth her feelings as she gradually awoke to a sense of her situation. But there is a happy propensity in the human mind to step as lightly as possible on the thorns which infest a path we are compelled to tread. It is only when there is room for hope that evils are impatiently borne. Desolate as Mary’s lot might seem, it was not without its alleviations. All the kind attentions which could suggest themselves to the mind of a savage, were paid by her Indian mother. Hobomok continued the same tender reverence he had always evinced, and he soon understood the changing expression of her countenance, till her very looks were a law. So much love could not but awaken gratitude; and Mary by degrees gave way to its influence, until she welcomed his return with something like affection. True, in her solitary hours there were reflections enough to make her wretched. Kind as Hobomok was, and rich as she found his uncultivated mind in native imagination, still the contrast between him and her departed lover would often be remembered with sufficient bitterness. Besides this, she knew that her own nation looked upon her as lost and degraded; and, what was far worse, her own heart echoed back the charge. Hobomok’s connection with her was considered the effect of witchcraft on his part, and even he was generally avoided by his former friends. However, this evil brought its own cure. Lively wound of this kind, every insult which her husband courageously endured for her sake, added romantic fervor to her increasing affection, and thus made life something more than endurable. While all her English acquaintances more or less neglected her, her old associate, Mrs. Collier, firmly and boldly stemmed the tide, and seemed resolved to do all in her power to relieve the hardships of her friends. For a long time her overtures were proudly refused; for Mary could not endure that the visits of one who had been so vastly her inferior should now be considered an honor and obligation. However, persevering kindness did in time overcome this feeling, and in less than a year, Sally became a frequent inmate of her wigwam. To this was soon likely to be



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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added another source of enjoyment. Before two years passed away, she became the mother of a hopeful son. Under such circumstances, his birth was no doubt entwined with many mournful associations; still, the smiles of her infant son brought more of pleasure than of pain. As Mary looked on the little being, which was “bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh,” she felt more love for the innocent object than she thought she should ever again experience.

---

After this general view of things, we must now pass over to the 16th of September, 1633, and leave the interim to the reader's imagination. The old squaw had lately died of a fever, and symptoms of the same disorder began to appear in her little grandson, now nearly two years old. On the morning we have mentioned, Mrs. Collier took her own little blooming daughter in her arms, and went into the wigwam to inquire concerning the health of the boy. No sooner was she seated than the children, accustomed to see each other, began to peep in each other's faces, and look up to their mothers, their bright, laughing eyes beaming with cherub love. Hobomok entered, and for a moment stood watching with delighted attention the bewitching sports of childhood. He caught up the infant, and placing his little feet in the center of his hand, held him high above his head. “My boy, my brave hunter's boy,” said he, and pressing him in his arms he half suffocated him with caresses. He placed him in his mother's lap, and took down his quiver, as he said, “Hobomok must be out hunting the deer.” The child jumped down upon the floor, and tottling up to him, took hold of his blanket and looked in his face, as he lisped, “Fader come back gin to see 'ittle Hobomok.”

Again the father stooped and kissed him, as he answered, “Hobomok very much bad, if he didn't come back always to see little Hobomok, and his good Mary.” He went out, but soon returned and, lifting the blanket, which served for a door, he again looked at his boy, who would alternately hide his head, and then reach forward to catch another glimpse of his father.

“Good bye, Hobomok – Good bye, Mary” – said the Indian. “Before the sun hides his face, I shall come home loaded with deer.”

“Take care of yourself,” said his wife, affectionately; “and see that Corbitant be not in your path.”

“Sally, you have never said one word about my marrying Hobomok,” continued she; “and I have no doubt you think I must be very miserable; but I speak truly when I say that every day I live with that kind, noblehearted creature, the better I love him.”

“I always thought he was the best Indian I ever knew,” answered Sally; “and within these three years he has altered so much that he seems almost like an Englishman. After all, I believe matches are foreordained.”

“I don't know concerning that,” rejoined Mary. “I am sure I am happier than I ever expected to be after Charles's death, which is more than I deserve, considering I broke my promise to my

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:****"KING PHILLIP"****PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

dying mother and deserted my father in his old age." While conversation of this nature was going on at home, Hobomok was pursuing his way through the woods, whistling and singing as he went, in the joyfulness of his heart. He had proceeded near half a mile in this way, when he espied an eagle, soaring with a flight so lofty, that he seemed almost like a speck in the blue abyss above. The Indian fixed his keen eye upon him, and as he gradually lowered his flight, he made ready his arrow, and a moment after the noble bird lay fluttering at his feet.

"A true aim that, Hobomok," said a voice which sounded familiar to his ears. He raised his head to see from whence it proceeded. Charles Brown stood by his side! The countenance of the savage assumed at once the terrible, ashen hue of Indian paleness. His wounded victim was left untouched, and he hastily retreated into the thicket, casting back a fearful glance on what he supposed to be the ghost of his rival. Brown attempted to follow; but the farther he advanced, the farther the Indian retreated, his face growing paler and paler, and his knees trembling against each other in excessive terror.

"Hobomok," said the intruder, "I am a man like yourself. I suppose three years ago you heard I was dead, but it has pleased the Lord to spare me in captivity until this time, and to lead me once more to New England. The vessel which brought me hither lieth down a mile below, but I chose the rather to be put on shore, being impatient to inquire concerning the friends I left behind. You used to be my good friend, Hobomok, and many a piece of service have you done for me. I beseech you feel of my hand, that you may know I am flesh and blood even as yourself."

After repeated assurances, the Indian timidly approached—and the certainty that Brown was indeed alive was more dreadful to him than all the ghosts that could have been summoned from another world.

"You look as if you were sorry your old friend had returned," said the Englishman "but do speak and tell me one thing — is Mary Conant yet alive?"

I Hobomok fixed his eyes upon him with such a strange mixture of sorrow and fierceness that Brown laid his hand upon his rifle, half fearful his intentions were evil. At length, the Indian answered with deliberate emphasis,

"She is both alive and well."

"I thank God," rejoined his rival. "I need not ask whether she is married?"

The savage looked earnestly and mournfully upon him, and sighed deeply, as he said,

"The handsome English bird hath for three years lain in my bosom; and her milk hath nourished the son of Hobomok."

The Englishman cast a glance of mingled doubt and despair towards the Indian, who again repeated the distressing truth.

Disappointed love, a sense of degradation, perhaps something of resentment were all mingled in a dreadful chaos of agony within the mind of the unfortunate young man, and at that moment it was difficult to tell to which of the two anguish had presented her most unmingled cup. The Indian gazed upon his rival, as he stood

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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leaning his aching head against a tree; and once and again he indulged in the design of taking his life.

“No,” thought he. “She was first his. Mary loves him better than she does me; for even now she prays for him in her sleep. The sacrifice must be made to her.”

For a long time, however, it seemed doubtful whether he could collect sufficient fortitude to fulfill his resolution. The remembrance of the smiling wife and the little prattling boy, whom he had that morning left came too vividly before him. It recks not now what was the mighty struggle in the mind of that dark man. He arose and touched Brown’s arm, as he said,

“’Tis all true which I have told you. It is three snows since the bird came to my nest; and the Great Spirit only knows how much I have loved her. Good and kind she has been; but the heart of Mary is not with the Indian. In her sleep she talks with the Great Spirit, and the name of the white man is on her lips. Hobomok will go far off among some of the red men in the west. They will dig him a grave, and Mary may sing the marriage song in the wigwam of the Englishman.”

“No,” answered his astonished companion. “She is your wife. Keep her, and cherish her with tenderness. A moment ago, I expected your arrow would rid me of the life which has now become a burden. I will be as generous as you have been. I will return from whence I came, and bear my sorrows as I may. Let Mary never know that I am alive. Love her, and be happy.”

“The purpose of an Indian is seldom changed,” replied Hobomok. “My tracks will soon be seen far beyond the back-bone of the Great Spirit. For Mary’s sake I have borne the hatred of the Yengees, the scorn of my tribe, and the insults of my enemy. And now I will be buried among strangers, and none shall black their faces for the unknown chief. When the light sinks behind the hills, see that Corbitant be not near my wigwam; for that hawk has often been flying round my nest. Be kind to my boy.” -His voice choked and the tears fell bright and fast. He hastily wiped them away as he added, “You have seen the first and last tears that Hobomok will ever shed Ask Mary to pray for me-that when I die, I may go to the Englishman’s God, where I may hunt beaver with little Hobomok, and count my beavers for Mary.”

Before Brown had time to reply, he plunged into the thicket and disappeared. He moved on with astonishing speed, till he was aware that he must be beyond the reach of pursuit; then throwing himself upon the grass, most earnestly did he hope that the arrow of Corbitant would do the office it had long sought, and wreak upon his head deep and certain vengeance. But the weapon of his enemy came not. He was reserved for a fate that had more of wretchedness. He lay thus inactive for several hours, musing on all he had enjoyed and lost. At last, he sprung upon his feet, as if stung with torture he could no longer endure, and seizing his bow, he pursued with delirious eagerness every animal which came within his view.

The sun was verging toward the western horizon, when he collected his game in one spot, and selecting the largest deer, and several of the handsomest smaller animals, he fastened them upon a pole and proceeded towards Plymouth.



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It was dark, and the tapers were lighted throughout the village, when he entered Governor Winslow's dwelling. Whatever was the purpose of his visit, it was not long continued; and soon after, the deer was noiselessly deposited by the side of Mr. Collier's house, with a slip of paper fastened on his branching horns. Hobomok paused before the door of his wigwam, looked in at a small hole which admitted the light, saw Mary feeding her Indian boy from his little wooden bowl, and heard her beloved voice, as she said to her child, "Father will come home and see little Hobomok presently."

How much would that high-souled child of the forest have given for one parting embrace – one kind assurance that he should not be forgotten. Affection was tugging hard at his heart strings, and once his foot was almost on the threshold.

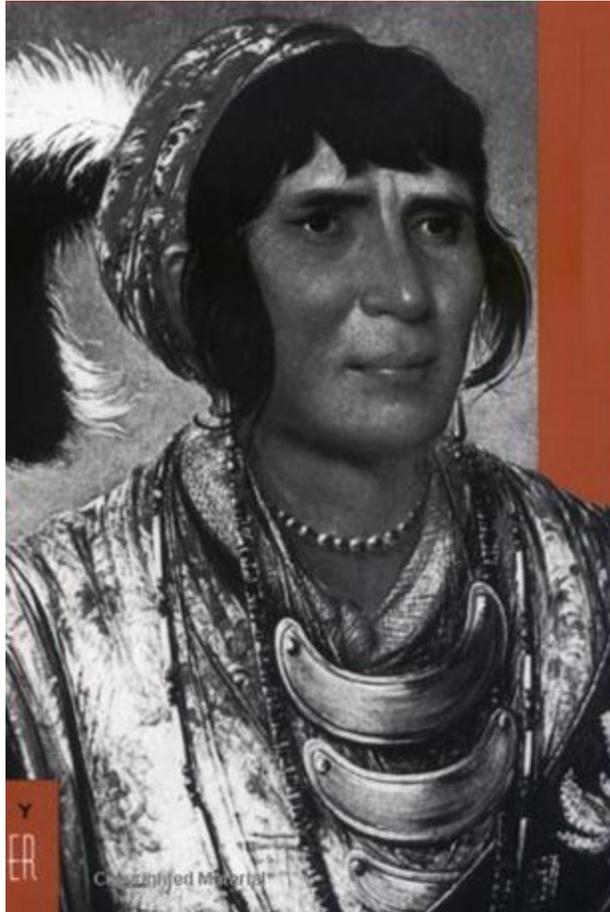
"No," said he; "it will distress her. The Great Spirit bless 'em both."

Without trusting another look, he hurried forward. He paused on a neighboring hill, looked toward his wigwam till his strained vision could hardly discern the object, with a bursting heart again murmured his farewell and blessing, and forever passed away from New England.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



**1824'S NEW LITERATURE**

**CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT**

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1825



Another republication of Benjamin Church’s frequently published account of the war against the Wampanoag of headman Metacom.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE



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## KING PHILIP.



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1826

→ [Edwin Forrest](#) was back from the Wild West, where he had been wielding a Bowie knife given to him by Jim Bowie himself, challenging people on paddle steamers to knife fights, etc. His ultra-manly performances at the Park Theatre in New-York in the lead role of [William Shakespeare](#)'s *Othello* were propelling him into a then unparalleled career of critical success and public renown. His loud jingoism was making him especially popular with a certain type of America-Firster theater buff. Privately, Forrest was hanging out with a Choctaw named Push-ma-ta-ha whose savage body he very much admired. He very much enjoyed getting out into the woods with his friend and persuading him to strip and parade naked at night around their campfire. Of course, this was all strictly business, homoerotics were not involved, for the artist was simply preparing himself to enrich his stage presence as the sachem [Metacom](#) of the [Wampanoag](#) and the prototype of a new type on the world stage, the American Ultramanly Man.



METAMORA

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1827

 [James Fenimore Cooper](#) set his THE WEPT OF WISH-TON-WISH in the period of [“King Phillip’s War”](#).

METACOM



WEPT OF WISH-TON-WISH

In this book he accessed the tradition that [William Goffe](#) had headed the citizens of Hadley, Massachusetts in repelling an attack by Native Americans.

REGICIDE

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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His THE RED ROVER also appeared during this year:



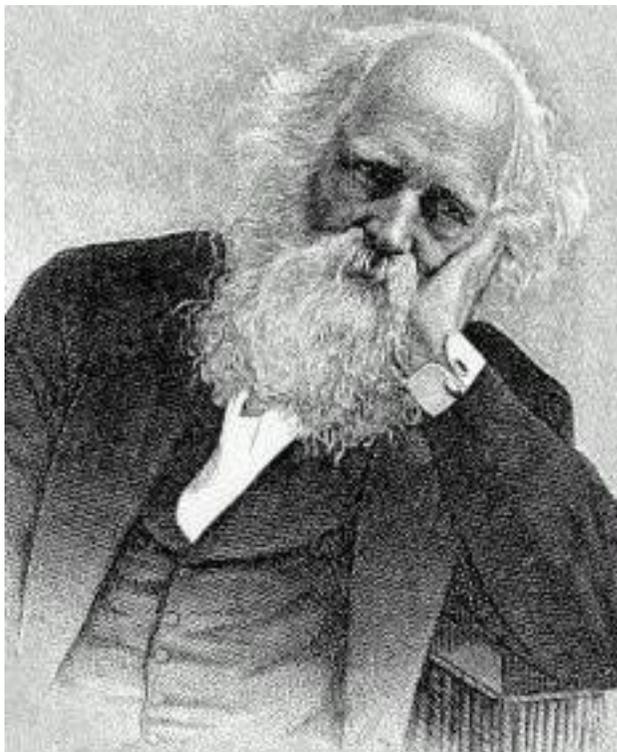
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1828

➡ November 28, Friday: The celebrated American actor [Edwin Forrest](#) advertised in the Critic for a role appropriate to his bulky talents. He would pay, he said, \$500.<sup>00</sup> for “the best tragedy, in five acts, of which the



hero, or principal character, shall be an aboriginal of this country.” [William Cullen Bryant](#) headed the committee that evaluated the submissions.



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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The award went to [Concord](#)’s own [John Augustus Stone](#).<sup>152</sup> He wrote a tragedy about the race tragedy we know as “[King Phillip’s War.](#)” in which the sachem [Metacom](#) of the [Wampanoag](#) was of course presented as the heroic primary character, suitable for this American to portray. This [METAMORA](#): OR THE LAST OF THE [WAMPANOAGS](#) would be enormously popular on tour from city to city over many years.<sup>153</sup>



METAMORA

152. A total of 14 plays had been submitted. In a series of such prize competitions, some 200 plays would be offered, and eight other such plays would be rewarded. Included among these eight others would be another play by [John Augustus Stone](#), this one titled THE ANCIENT BRITON.

153. There are towns named Metamora in Michigan, in Ohio, in Illinois, and in Indiana, as marked in pink on this map:



Here [Edwin Forrest](#) is posed in the studio of Mathew B. Brady in about 1860 in costume as the “[Metamora](#)” of the oft-staged play. Brady used his impressive Imperial format, with a collodion negative of 20 x 17 inches uncropped, exposed while wet.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



“The People make their recollection fit in with their sufferings.”

— Thucydides, HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR





THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1829

 [Lydia Maria Child](#)'s THE FRUGAL HOUSEWIFE described ingenious ways to make do with little means. The popularity of this publication would help keep her household afloat as it relocated and relocated.



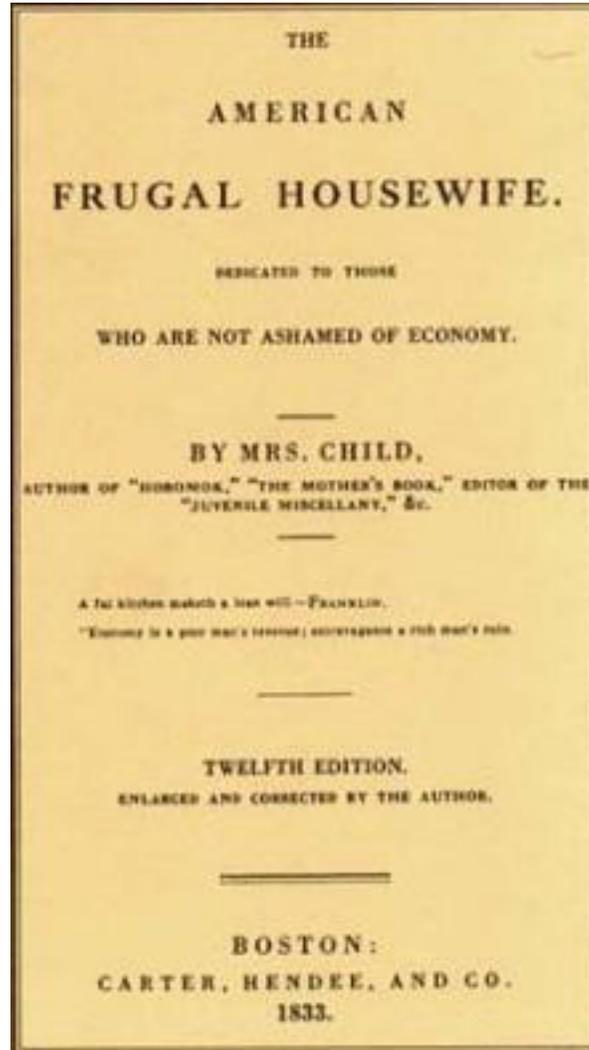


THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

This would see a number of editions, the image below being as of the popular treatise's 1833 version:



Her history of “King Phillip’s War” was issued, entitled THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW-ENGLAND; OR, CONQUEST OF THE PEQUODS, NARRAGANSETS AND POKANOKETS. AS RELATED BY A MOTHER TO HER CHILDREN. BY A LADY OF MASSACHUSETTS (Boston: Printed for the author, by Munroe and Francis).

***FIRST SETTLERS***



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

[James Fenimore Cooper](#) issued THE WEPT OF WISH-TON-WISH, about the period of “King Philip’s War.”

In addition during this year there was yet another republication of [Benjamin Church](#)’s ever-entertaining THE ENTERTAINING HISTORY OF KING PHILIP’S WAR, WHICH BEGAN IN THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1675. AS ALSO OF EXPEDITIONS MORE LATELY MADE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, AND INDIAN REBELS, IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF NEW-ENGLAND, which had been issued in 1716 in Boston, was re-published in Exeter NH by J.&B. Williams.

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READ CHURCH TEXT



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

 December 15, Tuesday: At about the middle of December, [Sam Houston](#) departed for Washington DC as a representative of the Cherokee Nation.

1st staging of [John Augustus Stone](#)'s *METAMORA: OR THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAGS*, at the Park Theater in New-York, starring [Edwin Forrest](#). In a stunningly sarcastic evocation of chauvinism the audience of Americans was begged, after as well as before the performance, not to disdain this play merely because it had been authored by an American rather than a foreigner.



[METACOM](#)  
[WAMPANOAG](#)

The performance would be reviewed by the [New York Mirror](#) on December 19th:

METAMORA, OR THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAGS – This Indian tragedy was performed, for the first time, on Tuesday evening last, for the benefit of Mr. Forrest. A considerable interest having been excited, long before the rising of the curtain, the house was completely filled. The prologue, spoken by Mr. Barrett, was received with enthusiastic applause, and every thing indicated, on the part of the audience, a desire to give the piece a favorable reception. The actors, both male and female, were eminently successful in their endeavors to do justice to their several parts, and during the progress of the play, received the most unequivocal proofs of the approbation of their delighted spectators. Independent of the undoubted merits of Metamora, the managers have afforded a gratifying exhibition of scenery, dresses, decorations, etc. We cannot at present particularize respecting the excellence of each actor....

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1833



[James Fenimore Cooper](#)'s THE BORDERERS, OR, THE WEPT OF WISH-TON-WISH: A TALE, about “[King Phillip's War](#)”, was published in London.

[Cooper](#)'s THE HEADSMAN; OR, THE ABBAYE DES VIGNERONS. A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF “THE BRAVO”, &C. &C. Henry Thoreau would make an entry about this tale, as published in Philadelphia by Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, in his miscellaneous Reading Notes for about 1835 (however, what we have below, behind these three buttons courtesy of Google Books, is the equivalent 1833 edition produced in London).

COOPER'S HEADSMAN, I

COOPER'S HEADSMAN, II

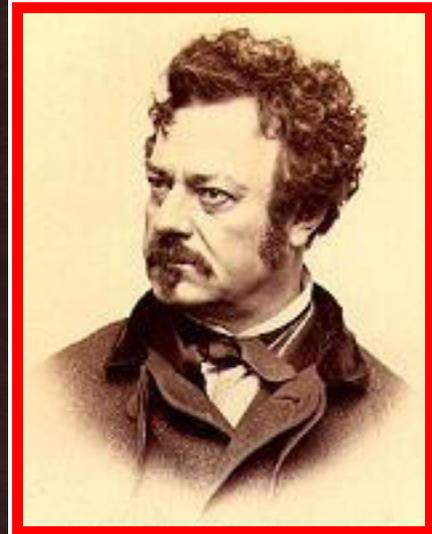
COOPER'S HEADSMAN, III

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

➡ November: [Edwin Forrest](#) played the lead in [John Augustus Stone](#)'s *METAMORA*: OR THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAGS in [Boston](#).



Titillation was created among the white majority of the audience by the presence of a delegation of *Abenaki* (*Penobscot*). These men had come down from Maine to petition that they be allowed to create an independent

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tribal government on their remaining tribal lands.<sup>154</sup>

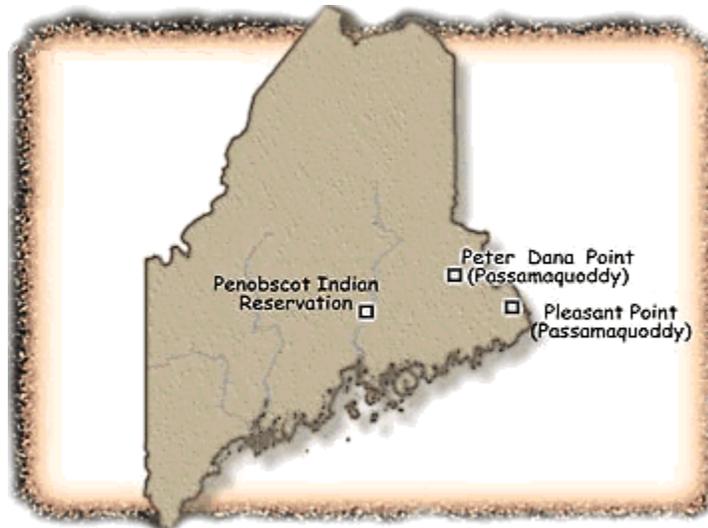


METAMORA

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
WAMPANOAG



The Penobscots’ claims were largely ignored, but while the delegation was spurned by the State House, it was welcomed in the theater district. Instead of regaining their land, the Penobscots were sent on a short walk across Boston Common to attend a performance of *METAMORA* at the Tremont Street Theater.



One may wonder how much excitement was being created in Concord by the fact that here was this most famous actor, Forrest, playing in downtown Boston in a prizewinning play written about famous local events by Stone, a favorite son of the town!<sup>155</sup>

154. Here the actor Edwin Forrest is posing in his sashem stage costume in the studio of Mathew B. Brady in about 1860 in such manner as to minimize the size of his calves.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

155. (Of course, after the fact, with [John Augustus Stone](#) having committed suicide later and all that, one can understand how it came about that he has now been written entirely out of the town's history.)



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1834



June 1, Sunday: Former King Miguel of Portugal boarded a British ship at Sines south of Lisbon and was transported toward exile in Genoa (thence to Austria).

Yanked out of the classroom of [Phineas Allen](#) on account of that teacher's anti-Mason activities, [John Shepard Keyes](#) would begin to attend a new private class kept by [Mr. William Whiting \(Junior\)](#) in the upper hall of the same Academy building.

In a year and a quarter I learned more ten times over from Mr. Whiting than I had in the seven years of Mr. Allen, and acquired habits of study and application I had never before imagined possible. Latin became a delight and an actual language instead of a dead and buried tongue. Greek unfolded its mysteries and beauties. French its grace, and Arithmetic and Algebra became the fascinations of exact science. He introduced us to Shakespeare, to Plutarch to Burke and English Literature generally and he made ardent students out of idle boys, and brilliant scholars of bright girls. What a revelation and awakening that time was to me, and to most of the others.

**J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

[John Augustus Stone](#) committed suicide by throwing himself into the Schuylkill River. There were some who were not obviously impressed either by this successful attempt at a play or by this successful attempt at a suicide:



Mr. Stone did what he could to atone for the injury he inflicted upon the world by the production of this play ... he drowned himself on 1 June 1834, in the Schuylkill River. We will accept his presumptive apology.

[Edwin Forrest](#), who had paid Stone \$500.<sup>00</sup> for his play *METAMORA*: OR THE LAST OF THE *WAMPANOAGS*, an often-staged play which usually grossed approximately that amount per night (as well as another \$500.<sup>00</sup> for



WAMPANOAG

another less performed play entitled THE ANCIENT BRITON), would thoughtfully fund the monument for the grave:

IN MEMORY OF THE AVTHOR OF “METAMORA”  
BY HIS FRIEND, E. FORREST



After the drowning, Stone’s wife, the actress Mrs. Legge, would remarry to N.H. Bannister. During this year Forrest anticipated [Waldo Emerson](#)’s project for American literary independence, to be propounded at Harvard College three years later, in 1837, by declaring with enviable simplicity:

Our literature should be independent.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1835

 Edward Everett dedicated a monument to “[King Phillip’s War](#)” by offering that unless it was wrong for the Europeans to have come over here and intruded into the American continent, such a race conflict was perhaps necessary and inevitable.



“What the American public always wants is a tragedy with a happy ending.”

— William Dean Howells



At about this point a mysterious rock was discovered at the tide line of [Mount Hope](#):





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1836

→ [Daniel Gookin](#)'s 1677 account of [King Phillip's War](#), AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE DOINGS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND IN THE YEARS 1675, 1676, 1677. IMPARTIALLY DRAWN BY ONE WELL ACQUAINTED WITH THAT AFFAIR, AND PRESENTED UNTO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE CORPORATION RESIDING IN LONDON, APPOINTED BY THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY FOR PROMOTING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE INDIANS IN AMERICA, was rescued from archival obscurity and published for the 1st time ever, becoming part of the MASSACHUSETTS STATE ARCHIVES.<sup>156</sup>

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

DANIEL GOOKIN, 1677, 1836

ARCHAEOLOGIA AMERICANA

We know [Thoreau](#) was aware of this report because of material he copied into his Indian Notebook #1, #2, and #3 and because of comments he would make in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) and in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#):

“I have known many of them run between four score and an hundred miles in a summer's day, and back within two days. They do also practice running of races and commonly in the summer they delight to go with out shoes, although they have them hanging at their backs.”

“Their houses, or wigwams, are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent and fastened together with barks of trees oval ... on the top. The best sort of their houses are covered very neatly, tight, and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies at such seasons when the sap is up; and made into great flakes with pressures of weighty timber, when they are green; and so becoming dry, they will retain a form suitable for the use they prepare them for. The meaner sort of wigwams are covered with mats, they make of a kind of bulrush, which are also indifferent tight and warm, but not so good as the former. These houses they make of several sizes, according to their activity & ability; some twenty, some forty feet long and thirty feet broad. Some I have seen of sixty or a hundred feet long and thirty feet broad. In the smaller sort they make a fire in the center of the house; and have a lower hole on the top of the house, to let out the smoke. They keep the door shut, by a mat falling thereon, as people go in and out. This they do to fire-vent air coming in, which will cause much smoke in every(?) [this is Thoreau's question-mark] windy weather. If the smoke beat down at the lower hole, they hang a little mat in the way of a

156. Actually, [Gookin](#) wrote two works on the native tribes: not only this THE DOINGS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS completed in 1677 and published in 1836, but also HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND (completed in 1674 and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1792). — He wrote in addition a HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, but only portions of that third work have survived.

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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

**KING PHILIP.**



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## "KING PHILLIP"

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

screen, on the top of the house, which they can with a ... turn to the windward side, which prevents the smoke. In the greater houses they make two, three, or four fires at a distance one from another, for the better accommodation of the people belonging to it. I have often lodged in their wigwams, and have found them as warm as the best English houses."

"Their food is generally boiled maize, or Indian corn, mixed with kidney-beans, or sometimes without. Also they frequently boil in their pottage fish and flesh of all sorts, either new taken or dried, as shads, eels, alewives or a kind of herring etc."

"Also they boil in this ... all sorts of flesh they take in hunting: as venison, beaver, bear's flesh, moose, others, rackoons, many kind that they take in hunting."

"Their drink was formerly no other but water."

"... but now they generally get kettles of brass, copper, or iron, these they find more lasting than those made of clay, which were subject to be broken; and the clay or earth they were made of was very scarce and dear."

"Some of their baskets are made of rushes; some of brush; others of maize husks; others of a kind of silk grass; others of a kind of wild hemp; and some of barks of trees."

"Clothing was made of the skins of deer, moose, beaver, otters, rackoons, foxes etc."

"'Wompampague,' says Gookin 'is made artificially, of a part of the Welk's shell, the black is of double the value of the white. It is made principally, by the Narragansetts Block Islands (Block-Islanders) and Long Island Indians, upon the sandy flats & shores of those coasts the welk shells are found.'"

"Their weapons ... were bows and arrows, clubs, and tomahawks, made of wood like a pole axe, with a sharpened stone fastened therein; and for defence, they had targets made of barks of trees."

"Our Ind. understand the lang. of the Canada Ind. And also of the Great Lake Ind. i.e. Massawomicks."



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK



GOOKIN

A WEEK: We passed Wicasuck Island, which contains seventy acres or more, on our right, between Chelmsford and Tyngsborough. This was a favorite residence of the Indians. According to the History of Dunstable, “About 1663, the eldest son of Passaconaway [Chief of the Penacooks] was thrown into jail for a debt of 45, due to John Tinker, by one of his tribe, and which he had promised verbally should be paid. To relieve him from his imprisonment, his brother Wannalancet and others, who owned Wicasuck Island, sold it and paid the debt.” It was, however, restored to the Indians by the General Court in 1665. After the departure of the Indians in 1683, it was granted to Jonathan Tyng in payment for his services to the colony, in maintaining a garrison at his house. Tyng’s house stood not far from Wicasuck Falls. Daniel Gookin, who, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Boyle, apologizes for presenting his “matter clothed in a wilderness dress,” says that on the breaking out of Philip’s war in 1675, there were taken up by the Christian Indians and the English in Marlborough, and sent to Cambridge, seven “Indians belonging to Narragansett, Long Island, and Pequod, who had all been at work about seven weeks with one Mr. Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, upon Merrimack River; and, hearing of the war, they reckoned with their master, and getting their wages, conveyed themselves away without his privity, and, being afraid, marched secretly through the woods, designing to go to their own country.” However, they were released soon after. Such were the hired men in those days. Tyng was the first permanent settler of Dunstable, which then embraced what is now Tyngsborough and many other towns. In the winter of 1675, in Philip’s war, every other settler left the town, but “he,” says the historian of Dunstable, “fortified his house; and, although ‘obliged to send to Boston for his food,’ sat himself down in the midst of his savage enemies, alone, in the wilderness, to defend his home. Deeming his position an important one for the defence of the frontiers, in February, 1676, he petitioned the Colony for aid,” humbly showing, as his petition runs, that, as he lived “in the uppermost house on Merrimac river, lying open to ye enemy, yet being so seated that it is, as it were, a watch-house to the neighboring towns,” he could render important service to his country if only he had some assistance, “there being,” he said, “never an inhabitant left in the town but myself.” Wherefore he requests that their “Honors would be pleased to order him **three or four men** to help garrison his said house,” which they did. But methinks that such a garrison would be weakened by the addition of a man.

“Make bandog thy scout watch to bark at a thief,  
 Make courage for life, to be captain chief;  
 Make trap-door thy bulwark, make bell to begin,  
 Make gunstone and arrow show who is within.”

Thus he earned the title of first permanent settler. In 1694 a law was passed “that every settler who deserted a town for fear of the Indians should forfeit all his rights therein.” But now, at any rate, as I have frequently observed, a man may desert the fertile frontier territories of truth and justice, which are the State’s best lands, for fear of far more insignificant foes, without forfeiting any of his civil rights therein. Nay, townships are granted to deserters, and the General Court, as I am sometimes inclined to regard it, is but a deserters’ camp itself.

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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

**WALDEN**: A comfortable house for a rude and hardy race, that lived mostly out of doors, was once made here almost entirely of such materials as Nature furnished ready to their hands. Gookin, who was superintendent of the Indians subject to the Massachusetts Colony, writing in 1674, says, "The best of their houses are covered very neatly, tight and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies at those seasons when the sap is up, and made into great flakes, with pressure of weighty timber, when they are green.... The meaner sort are covered with mats which they make of a kind of bulrush, and are also indifferently tight and warm, but not so good as the former.... Some I have seen, sixty or a hundred feet long and thirty feet broad.... I have often lodged in their wigwams, and found them as warm as the best English houses." He adds, that they were commonly carpeted and lined within with well-wrought embroidered mats, and were furnished with various utensils. The Indians had advanced so far as to regulate the effect of the wind by a mat suspended over the hole in the roof and moved by a string. Such a lodge was in the first instance constructed in a day or two at most, and taken down and put up in a few hours; and every family owned one, or its apartment in one.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

DANIEL GOOKIN

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

GOOKIN

**A WEEK:** According to the Gazetteer, the descent of Amoskeag Falls, which are the most considerable in the Merrimack, is fifty-four feet in half a mile. We locked ourselves through here with much ado, surmounting the successive watery steps of this river's staircase in the midst of a crowd of villagers, jumping into the canal to their amusement, to save our boat from upsetting, and consuming much river-water in our service. Amoskeag, or Namaskeak, is said to mean "great fishing-place." It was hereabouts that the Sachem Wannalancet resided. Tradition says that his tribe, when at war with the Mohawks, concealed their provisions in the cavities of the rocks in the upper part of these falls. The Indians, who hid their provisions in these holes, and affirmed "that God had cut them out for that purpose," understood their origin and use better than the Royal Society, who in their Transactions, in the last century, speaking of these very holes, declare that "they seem plainly to be artificial." Similar "pot-holes" may be seen at the Stone Flume on this river, on the Ottaway, at Bellows' Falls on the Connecticut, and in the limestone rock at Shelburne Falls on Deerfield River in Massachusetts, and more or less generally about all falls. Perhaps the most remarkable curiosity of this kind in New England is the well-known Basin on the Pemigewasset, one of the head-waters of this river, twenty by thirty feet in extent and proportionably deep, with a smooth and rounded brim, and filled with a cold, pellucid, and greenish water. At Amoskeag the river is divided into many separate torrents and trickling rills by the rocks, and its volume is so much reduced by the drain of the canals that it does not fill its bed. There are many pot-holes here on a rocky island which the river washes over in high freshets. As at Shelburne Falls, where I first observed them, they are from one foot to four or five in diameter, and as many in depth, perfectly round and regular, with smooth and gracefully curved brims, like goblets. Their origin is apparent to the most careless observer. A stone which the current has washed down, meeting with obstacles, revolves as on a pivot where it lies, gradually sinking in the course of centuries deeper and deeper into the rock, and in new freshets receiving the aid of fresh stones, which are drawn into this trap and doomed to revolve there for an indefinite period, doing Sisyphus-like penance for stony sins, until they either wear out, or wear through the bottom of their prison, or else are released by some revolution of nature. There lie the stones of various sizes, from a pebble to a foot or two in diameter, some of which have rested from their labor only since the spring, and some higher up which have lain still and dry for ages, —we noticed some here at least sixteen feet above the present level of the water,— while others are still revolving, and enjoy no respite at any season. In one instance, at Shelburne Falls, they have worn quite through the rock, so that a portion of the river leaks through in anticipation of the fall. Some of these pot-holes at Amoskeag, in a very hard brown-stone, had an oblong, cylindrical stone of the same material loosely fitting them. One, as much as fifteen feet deep and seven or eight in diameter, which was worn quite through to the water, had a huge rock of the same material, smooth but of irregular form, lodged in it. Everywhere there were the rudiments or the wrecks of a dimple in the rock; the rocky shells of whirlpools. As if by force of example and sympathy after so many lessons, the rocks, the hardest material, had been endeavoring to whirl or flow into the forms of the most fluid. The finest workers in stone are not copper or steel tools, but the gentle touches of air and water working at their leisure with a liberal allowance of time.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

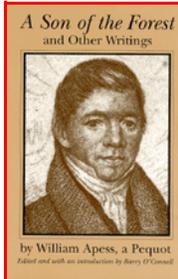
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



January 8, Friday: The Reverend William Apess delivered a speech titled “Eulogy on King Philip.” The speech was not well received.



Apess’s innovation lies not primarily in his carefully documented exoneration of the “cursed memory” of Philip, for whom he ultimately claims the distinction of being “the greatest man that ever lived upon the American shores.” Far more radically, Apess refuses the normalization of “extinction” by pointing out the ideological nature of American jurisprudence, by contending that institutionalized racism –rather than so-called natural processes– threatened the Indian, and by urging political intervention to alter the supposed destiny of indigenous peoples in America.



METACOM



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 8th of 1st M / Awoke early this mornng with desires for preservation – Last eveng recd a letter from our friend Joshua Lynch giving some acct of the State of affairs in our Society in Ohio  
Oh that we may be preserved on the right foundation. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



January 26, Tuesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Calvin Mickle, Ex’r of Nagle & De Frias.” –HOUSE REPORTS, 24 Cong. 1 sess. I. No. 209. (Reports on claims connected with the captured slaver *Constitution*.)

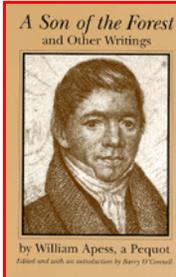
By invitation, the Reverend William Apess re-delivered a shorter version of his poorly received speech “Eulogy on King Philip.” Later in the year the longer version would be published in Boston under the title EULOGY ON KING PHILIP, AS PRONOUNCED AT THE ODEON, IN FEDERAL STREET, BOSTON.



Apess’s innovation lies not primarily in his carefully documented exoneration of the “cursed memory” of Philip, for whom he ultimately claims the distinction of being “the greatest man that ever lived upon the American shores.” Far more radically, Apess refuses the normalization of “extinction” by pointing out the ideological nature of American jurisprudence, by contending that institutionalized racism –rather than so-called natural processes– threatened the Indian, and by urging political intervention to alter the supposed destiny of indigenous peoples in America.

One of the remarks that the reverend made, that may have in some small degree interfered with his acceptability, was to the effect that “Every white that knows their own history, knows there was not a whit difference between them and the Indians of their days.” This was because the whites in his audience knew that the redskin was speaking with forked tongue: there had been this one great difference between them and the Indians, regardless of who had killed whom and in what manner, in that they had been in the right and on the side of God whereas their enemy had been in the wrong and under the influence of the powers of Hell.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1837

→ [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), in a tale entitled “Endicott and the Red Cross,” created a prototype for his “lost and desperate” Hester Prynne character wearing “the letter A on the breast of her gown” in “scarlet cloth, with golden thread and the nicest art of needlework.” Could this have been inspired by the record of the English white man, Thomas Saddeler, had been observed to have been taking his mare to “a certain obscure and woodey place, on [Mount Hope](#),” five years after the end of “[King Phillip’s War](#),” and to have there been engaging in sexual intercourse with her, who had been held down and the brand **P** burned into his forehead, standing for “Pollution”?

THE SCARLET LETTER: When the young woman – the mother of this child – stood fully revealed before the crowd, it seemed to be her first impulse to clasp the infant closely to her bosom; not so much by an impulse of motherly affection, as that she might thereby conceal a certain token, which was wrought or fastened into her dress. In a moment, however, wisely judging that one token of her shame would but poorly serve to hide another, she took the baby on her arm, and with a burning blush, and yet a haughty smile, and a glance that would not be abashed, looked around at her townspeople and neighbours. On the breast of her gown, in fine red cloth, surrounded with an elaborate embroidery and fantastic flourishes of gold thread, appeared the letter A. It was so artistically done, and with so much fertility and gorgeous luxuriance of fancy, that it had all the effect of a last and fitting decoration to the apparel which she wore, and which was of a splendour in accordance with the taste of the age, but greatly beyond what was allowed by the sumptuary regulations of the colony.

(It is a common literary tactic, to obscure one’s source by the tactic of the inversion of gender, as witness [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#)’s FRANKENSTEIN; OR, THE MODERN PROMETHEUS, which obviously originated as an inverted story of a mother giving birth to and being horrified by and being unable psychically to provide adequately for a horribly deformed infant.)



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1839

[John Warner Barber](#)'s HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, BEING A GENERAL COLLECTION OF INTERESTING FACTS, TRADITIONS, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, ANECDOTES, &C., RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF EVERY TOWN IN MASSACHUSETTS, WITH GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS (Dorr, Howland & Company) was published in Worcester. This volume included an untitled poem on sweets from which [Henry Thoreau](#) would quote a couple of lines in [WALDEN](#).





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

WALDEN: Every New Englander might easily raise all his own breadstuffs in this land of rye and Indian corn, and not depend on distant and fluctuating markets for them. Yet so far are we from simplicity and independence that, in Concord, fresh and sweet meal is rarely sold in the shops, and hominy and corn in a still coarser form are hardly used by any. For the most part the farmer gives to his cattle and hogs the grain of his own producing, and buys flour, which is at least no more wholesome, at a greater cost, at the store. I saw that I could easily raise my bushel or two of rye and Indian corn, for the former will grow on the poorest land, and the latter does not require the best, and grind them in a hand-mill, and so do without rice and pork; and if I must have some concentrated sweet, I found by experiment that I could make a very good molasses either of pumpkins or beets, and I knew that I needed only to set out a few maples to obtain it more easily still, and while these were growing I could use various substitutes beside those which I have named, “For,” as the Forefathers sang,-

“we can make liquor to sweeten our lips  
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut-tree chips.”

Finally, as for salt, that grossest of groceries, to obtain this might be a fit occasion for a visit to the seashore, or, if I did without it altogether, I should probably drink the less water. I do not learn that the Indians ever troubled themselves to go after it.

Thus I could avoid all trade and barter, so far as my food was concerned, and having a shelter already, it would only remain to get clothing and fuel. The pantaloons which I now wear were woven in farmer’s family, -thank Heaven there is so much virtue still in man; for I think the fall from the farmer to the operative as great and memorable as that from the man to the farmer;- and in a new country fuel is an encumbrance. As for a habitat, if I were not permitted still to squat, I might purchase one acre at the same price for which the land I cultivated was sold -namely, eight dollars and eight cents. But as it was, I considered that I enhanced the value of the land by squatting on it.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Here [John Warner Barber](#) presents [Hannah Emerson Dustin](#)'s ordeal:

On the 15th of March, 1697, a body of Indians made a descent on the westerly part of the town, and approached the house of Mr. Thomas Dustin. They came, as they were wont, arrayed with all the terrors of a savage war dress, with their muskets charged for the contest, their tomahawks drawn for the slaughter, and their scalping knives unsheathed and glittering in the sunbeams. Mr. Dustin at this time was engaged abroad in his daily labor. When the terrific shouts of the blood-hounds first fell on his ear, he seized his gun, mounted his horse, and hastened to his house, with the hope of escorting to a place of safety his family, which consisted of his wife, whom he tenderly and passionately loved, and who had been confined only seven days in childbed, her nurse, Mrs. Mary Neff, and eight young children. Immediately upon his arrival, he rushed into his house, and found it a scene of confusion - the women trembling for their safety, and the children weeping and calling on their mother for protection. He instantly ordered seven of his children to fly in an opposite direction from that in which the danger was approaching, and went himself to assist his wife. But he was too late - before she could arise from her bed, the enemy were upon them.

Mr. Dustin, seeing there was no hope of saving his wife from the clutches of the foe, flew from the house, mounted his horse, and rode full speed after his flying children. The agonized father supposed it impossible to save them all, and he determined to snatch from death the child which shared the most of his affections. He soon came up with the infant brood; he heard their glad voices and saw the cheerful looks that overspread their countenances, for they felt themselves safe while under his protection. He looked for the child of his love - where was it? He scanned the little group from the oldest to the youngest, but he could not find it. They all fondly loved him - they called him by the endearing title of father, were flesh of his flesh, and stretched out their little arms toward him for protection. He gazed upon them, and faltered in his resolution, for there was none whom he could leave behind; and, indeed, what parent could, in such a situation, select the child which shared the most of his affections? He could not do it, and therefore resolved to defend them from the murderers, or die at their side.

A small party of the Indians pursued Mr. Dustin as he fled from the house, and soon overtook him and his flying children. They did not, however, approach very near, for they saw his determination, and feared the vengeance of a father, but skulked behind the trees and fences, and fired upon him and his little company. Mr. Dustin dismounted from his horse, placed himself in the rear of his children, and returned the fire of the enemy often and with good success. In this manner he retreated for more than a mile, alternately encouraging his terrified charge, and loading and firing his gun, until he lodged them safely in a forsaken house. The Indians, finding that they could not conquer him, returned to their companions, expecting, no doubt, that they should there find victims, on which they might exercise their savage cruelty.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:****“KING PHILLIP”****PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

The party which entered the house when Mr. Dustin left it, found Mrs. Dustin in bed, and the nurse attempting to fly with the infant in her arms. They ordered Mrs. Dustin to rise instantly, while one of them took the infant from the arms of the nurse, carried it out, and dashed out its brains against an apple-tree. After plundering the house they set it on fire, and commenced their retreat, though Mrs. Dustin had but partly dressed herself, and was without a shoe on one of her feet. Mercy was a stranger to the breasts of the conquerors, and the unhappy women expected to receive no kindnesses from their hands. The weather at the time was exceedingly cold, the March-wind blew keen and piercing, and the earth was alternately covered with snow and deep mud.

They travelled twelve miles the first day, and continued their retreat, day by day, following a circuitous route, until they reached the home of the Indian who claimed them as his property, which was on a small island, now called Dustin's Island, at the mouth of the Contoocook river, about six miles above the state-house in Concord, New Hampshire. Notwithstanding their intense suffering for the death of the child - their anxiety for those whom they had left behind, and who they expected had been cruelly butchered - their sufferings from cold and hunger, and from sleeping on the damp earth, with nothing but an inclement sky for a covering - and their terror for themselves, lest the arm that, as they supposed, had slaughtered those whom they dearly loved, would soon be made red with their blood, - notwithstanding all this, they performed the journey without yielding, and arrived at their destination in comparative health.

The family of their Indian master consisted of two men, three women, and seven children; besides an English boy, named Samuel Lennardson, who was taken prisoner about a year previous, at Worcester. Their master, some years before, had lived in the family of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and he told Mrs. Dustin that "when he prayed the English way he thought it was good, but now he found the French way better."

These unfortunate women had been but a few days with the Indians, when they were informed that they must soon start for a distant Indian settlement, and that, upon their arrival, they would be obliged to conform to the regulations always required of prisoners, whenever they entered the village, which was to be stripped, scourged, and run the gauntlet in a state of nudity. The gauntlet consisted of two files of Indians, of both sexes and of all ages, containing all that could be mustered in the village; and the unhappy prisoners were obliged to run between them, when they were scoffed at and beaten by each one as they passed, and were sometimes marks at which the younger Indians threw their hatchets. This cruel custom was often practised by many of the tribes, and not unfrequently the poor prisoner sunk beneath it. Soon as the two women were informed of this, they determined to escape as speedily as possible. They could not bear to be exposed to the scoffs and unrestrained gaze of their savage conquerors - death would be preferable. Mrs. Dustin soon planned a mode of escape, appointed the 31st inst. for its accomplishment, and prevailed upon her nurse and the boy to join her. The Indians kept no watch, for the boy had lived with them so long they considered him as one of their children, and they did not expect that the women, unadvised and unaided, would attempt to escape, when success, at the best, appeared so desperate.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

On the day previous to the 31st, Mrs. Dustin wished to learn on what part of the body the Indians struck their victims when they would despatch them suddenly, and how they took off a scalp. With this view she instructed the boy to make inquiries of one of the men. Accordingly, at a convenient opportunity, he asked one of them where he would strike a man if he would kill him instantly, and how to take off a scalp. The man laid his finger on his temple - "Strike 'em there," said he; and then instructed him how to scalp. The boy then communicated his information to Mrs. Dustin.

The night at length arrived, and the whole family retired to rest, little suspecting that the most of them would never behold another sun. Long before the break of day, Mrs. Dustin arose, and, having ascertained that they were all in a deep sleep, awoke her nurse and the boy, when they armed themselves with tomahawks, and despatched ten of the twelve. A favorite boy they designedly left; and one of the squaws, whom they left for dead, jumped up, and ran with him into the woods. Mrs. Dustin killed her master, and Samuel Lennardson despatched the very Indian who told him where to strike, and how to take off a scalp. The deed was accomplished before the day began to break, and, after securing what little provision the wigwam of their dead master afforded, they scuttled all the boats but one, to prevent pursuit, and with that started for their homes. Mrs. Dustin took with her a gun that belonged to her master, and the tomahawk with which she committed the tragical deed. They had not proceeded far, however, when Mrs. Dustin perceived that they had neglected to take their scalps, and feared that her neighbors, if they ever arrived at their homes, would not credit their story, and would ask them for some token or proof. She told her fears to her companions, and they immediately returned to the silent wigwam, took off the scalps of the fallen, and put them into a bag. They then started on their journey anew, with the gun, tomahawk, and the bleeding trophies, - palpable witnesses of their heroic and unparalleled deed.

A long and weary journey was before them, but they commenced it with cheerful hearts, each alternately rowing and steering their little bark. Though they had escaped from the clutches of their unfeeling master, still they were surrounded with dangers. They were thinly clad, the sky was still inclement, and they were liable to be re-captured by strolling bands of Indians, or by those who would undoubtedly pursue them so soon as the squaw and the boy had reported their departure, and the terrible vengeance they had taken; and were they again made prisoners, they well knew that a speedy death would follow. This array of danger, however, did not appall them for home was their beacon-light, and the thoughts of their firesides nerved their hearts. They continued to drop silently down the river, keeping a good lookout for strolling Indians; and in the night two of them only slept, while the third managed the boat. In this manner they pursued their journey, until they arrived safely, with their trophies, at their homes, totally unexpected by their mourning friends, who supposed that they had been butchered by their ruthless conquerors. It must truly have been an affecting meeting for Mrs. Dustin, who likewise supposed that all she loved, - all she held dear on earth - was laid in the silent tomb.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

After recovering from the fatigue of the journey, they started for Boston, where they arrived on the 21st of April. They carried with them the gun and tomahawk, and their ten scalps - those witnesses that would not lie; and while there, the general court gave them fifty pounds, as a reward for their heroism. The report of their daring deed soon spread into every part of the country, and when Colonel Nicholson, governor of Maryland, heard of it, he sent them a very valuable present, and many presents were also made to them by their neighbors.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

JOHN WARNER BARBER



- ABINGTON, MASS.
- ACTON, MASS.
- ADAMS, MASS.
- ALFORD, MASS.
- AMESBURY, MASS.
- AMHERST, MASS.
- ANDOVER, MASS.
- ASHBURNHAM, MASS.
- ASHBY, MASS.
- ASHFIELD, MASS.
- ATHOL, MASS.
- ATTLEBOROUGH, MASS.
- AUBURN, MASS.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- BARNSTABLE, MASS.
- BARRE, MASS.
- BECKET, MASS.
- BEDFORD, MASS.
- BELCHERTOWN, MASS.
- BELLINGHAM, MASS.
- BERLIN, MASS.
- BERNARDSTON, MASS.
- BEVERLY, MASS.
- BILLERICA, MASS.
- BLANDFORD, MASS.
- BOLTON, MASS.
- BOSTON, MASS.
- BOXBOROUGH, MASS.
- BOXFORD, MASS.
- BOYLSTON, MASS.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- BRADFORD, MASS.**
- BRAINTREE, MASS.**
- BREWSTER, MASS.**
- BRIDGEWATER, MASS.**
- BRIGHTON, MASS.**
- BRIMFIELD, MASS.**
- BROOKFIELD, MASS.**
- BROOKLINE, MASS.**
- BUCKLAND, MASS.**
- BURLINGTON, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- CAMBRIDGE, MASS.**
- CANTON, MASS.**
- CARVER, MASS.**
- CHARLEMONT, MASS.**
- CHARLESTOWN, MASS.**
- CHARLTON, MASS.**
- CHATHAM, MASS.**
- CHELMSFORD, MASS.**
- CHELSEA, MASS.**
- CHESHIRE, MASS.**
- CHESTER, MASS.**
- CHESTERFIELD, MASS.**
- CHILMARK, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- CLARKSBURG, MASS.**
- COHASSET, MASS.**
- COLERAINE, MASS.**
- CONCORD, MASS.**
- CONWAY, MASS.**
- CUMMINGTON, MASS.**

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- DALTON, MASS.
- DANA, MASS.
- DANVERS, MASS.
- DARTMOUTH, MASS.
- DEDHAM, MASS.
- DEERFIELD, MASS.
- DENNIS, MASS.
- DIGHTON, MASS.
- DORCHESTER, MASS.
- DOUGLASS, MASS.
- DUDLEY, MASS.
- DUNSTABLE, MASS.
- DUXBURY, MASS.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- EAST BRIDGEWATER**
- EASTHAM, MASS.**
- EASTHAMPTON, MASS.**
- EASTON, MASS.**
- EDGARTOWN, MASS.**
- EGREMONT, MASS.**
- ENFIELD, MASS.**
- ERVING, MASS.**
- ESSEX, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- FAIRHAVEN, MASS.**
- FALL RIVER, MASS.**
- FALMOUTH, MASS.**
- FITCHBURG, MASS.**
- FLORIDA, MASS.**
- FOXBOROUGH, MASS.**
- FRAMINGHAM, MASS.**
- FRANKLIN, MASS.**
- FREETOWN, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- GARDNER, MASS.**
- GEORGETOWN, MASS.**
- GILL, MASS.**
- GLOUCESTER, MASS.**
- GOSHEN, MASS.**
- GRAFTON, MASS.**
- GRANBY, MASS.**
- GRANVILLE, MASS.**
- GREAT BARRINGTON**
- GREENFIELD, MASS.**
- GREENWICH, MASS.**
- GROTON, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- HADLEY, MASS.**
- HALIFAX, MASS.**
- HAMILTON, MASS.**
- HANCOCK, MASS.**
- HANOVER, MASS.**
- HANSOM, MASS.**
- HARDWICK, MASS.**
- HARVARD, MASS.**
- HARWICH, MASS.**
- HATFIELD, MASS.**
- HAVERHILL, MASS.**
- HAWLEY, MASS.**
- HEATH, MASS.**
- HINGHAM, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- HINSDALE, MASS.**
- HOLDEN, MASS.**
- HOLLAND, MASS.**
- HOLLISTON, MASS.**
- HOPKINTON, MASS.**
- HUBBARDSTON, MASS.**
- HULL, MASS.**
- IPSWICH, MASS.**
- KINGSTON, MASS.**

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- LANCASTER, MASS.
- LANESBOROUGH, MASS.
- LEE, MASS.
- LEICESTER, MASS.
- LENOX, MASS.
- LEOMINSTER, MASS.
- LEVERETT, MASS.
- LEXINGTON, MASS.
- LEYDEN, MASS.
- LINCOLN, MASS.
- LITTLETON, MASS.
- LONGMEADOW, MASS.
- LOWELL, MASS.
- LUDLOW, MASS.
- LUNENBURG, MASS.
- LYNN, MASS.
- LYNNFIELD, MASS.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- MALDEN, MASS.
- MANCHESTER, MASS.
- MANSFIELD, MASS.
- MARBLEHEAD, MASS.
- MARLBOROUGH, MASS.
- MARSHFIELD, MASS.
- MARSHPEE, MASS.
- MEDFIELD, MASS.
- MEDFORD, MASS.
- MEDWAY, MASS.
- MENDON, MASS.
- METHUEN, MASS.
- MIDDLEBOROUGH, MASS.
- MIDDLEFIELD, MASS.
- MIDDLETON, MASS.
- MILFORD, MASS.
- MILLBURY, MASS.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- MILTON, MASS.**
- MONROE, MASS.**
- MONSON, MASS.**
- MONTAGUE, MASS.**
- MONTGOMERY, MASS.**
- MOUNT WASHINGTON**
- NANTUCKET, MASS.**
- NATICK, MASS.**
- NEEDHAM, MASS.**
- NEW ASHFORD, MASS.**
- NEW BEDFORD, MASS.**
- NEW BRAINTREE, MASS.**
- NEWBURY, MASS.**
- NEWBURYPORT, MASS.**
- NEW MARLBOROUGH**
- NEW SALEM, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- NEWTON, MASS.**
- NORTHAMPTON, MASS.**
- NORTHBOROUGH, MASS.**
- NORTHBRIDGE, MASS.**
- NORTH BRIDGEWATER**
- NORTH BROOKFIELD**
- NORTHFIELD, MASS.**
- NORTON, MASS.**

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- OAKHAM, MASS.
- ORANGE, MASS.
- ORLEANS, MASS.
- OTIS, MASS.
- OXFORD, MASS.
- PALMER, MASS.
- PAWTUCKET, MASS.
- PAXTON, MASS.
- PELHAM, MASS.
- PEMBROKE, MASS.
- PEPPERELL, MASS.
- PERU, MASS.
- PETERSHAM, MASS.
- PHILLIPSTON, MASS.
- PITTSFIELD, MASS.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- PLYMOUTH, MASS.**
- PLYMPTON, MASS.**
- PRESCOTT, MASS.**
- PRINCETON, MASS.**
- PROVINCETOWN, MASS.**
- QUINCY, MASS.**
- RANDOLPH, MASS.**
- RAYNHAM, MASS.**
- READING, MASS.**
- REHOBOTH, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- RICHMOND, MASS.**
- ROCHESTER, MASS.**
- ROWE, MASS.**
- ROWLEY, MASS.**
- ROXBURY, MASS.**
- ROYALSTON, MASS.**
- RUSSELL, MASS.**
- RUTLAND, MASS.**

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- SALEM, MASS.**
- SALISBURY, MASS.**
- SANDISFIELD, MASS.**
- SANDWICH, MASS.**
- SAUGUS, MASS.**
- SAVOY, MASS.**
- SCITUATE, MASS.**
- SEEKONK, MASS.**
- SHARON, MASS.**
- SHEFFIELD, MASS.**
- SHELBURNE, MASS.**
- SHERBURNE, MASS.**
- SHIRLEY, MASS.**
- SHREWSBURY, MASS.**
- SHUTESBURY, MASS.**
- SOMERSET, MASS.**
- SOUTHAMPTON, MASS.**

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- SOUTHBRIDGE, MASS.
- SOUTH HADLEY, MASS.
- SOUTH READING, MASS.
- SPENCER, MASS.
- SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
- STERLING, MASS.
- STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.
- STONEHAM, MASS.
- STOUGHTON, MASS.
- STOW, MASS.
- STURBRIDGE, MASS.
- SUDBURY, MASS.
- SUNDERLAND, MASS.
- SUTTON, MASS.
- SWANSEY, MASS.

**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



- TAUNTON, MASS.**
- TEMPLETON, MASS.**
- TEWKSBURY, MASS.**
- TISBURY, MASS.**
- TOLLAND, MASS.**
- TOWNSEND, MASS.**
- TRURO, MASS.**
- TYNGSBOROUGH, MASS.**
- TYRINGHAM, MASS.**

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- UPTON, MASS.
- UXBRIDGE, MASS.
- WALES, MASS.
- WALPOLE, MASS.
- WALTHAM, MASS.
- WARE, MASS.
- WAREHAM, MASS.
- WARREN, MASS.
- WARWICK, MASS.
- WASHINGTON, MASS.
- WATERTOWN, MASS.
- WAYLAND, MASS.
- WEBSTER, MASS.
- WELLFLEET, MASS.
- WENDELL, MASS.
- WESTBOROUGH, MASS.

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- WEST BOYLSTON, MASS.
- WEST CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
- WESTFIELD, MASS.
- WESTFORD, MASS.
- WESTHAMPTON, MASS.
- WESTMINSTER, MASS.
- WESTON, MASS.
- WESTPORT, MASS.
- WEST SPRINGFIELD
- WEST STOCKBRIDGE
- WEYMOUTH, MASS.
- WHATELY, MASS.
- WICHENDON, MASS.
- WILBRAHAM, MASS.
- WILLIAMSBURG, MASS.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



- WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.
- WILMINGTON, MASS.
- WINDSOR, MASS.
- WOBURN, MASS.
- WORCESTER, MASS.
- WORTHINGTON, MASS.
- WRENTHAM, MASS.
- YARMOUTH, MASS.

November 13, Wednesday: The [Metamora](#) arrived at Trinidad bearing a group of 216 free black Americans who were planning to settle there. It is quite possible that this vessel had sailed from Boston.

[Waldo Emerson](#) delivered his Introductory Lecture from the “Philosophy of History” series at the [Concord Lyceum](#) in [Concord](#).

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

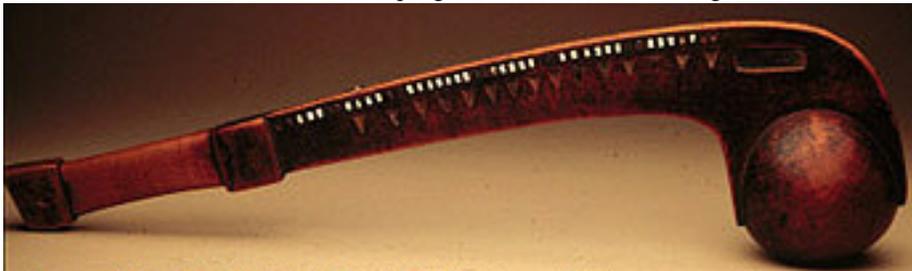
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### 1842

Apparently an object that was being purported to have been [Metacom](#)'s war club was at this point known to be in the possession of the descendants of the Reverend [John Checkley](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Whether this object representing the gradual decay and extinction of a most marked race, recording a chapter in the world's history, that of the fate of the Indian race, than which there is no more saddening, had been inherited from the Reverend Checkley or had been acquired by some other family member from some other source is unknown. It is not known from whom the purchase had been made, or when. Whether the object in question ever was King Phillip's war club is of course quite unknown, but obviously as of 1842 it was already serving its purpose, its purpose of course being to allow members of the surviving white race, viewing it, hefting it, secure in victory, no longer under any threat, to be appropriately saddened at the slow retreat of the wigwam and the tomahawk and the onward progress of the axe and the log cabin.<sup>157</sup>



In this year the actor [Edwin Forrest](#) was depicted in costume for his *Metamora* role in the play “Last of the Wampanoag” (on a following screen).<sup>158</sup>

157. This object, which purports to be a native American war club 22 inches in length and weighing 28<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ounces, was made from the ball root of a maple tree. A ball root is something that develops when the root system of a tree hangs over a stream bank in such a way as to expose the roots and cause them to grow at an angle. The object is inlaid with white and purple wampum. White wampum is made from the central column of a whelk shell. Purple wampum is made from quahog shell. There are also several triangular horn pieces inlaid along one side of the club. The holes were made to fit individual beads. There are two lines of wampum along the top width of the club, although most of this wampum is missing. Also, there are two bands of wampum along the adjacent surfaces of the handle, 44 beads to a side. Then on one side there were spots for 15 triangular inlaid horn pieces, two of which are still in place. Also, on the other side, there is a lower band of wampum beads, only partially completed. Two parallel lines can be detected in the wood, that were made with something sharp, clearly to outline where the bead inlay was to be continued. There are also three rectangular sections engraved into the club near the ball, perhaps for a brass inlay that is now missing.

158. Forrest was able to achieve a massive aspect on stage despite the fact that he was not taller than the average man of his generation (that would have been five feet seven and a half inches).

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK





THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1845

The proposal was made that the line of mysterious symbols, that had been first noticed in about 1835 on a rock at the tide line at [Mount Hope, Rhode Island](#) had been carved there by Norsemen in the 11th Century. This was of course a preposterous inference as none of the symbols resembled any known Norse symbols, and more recently, in 1919, the symbols would be discovered to be merely from the Cherokee syllabary — but stupid self-important ideas die hard, and so even today this thing is being referred to as “Norse Rock.”



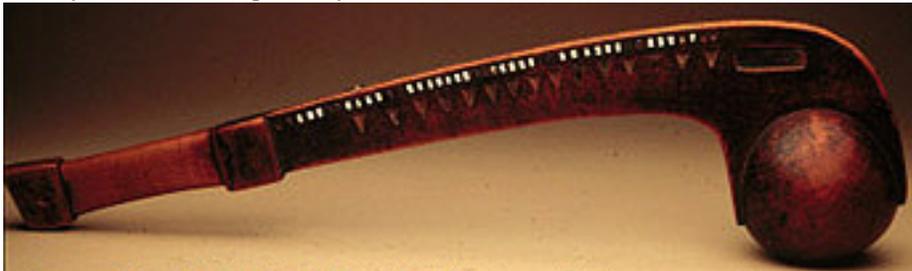
THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1846

Some sort of apparently authentic war club, heavy pipe, and belt of beads, shells, and bones alleged to have been the ones allegedly collected by Alderman at the site of his killing of [Metacom](#) and alleged to have been passed on to Captain [Benjamin Church](#) and then allegedly to the Reverend [John Checkley](#) by Metacom's killer, allegedly in exchange for the Reverend's gold watch, were loaned at this point by Angelica Gilbert James to the Historical Society of Connecticut in Hartford. She alleged that she had inherited these items from her distant ancestor, the Reverend Checkley of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Eventually the Historical Society would return these three items to her but, in the process of returning them, all track would be lost of a couple of the items and only the war club is presently locatable.



The barrel of the gun with which, supposedly, King Phillip had been slain, was at this point on display in [Plymouth](#), and this, at least, does appear to have been an authentic relic — at least in the sense that some such relic was indeed at the time on display, a physical object whatever its provenance, so described, and thus it would be glimpsed by [Henry Thoreau](#) in 1851:



July 31, Thursday: Those same round shells (*Scutella parma (placenta)* ?) on the sand as at Cape Cod, the live ones reddish the dead white— Went off early this morning with Uncle Ned to catch bass with the small fish I had found on the sand the night before— 2 of his neighbor Albert Watson's boys were there —not James the oldest —but Edward the sailor & Mortimer —(or Mort —) in their boat They killed some striped bass (*Labrax lineatus*) with paddles in a shallow creek in the sand —& caught some lobsters. I remarked that the sea shore was singularly clean for notwithstanding the spattering of the water & mud & squirting of the clams & wading to & fro the boat my best black pants retained no stains nor dirt as they would acquire from walking in the country. I caught a bass with a young — haik? (perchance) trailing 30 feet behind while Uncle Ned paddled.— They catch them in England with a “trawl-net” sometimes they weigh 75 lbs here

At 11 AM set sail to Plymouth. We went somewhat out of a direct course to take advantage of the tide which was coming in. Saw the site of the first house which was burned —on Leyden Street —walked up the same. — parallel with the Town Brook. Hill from which Billington Sea was discovered hardly a mile from the shore on Watsons grounds. Watsons Hill where treaty was made across brook South of Burying Hill At [Marston] Watsons— The Oriental Plane— *Abies Douglasii*— ginkgo tree q.v. on Common. —a foreign hardhack —Eng. oak —dark colored small leaf —Spanish chestnut. Chinese arbor-vitæ— Norway spruce like our fir balsam— A new kind of fir-balsam— Black eagle one of the good cherries— fuchsias in hot house— Earth bank covered with cement.

Mr Thomas Russel —who cannot be 70 —at whose house on Leyden st. I took tea & spent the evening —told me that he remembered to have seen Ebenezer Cobb a nat. of Plymouth who died in Kingston in 1801 aged 107 who remembered to have had personal knowledge of Peregrine White saw him an old man riding on horse back —(he lived to be 83)— White was born at Cape Cod harbor before the Pilgrims got to Plymouth— C. Sturgis's mother told me the same of herself at the same time. She remembered Cobb sitting in an arm chair like the one she herself occupied with his silver locks falling about his shoulders twirling one thumb over the other— Russell told me that he once bought some *primitive* woodland in P. which was sold at auction the biggest Pitch pines 2 ft diameter —for 8 *shillings* an acre— If he had bought enough it would have been a pasture. There is still forest in this town which the axe has not touched says Geo. Bradford. According to Thatchers Hist. of P. there were



# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

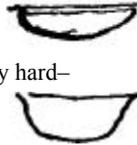
## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

11,662 acres of woodland in '31. or 20 miles square. Pilgrims first saw Bil. sea about Jan 1st –visited it Jan 8th. The oldest stone in the Plymouth Burying ground 1681 (Coles? hill where those who died the first winter were buried –said to have been levelled & sown to conceal loss from Indians.) Oldest on our hill 1677 In Mrs Plympton’s Garden on Leyden st. running down to Town Brook. Saw an abundance of pears –gathered excellent June-eating apples –saw a large lilack about 8 inches diameter– Methinks a soil may improve when at length it has shaded itself with vegetation.

Wm S Russel the Registrer at the Court House showed the oldest Town records. for all are preserved –on 1st page a plan of Leyden st dated Dec. 1620 –with names of settlers. They have a great many folios. The writing plain. Saw the charter granted by the Plymouth Company to the Pilgrims signed by Warwick date 1629 & the box in which it was brought over with the seal.

Pilgrim Hall– They used to crack off pieces of the Forefathers Rock for visitors with a cold chisel till the town forebade it. The stone remaining at wharf is about 7 ft square. Saw 2 old arm chairs that came over in the May flower.– the large picture by Sargent.– Standish’s sword.– gun barrel with which Philip was killed –– mug & pocket-book of Clark the mate– Iron pot of Standish.– Old pipe tongs. Ind relics a flayer

KING PHILLIP  
PLYMOUTH ROCK



a pot or mortar of a kind of fire proof stone very hard–

only 7 or 8 inches long. A Commission from Cromwell to Winslow? –his signature torn off. They talk of a monument on the rock. The burying hill 165 ft high. Manomet 394 ft high by state map. Saw more pears at Washburn’s garden. No graves of Pilgrims.

Seaweed generally used along shore– Saw the *Prinos glabra*, inkberry at Bil. sea. Sandy plain with oaks of various kinds cut in less than 20 yrs– No communication with Sandwich– P end of world 50 miles thither by rail road– Old. Colony road poor property. Nothing saves P. but the rock. Fern-leaved beach– Saw the King crab *Limulus polyphemus* –horseshoe & saucepan fish –at the island covered with sea green & buried in the sand –for concealment.

In P. the *Convolvulus arvensis* –small Bindweed.

CLARK’S ISLAND  
BOSTON HARBOR

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The following preposterous illustration of *Metacom* was prepared by Samuel Griswold Goodrich for Graham's American Monthly Magazine:





# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1847

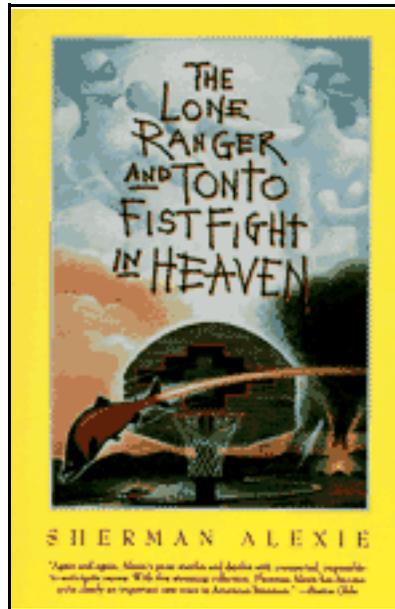
November 29, Monday: In retaliation for a measles epidemic that had decimated their tribe, Cayuse warriors killed the Oregon missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and their group of 12 settlers.

The Adelphi Theater of Boston featured a burlesque version of “King Phillip’s War” titled *METAMORA*; OR, THE LAST OF THE *POLLYWOGS*. This marginally humorous, inately derogatory, and offensively racist performance was marked by the repeated popping of popguns and the repeated resort to the use of the word “Ugh.” At the culmination of the dying scene, the sachem *Metacom* of the *Wampanoag* was made to leap lightly to his feet and exclaim directly to the audience, as the curtain fell, “Confound your skins, I will not die to please you!”



“The People make their recollection fit in with their sufferings.”

— Thucydides, HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1849

May 10, Thursday: [Edwin Forrest](#)'s 20-year rivalry with the British actor William Macready put the torch to a powder-keg of [nativist](#) sentiment when –due to head-on competition between simultaneous New-York productions of [William Shakespeare](#)'s *Macbeth*, and due to Macready's status as a mere foreigner, and due to Forrest's Americans-first [Know-Nothing](#) jingoism– that professional rivalry induced a riot of 25,000 nativists at the Astor Place Opera House during which 22 of his manly fans were killed by the police and the 7th Regiment of the militia, and 36 very seriously wounded.



Commenting on the Scorsese movie “Gangs of New York”:  
“In my own research of New York history, through first-person accounts and newspaper reports, I have found that our past was often at least as violent and squalid, if not more so, than the movie depicts.”

– Kevin Baker



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



Though Edwin Forrest was only indirectly responsible for the New-York militia’s having fired into this mob he had so endeavored to create, as his manly fans attempted to invade and disrupt Macready’s effete performance, his reputation would suffer, and then he would fall further in the eyes of his public due to a protracted and, once again, very public attempt at divorce.



For Edwin Forrest, reenacting “King Phillip’s War” was a step on the path toward an American national drama. Like so many other artists of his generation, Forrest appropriated Indianness and Indian ancestors to make himself American, to distance himself from all that was English. In this he exactly reversed what writers like Increase Mather and William Hubbard had tried to do so furiously -and so prolifically- a century and a half earlier. Late-seventeenth-century colonists had tried to purify themselves of the contamination of America’s indigenous inhabitants and make themselves more English. Early-nineteenth-century Americans tried to take on the attributes of Indianness to make themselves less English.

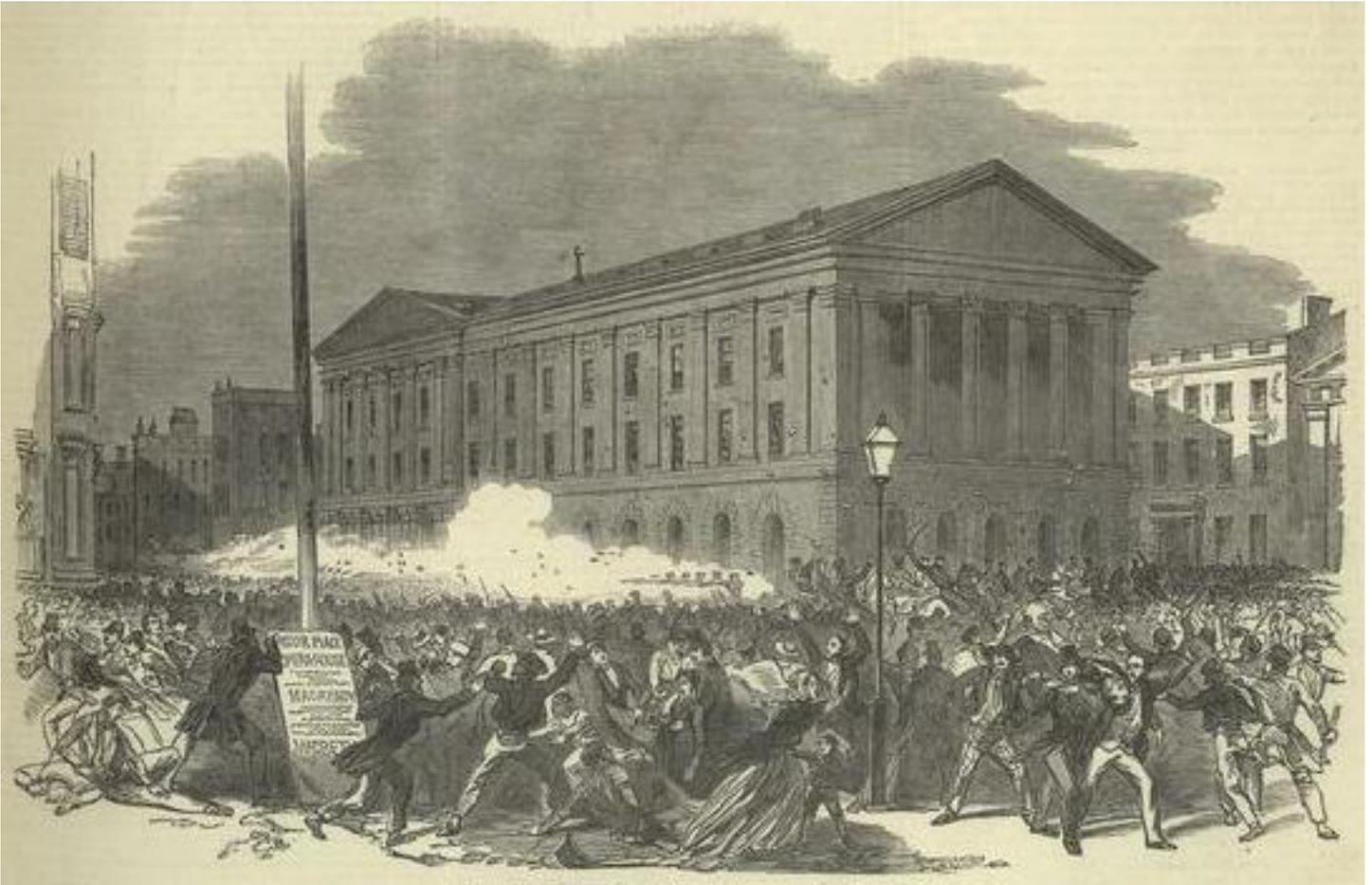
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## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

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On the 2nd of June, the Illustrated London News would be providing its readership with a front-page illustration of the rioting in front of the New-York opera house, complete with the powder smoke from the police volley into the crowd:



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1851



July 31, Thursday: Those same round shells (*Scutella parma (placenta)* ?) on the sand as at Cape Cod, the live ones reddish the dead white– Went off early this morning with Uncle Ned to catch bass with the small fish I had found on the sand the night before– 2 of his neighbor Albert Watson’s boys were there –not James the oldest –but Edward the sailor & Mortimer –(or Mort –) in their boat They killed some striped baste (*Labrax lineatus*) with paddles in a shallow creek in the sand –& caught some lobsters. I remarked that the sea shore was singularly clean for notwithstanding the spattering of the water & mud & squirting of the clams & wading to & fro the boat my best black pants retained no stains nor dirt as they would acquire from walking in the country. I caught a bass with a young — haik? (perchance) trailing 30 feet behind while Uncle Ned paddled.– They catch them in England with a “trawl-net” sometimes they weigh 75 lbs here

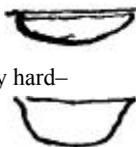
At 11 AM set sail to Plymouth. We went somewhat out of a direct course to take advantage of the tide which was coming in. Saw the site of the first house which was burned –on Leyden Street –walked up the same. – parallel with the Town Brook. Hill from which Billington Sea was discovered hardly a mile from the shore on Watsons grounds. Watsons Hill where treaty was made across brook South of Burying Hill At [Marston] Watsons– The Oriental Plane– *Abies Douglasii*– ginkgo tree q.v. on Common. –a foreign hardhack –Eng. oak –dark colored small leaf –Spanish chestnut. Chinese arbor-vitæ– Norway spruce like our fir balsam– A new kind of fir-balsam– Black eagle one of the good cherries– fuchsias in hot house– Earth bank covered with cement.

Mr Thomas Russel –who cannot be 70 –at whose house on Leyden st. I took tea & spent the evening –told me that he remembered to have seen Ebenezer Cobb a nat. of Plymouth who died in Kingston in 1801 aged 107 who remembered to have had personal knowledge of Peregrine White saw him an old man riding on horse back –(he lived to be 83)– White was born at Cape Cod harbor before the Pilgrims got to Plymouth– C. Sturgis’s mother told me the same of herself at the same time. She remembered Cobb sitting in an arm chair like the one she herself occupied with his silver locks falling about his shoulders twirling one thumb over the other– Russell told me that he once bought some *primitive* woodland in P. which was sold at auction the biggest Pitch pines 2 ft diameter –for 8 *shillings* an acre– If he had bought enough it would have been a pasture. There is still forest in this town which the axe has not touched says Geo. Bradford. According to Thatchers Hist. of P. there were 11,662 acres of woodland in ’31. or 20 miles square. Pilgrims first saw Bil. sea about Jan 1st –visited it Jan 8th. The oldest stone in the Plymouth Burying ground 1681 (Coles? hill where those who died the first winter were buried –said to have been levelled & sown to conceal loss from Indians.) Oldest on our hill 1677 In Mrs Plympton’s Garden on Leyden st. running down to Town Brook. Saw an abundance of pears –gathered excellent June-eating apples –saw a large lilack about 8 inches diameter– Methinks a soil may improve when at length it has shaded itself with vegetation.

Wm S Russel the Registrer at the Court House showed the oldest Town records. for all are preserved –on 1st page a plan of Leyden st dated Dec. 1620 –with names of settlers. They have a great many folios. The writing plain. Saw the charter granted by the Plymouth Company to the Pilgrims signed by Warwick date 1629 & the box in which it was brought over with the seal.

Pilgrim Hall– They used to crack off pieces of the Forefathers Rock for visitors with a cold chisel till the town forbade it. The stone remaining at wharf is about 7 ft square. Saw 2 old arm chairs that came over in the May flower.– the large picture by Sargent.– Standish’s sword.– gun barrel with which Philip was killed –– mug & pocket-book of Clark the mate– Iron pot of Standish.– Old pipe tongs. Ind relics a flayer

KING PHILLIP  
PLYMOUTH ROCK



a pot or mortar of a kind of fire proof stone very hard–

only 7 or 8 inches long. A Commission from Cromwell to Winslow? –his signature torn off. They talk of a monument on the rock. The burying hill 165 ft high. Manomet 394 ft high by state map. Saw more pears at Washburn’s garden. No graves of Pilgrims.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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Seaweed generally used along shore– Saw the *Prinos glabra*, inkberry at Bil. sea. Sandy plain with oaks of various kinds cut in less than 20 yrs– No communication with Sandwich– P end of world 50 miles thither by rail road– Old. Colony road poor property. Nothing saves P. but the rock. Fern-leaved beach– Saw the King crab *Limulus polyphemus* –horseshoe & saucepan fish –at the island covered with sea green & buried in the sand –for concealment.  
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CLARK'S ISLAND  
BOSTON HARBOR



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1852

During this year Massachusetts Governor George Boutwell would dedicate a monument to [“King Phillip’s War”](#), and in so doing he would opinion that:

The human family has ever been subject to one great law. It is this. Inferior races disappear in the presence of their superiors, or become dependent upon them. Now, while this law shall not stand as a defense for our fathers, it is satisfactory to feel that no policy could have civilized or even saved the Indian tribes of Massachusetts. The remnants that linger in our midst are not the representatives of the native nobility of the forest of two centuries ago.

There were a total of 28 Pequot tribespeople still alive. By the 1970s there would be but two, Elizabeth George Plouffe still living on the reservation, and her sister, living off the reservation. –This, plus financing from a mogul in Indonesia, would eventuate in the world’s most profitable casino, “Foxwoods” near Ledyard, Connecticut.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1853

A tart nursery rhyme was in circulation during this period:

King Philip was a warrior bold,  
Whose deeds are writ in records old ;  
He through New England's woods did roam,  
And brought sorrow to many a home.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

METACOM



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1855

[King Philip](#) had been a warrior bold, whose deeds were writ in records old; he through New England's woods had roamed, and brought sorrow to many a home. However, there had never been any authentic image of this bold red bringer of white sorrow. We have always been free to imagine whatever we desired to imagine.

The ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY volume of this year therefore imagined this warrior bold in a new and fascinating manner: a rather sedate dude with a nurse-doily perched atop his bald pate (see following screen).

WHEN the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the reigning sachem of that country was *Ousamequin*, afterwards more generally known as *Massasoit*. He had two sons, the elder called *Wamsotto*, who was afterwards, at his own solicitation, christened by the English, Alexander; and *Pometacom*, who also, at the same time, was christened Philip. In 1662, on the death of Alexander, who had succeeded Massasoit as chief sachem of the Wampanoags, Philip became chief of his tribe.

Both Philip and his brother Alexander before him had showed a disposition to deal treacherously with the English, and soon the enmity of Philip broke forth with relentless fury, and continued until his death. He had experienced the treachery and falsehood of some of the whites, and, with the usual justice of his people, had uttered his condemnation on the whole race of the pale faces. Seeing that they were few in numbers, while the red men were as the leaves of the forest, he resolved upon a war of extermination. This seemed an easy task, for he was not capable of calculating the moral forces of civilization, and he set himself about his bloody task with such care and zeal that the English really began to fear the fulfilment of his threats.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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KING PHILIP.

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1860

At around this point in time, [Edwin Forrest](#) commissioned the Matthew Brady studio to depict him in his most popular roles. Portraits of Forrest attired for his roles as Macbeth and as [Spartacus](#) and as [Metamora](#) (the sachem [Metacom](#) of the [Wampanoag](#)) reveal how, in very different costumes, he presented one unchanging heroic image, an image which this bulky actor preserved even when attired for the street. He was the man’s man, the John Wayne, of that era. When the actress Fanny Kemble saw him as Spartacus in “The Gladiator,” she called Forrest “a mountain of a man!” He became famous not only for his outsized heroes but also for his accumulating wealth and his estate on the palisades of the Hudson River, and over the years the formula that had brought this success was never altered.<sup>159</sup>



“What the American public always wants is a tragedy with a happy ending.”

– William Dean Howells



Daniel Pierce Thompson (1795-1868)’s THE DOOMED CHIEF; OR, TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, about [“King Phillip’s War”](#), was published in Philadelphia.

159. Here Forrest is posed in the studio of Mathew B. Brady in costume as the tragic hero “[Metamora](#)” of the oft-staged play about Metacom designed for him by Concord’s John Augustus Stone ([METAMORA](#); OR THE LAST OF THE *WAMPANOAGS*). Brady used his impressive Imperial format, with a collodion negative that measures 20 x 17 inches uncropped, a format that needed to be prepared and exposed while still wet. This is a bitmapped image of a modern salted paper print from that original collodion negative, which is a gift of The Edwin Forrest Home in our National Portrait Gallery.



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**



“The People make their recollection fit in with their sufferings.”

— Thucydides, HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR





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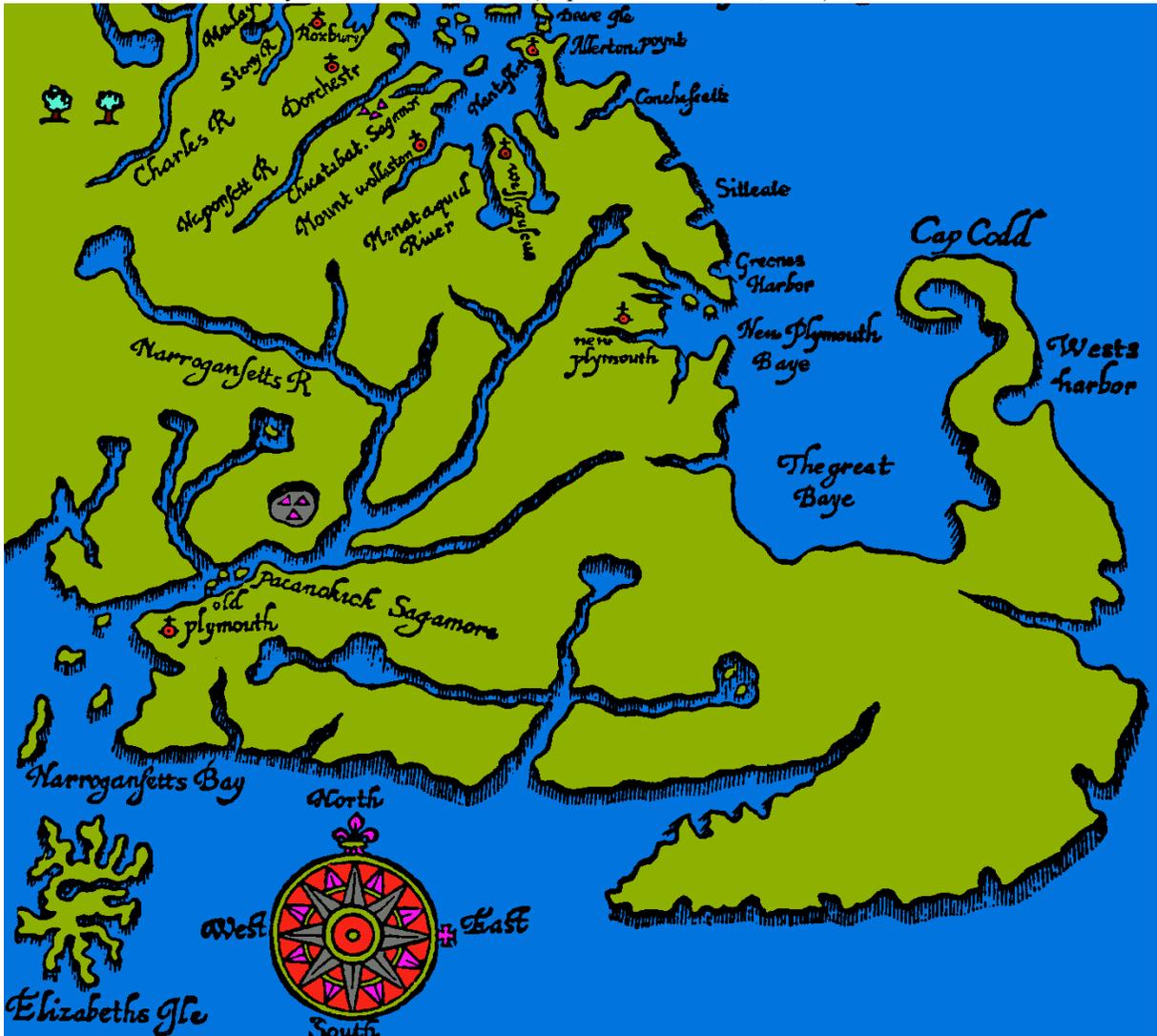
1862

Reprint of the Reverend Increase Mather's 1676 THE HISTORY OF [KING PHILIP](#)'S WAR (Albany NY: J.Munsell).

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1865

Publication of the Reverend [William Hubbard](#)'s THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW ENGLAND FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR WITH KING PHILIP, IN 1677. 2 Volumes. Samuel G. Drake, ed. Roxbury: W. Elliot Woodward. (Reprinted: NY: Kraus, 1969).



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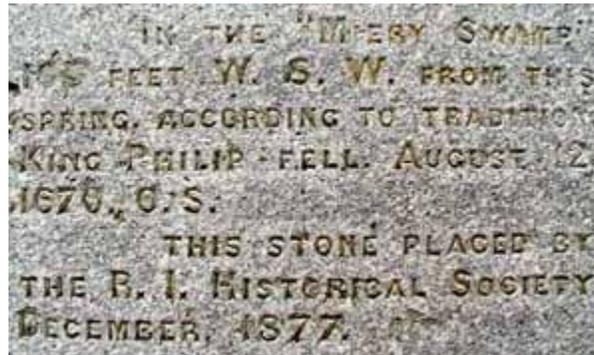
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1877

December: Knowing no shame, the [Rhode Island](#) Historical Society positioned a marker in celebration of the home invasion murder of [King Philip](#) on August 12, 1676, O.S., on the very location in the “Miery Swamp” of the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula.



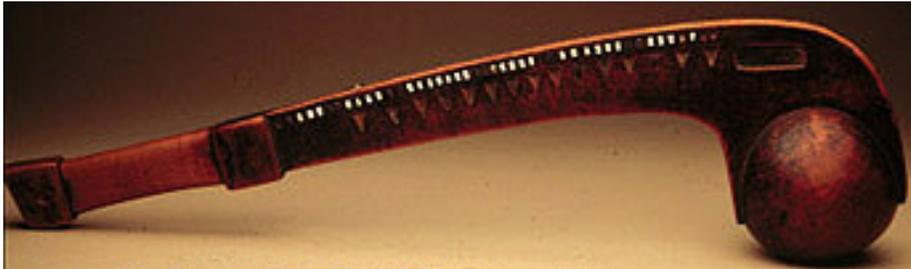
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1878

Nicolas Roch installed a wooden shield that would mask the blade of the [guillotine](#) from the sight of an approaching victim (this novelty would in the next year be removed, when Roch died and was replaced by Louis Deibler).

HEADCHOPPING

Mrs. James wrote to the Historical Society of Connecticut, asking that they return to her possession the three trophy items that allegedly had been seized by Alderman at the site of his killing of [Metacom](#), that allegedly had come to be her private property through purchase followed by a chain of inheritance.





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

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1887

The final staging of [John Augustus Stone](#)'s play *METAMORA*: OR THE LAST OF THE *WAMPANOAGS*, which had first been performed in 1829 and had been so immensely successful as to inspire mockeries such as the droll racist comedy *METAMORA*; OR, THE LAST OF THE *POLLYWOGS*.

The plot of abandoned ground on which the Duxbury meetinghouse had been located, where a number of bodies had over the years been interred including the one pertaining to the town's most illustrious founder [Myles Standish](#), became the object of a lets-pretend local-pride restoration project.<sup>160</sup>

October 21, Friday: A [German](#) protectorate was established over Nauru.

Baluchistan was united with [India](#).

The Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#) read his paper “King Philip’s War; with special reference to the attack on Brookfield in August, 1675” before the American Antiquarian Society (refer to his later publication KING PHILIP’S WAR IN HISTORICAL SKETCHES).

METACOM

My ancestor, Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, was one of the original settlers, who after the war took possession of Mount Hope, the home of the Wampanoags, and named it [Bristol](#).... The whole of Plymouth County was then [1681] settled, except this territory, which was the only spot left uncovered in the western march of English population.... Of this great tract all they [the Wampanoag] retained in 1675 was a little strip, called then [Mount Hope](#), scarcely six miles long and two miles wide. The southern line of English possession had been drawn right across Bristol Neck, enclosing, and almost imprisoning, the tribe in a little peninsula, washed on all sides, except the north, by the waters of Narragansett and Mount Hope bays. As if to emphasize this fact, their neighbors, the people of Swanzeay [*sic*], “set up a very substantial fence quite across the great neck.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

In this year the legal genocide against the surviving [Narragansett](#) tribespeople of [Rhode Island](#) had culminated in the passage of the General Allotment Act, the thrust of which was to grant quite meaningless individual “citizenship” while destroying tribal government.

160. The first thing they would do would be to put a fence around it to keep the cows out. Various memorial markers and tourist curiosities would be installed on this piece of real estate and it is now headlined as “the oldest maintained cemetery in the United States.”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK



“Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it’s a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed.”

– Iris Chang, author of THE RAPE OF NANKING (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was cancelled by Basic Books due to threats from [Japan](#), on May 20, 1999.



“Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it.”

– Russell Shorto



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

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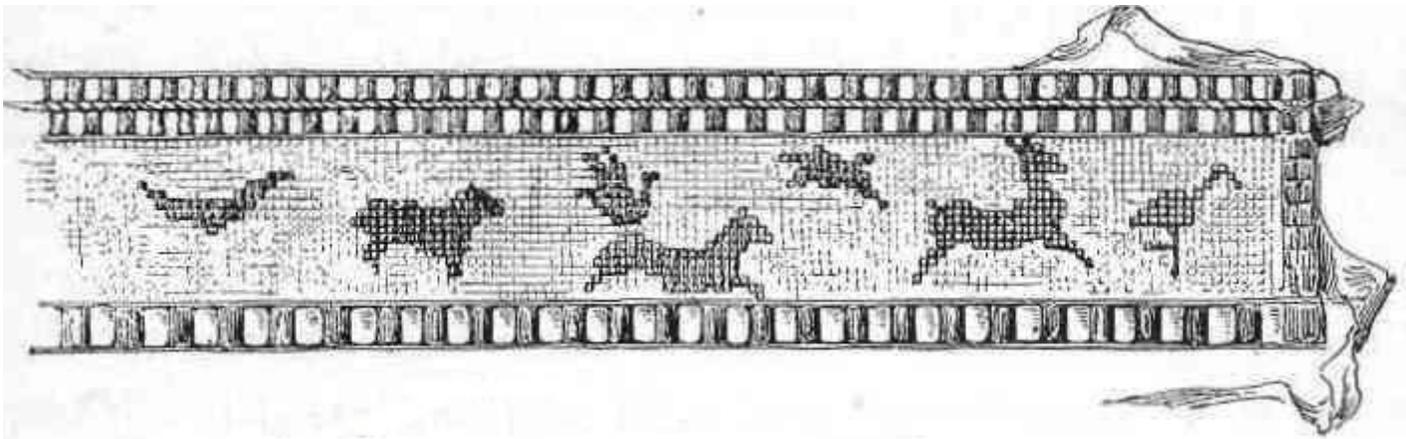
1893

In Boston, David H. Montgomery's THE BEGINNER'S AMERICAN HISTORY was typeset by J.S. Cushing and Company and put through the presses by Ginn and Company. Here is a slightly truncated version of what the book had to tell our beautiful white children about the evil of [Mount Hope](#), [Rhode Island](#) and [“King Phillip's War”](#):

**87. Death of Massasoit; Wamsutta and Philip; Wamsutta's sudden death.** — When the Indian chief Massasoit died, the people of Plymouth lost one of their best friends. Massasoit left two sons, one named Wamsutta, who became chief in his father's place, and the other called Philip. They both lived near Mount Hope, in Rhode Island.

The governor of Plymouth heard that Wamsutta was stirring up the Indians to make war on the whites, and he sent for the Indian chief to come to him and give an account of himself. Wamsutta went, but on his way back he suddenly fell sick, and soon after he reached home he died. His young wife was a woman who was thought a great deal of by her tribe, and she told them that she felt sure the white people had poisoned her husband in order to get rid of him. This was not true, but the Indians believed it.

**88. Philip becomes chief; why he hated the white men; how the white men had got possession of the Indian lands.** — Philip now became chief. He called himself “King Philip.” His palace was a wigwam made of bark. On great occasions he wore a bright red blanket and a kind of crown made of a broad belt ornamented with shells. King Philip hated the white people because, in the first place, he believed that they had murdered his brother; and next, because he saw that they were growing stronger in numbers every year, while the Indians were becoming weaker.



#### THE BELT WHICH KING PHILIP WORE FOR A CROWN.<sup>161</sup>

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Massasoit, Philip's father, held all the country from Cape Cod back to the eastern shores of Narragansett Bay; that is, a strip about thirty miles wide. The white settlers bought a small piece of this land. After a while they bought more,

161. As near as I can tell, this is an inauthentic reconstruction. King Phillip was indeed reputed to have in his possession a bandolier about nine inches wide “wrought with black and white wampum in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts” but when hanging from his shoulder it reached to the ground. There does not seem to be any contemporary mention of his having wrapped one end of it around his head as a sort of crown, and we have no contemporary images of either him or it.



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

and so they kept on until in about fifty years they got nearly all of what Massasoit's tribe had once owned. The Indians had nothing left but two little necks of land, which were nearly surrounded by the waters of Narragansett Bay. Here they felt that they were shut up almost like prisoners, and that the white men watched everything that they did.

**89. How King Philip felt; signs of the coming war; the “Praying Indians”; the murder.** — King Philip was a very proud man — quite as proud, in fact, as the king of England. He could not bear to see his people losing power. He said to himself, if the Indians do not rise and drive out the white men, then the white men will certainly drive out the Indians. Most of the Indians now had guns, and could use them quite as well as the whites could; so Philip thought that it was best to fight.

The settlers felt that the war was coming. Some of them fancied that they saw the figure of an Indian bow in the clouds. Others said that they heard sounds like guns fired off in the air, and horsemen riding furiously up and down in the sky, as if getting ready for battle.

But though many Indians now hated the white settlers, this was not true of all. A minister, named John Eliot, had persuaded some of the red men near Boston to give up their religion, and to try to live like the white people. These were called “Praying Indians.” One of them who knew King Philip well told the settlers that Philip's warriors were grinding their hatchets sharp for war. Soon after, this “Praying Indian” was found murdered. The white people accused three of Philip's men of having killed him. They were tried, found guilty, and hanged.

**90. Beginning of the war at Swansea; burning of Brookfield.** — Then Philip's warriors began the war in the summer of 1675. Some white settlers were going home from church in the town of Swansea, Massachusetts; they had been to pray that there might be no fighting. As they walked along, talking together, two guns were fired out of the bushes. One of the white men fell dead in the road, and another was badly hurt.

The shots were fired by Indians. This was the way they always fought when they could. They were not cowards, but they did not come out boldly, but would fire from behind trees and rocks. Often a white man would be killed without even seeing who shot him.

At first the fighting was mainly in those villages of Plymouth Colony which were nearest Narragansett Bay; then it spread to the valley of the Connecticut River and the neighborhood. Deerfield, Springfield, Brookfield, Groton, and many other places in Massachusetts were attacked. The Indians would creep up stealthily in the night, burn the houses, carry off the women and children prisoners if they could, kill the rest of the

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

inhabitants, take their scalps home and hang them up in their wigwams.



At Brookfield the settlers left their houses, and gathered in one strong house for defence. The Indians burned all the houses but that one, and did their best to burn that, too. They dipped rags in brimstone, such as we make matches of, fastened them to the points of their arrows, set fire to them, and then shot the blazing arrows into the shingles of the roof. When the Indians saw that the shingles had caught, and were beginning to flame up, they danced for joy, and roared like wild bulls. But the men in the house managed to put out the fire on the roof. Then the savages got a cart, filled it with hay, set it on fire, and pushed it up against the house. This time they thought that they should certainly burn the white people out; but just then a heavy shower came up, and put out the fire. A little later, some white soldiers marched into the village, and saved the people in the house.

**91. The fight at Hadley; what Colonel Goffe did.** — At Hadley, the people were in the meeting-house when the terrible Indian war-whoop rang through the village. The savages drove back those who dared to go out against them, and it seemed as if the village must be destroyed. Suddenly a white-haired old man, sword in hand, appeared among the settlers. No one knew who he was; but he called to them to follow him, as a captain calls to his men, and they obeyed him. The astonished Indians turned and ran. When, after all was over, the whites looked for their brave leader, he had gone; they never saw him again. Many thought



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

that he was an angel who had been sent to save them. But the angel was Colonel Goffe, an Englishman, who was one of the judges who had sentenced King Charles the First to death during a great war in England. He had escaped to America; and, luckily for the people of Hadley, he was hiding in the house of a friend in that village when the Indians attacked it.

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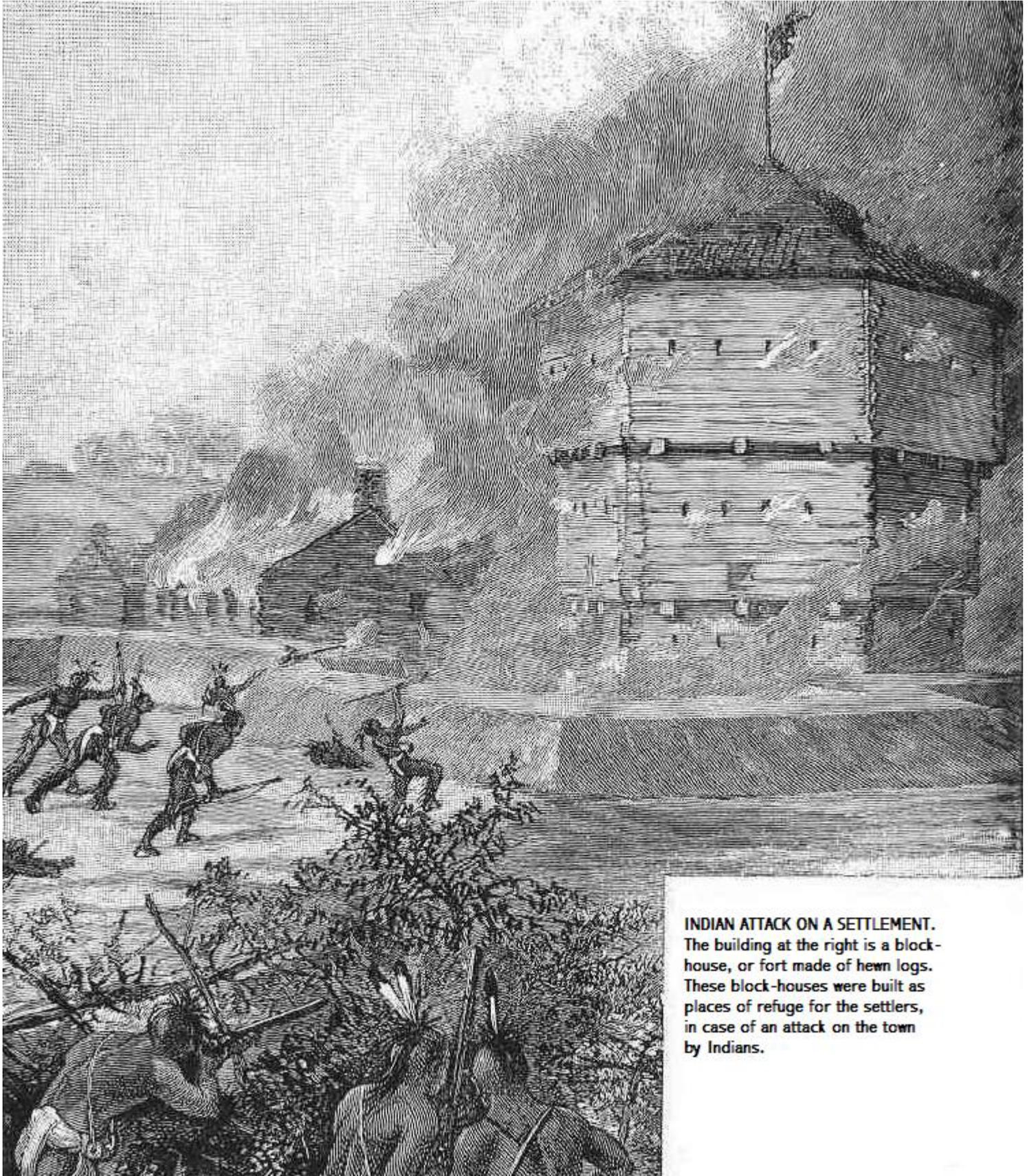
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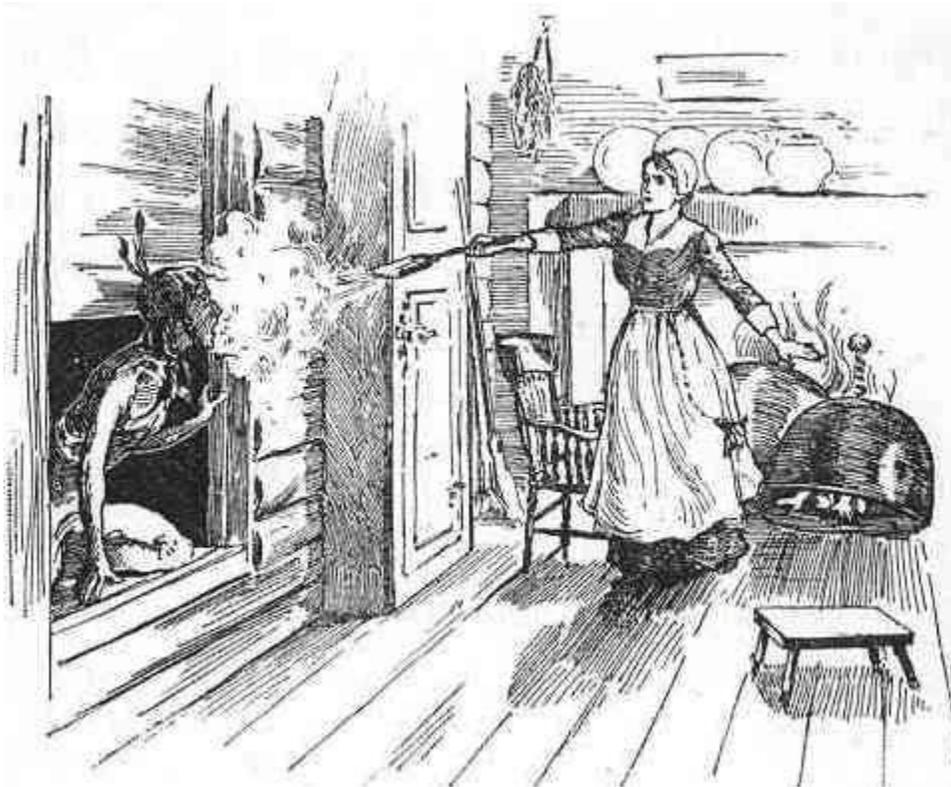
**INDIAN ATTACK ON A SETTLEMENT.**  
The building at the right is a block-house, or fort made of hewn logs. These block-houses were built as places of refuge for the settlers, in case of an attack on the town by Indians.

## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

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**92. How a woman drove off an Indian.** — In this dreadful war with the savages there were times when even the women had to fight for their lives. In one case, a woman had been left in a house with two young children. She heard a noise at the window, and looking up, saw an Indian trying to raise the sash. Quick as thought, she clapped the two little children under two large brass kettles which stood near. Then, seizing a shovel-full of red-hot coals from the open fire, she stood ready, and just as the Indian thrust his head into the room, she dashed the coals right into his face and eyes. With a yell of agony the Indian let go his hold, dropped to the ground as though he had been shot, and ran howling to the woods.



**93. The great swamp fight; burning the Indian wigwams; what the Chief Canonchet said.** — During the summer and autumn of 1675 the Indians on the west side of Narragansett Bay took no open part in King Philip's War. But the next winter the white people found that these Indians were secretly receiving and sheltering the savages who had been wounded in fighting for that noted chief. For that reason, the settlers determined to raise a large force and attack them. The Indians had gathered in a fort on an island in a swamp. This fort was a very difficult place to reach. It was built of the trunks of trees set upright in the ground. It was so strong that the savages felt quite safe.

Starting very early in the morning, the attacking party waded fifteen miles through deep snow. Many of them had their hands and feet badly frozen. One of the chief men in leading the attack was Captain Benjamin Church of Plymouth; he was a very brave soldier, and knew all about Indian life and Indian fighting. In the battle, he was struck by two bullets, and so badly wounded that he could not move a step further; but he made one of his men hold him up, and he shouted to his soldiers to go ahead. The fight was a desperate one, but at length the fort was taken. The attacking party lost more than two hundred and fifty men



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

in killed and wounded; the Indians lost as many as a thousand.

After the battle was over, Captain Church begged the men not to burn the wigwams inside the fort, for there were a great number of old men and women and little Indian children in the wigwams. But the men were very mad against the savages, and would not listen to him. They set the wigwams on fire, and burned many of these poor creatures to death.

Canonchet, the chief of the tribe, was taken prisoner. The settlers told him they would spare his life if he would try to make peace. “No,” said he, “we will all fight to the last man rather than become slaves to the white men.” He was then told that he must be shot. “I like it well,” said he. “I wish to die before my heart becomes soft, or I say anything unworthy of myself.”

**94. Philip’s wife and son are taken prisoners; Philip is shot; end of the war.** — The next summer Captain Church, with a lot of “brisk Bridgewater lads” chased King Philip and his men, and took many of the Indians prisoners. Among those then taken captive were King Philip’s wife and his little boy. When Philip heard of it, he cried out, “My heart breaks; now I am ready to die.” He had good reason for saying so. It was the custom in England to sell such prisoners of war as slaves. Following this custom, the settlers here took this boy, the grandson of that Massasoit who had helped them when they were poor and weak, and sold him with his mother. They were sent to the Bermuda Islands, and there worked to death under the hot sun and the lash of the slave-driver’s whip.

Not long after that, King Philip himself was shot. He had been hunted like a wild beast from place to place. At last he had come back to see his old home at Mount Hope once more. There Captain Church found him; there the Indian warrior was shot. His head and hands were cut off, — as was then done in England in such cases, — and his head was carried to Plymouth and set up on a pole. It stood there twenty years.

King Philip’s death brought the war to an end. It had lasted a little over a year; that is, from the early summer of 1675 to the latter part of the summer of 1676. In that short time the Indians had killed between five and six hundred white settlers, and had burned thirteen villages to ashes, besides partly burning a great many more. The war cost so much money that many people were made poor by it; but the strength of the Indians was broken, and they never dared to trouble the people of Southern New England again.

**95. Summary.** — In 1675 King Philip began a great Indian war against the people of Southeastern New England. His object was to kill off the white settlers, and get back the land for the Indians. He did kill a large number, and he destroyed many villages, but in the end the white men gained the victory. Philip’s wife and child were sold as slaves, and he was shot. The Indians never attempted another war in this part of the country.

Who was Wamsutta? What happened to him? Who was “King Philip”? Why did he hate the white men? What did he say to himself? What is said about the “Praying Indians”? What happened to one of them? What was done with three of Philip’s men? Where and how did the war begin? To what part of the country did it spread? Tell about the Indian attack on Brookfield. What happened at Hadley? Tell how a woman drove off an Indian. Tell all you can about the Great Swamp Fight. What is said about Canonchet? What is said of King Philip’s wife and son? What happened to King Philip himself? What is said about the war?



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**1896**

Frederic Jesup Stimson (1855-1943)'s KING NOANETT; A STORY OF OLD VIRGINIA AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, about [“King Phillip’s War”](#), was published in Boston.

August 10, Monday: George Madison Bodge's SOLDIERS IN [KING PHILIP'S WAR](#) BEING A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THAT WAR WITH A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND FROM 1620-1677 / OFFICIAL LISTS OF THE SOLDIERS OF MASSACHUSETTS COLONY SERVING IN PHILIP'S WAR, AND SKETCHES OF THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS, COPIES OF ANCIENT DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS RELATING TO THE WAR ALSO LISTS OF THE NARRAGANSETT GRANTEES OF THE UNITED COLONIES MASSACHUSETTS, PLYMOUTH, AND CONNECTICUT / WITH AN APPENDIX (Leominster, Mass. Printed for the Author at the Rockwell and Churchill Press, Boston).

**GEORGE MADISON BODGE**



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1897

Edmund Farwell Slafter (anonymous editor). [JOHN CHECKLEY](#); OR THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY: INCLUDING MR. CHECKLEY'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS; HIS LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS .... (Volumes I and II. [The Publications of the Prince Society](#). Boston: Printed for the Society by John Wilson and Son).

REV. JOHN CHECKLEY

In the [Reverend Checkley](#)'s memoirs, very belatedly published (he had died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in 1754, just about a century and a half before), it was alleged that the Reverend had spent some time with Captain [Benjamin Church](#). If that did indeed happen, it could only have happened long after [Metacom](#)'s death, possibly a few years after the Reverend had returned to New England in 1710 but before Church died in 1717. It is to be noted, also, that these belated memoirs say nothing whatever about any important historic artifacts of Phillip, either acquired from Alderman or otherwise acquired, and, also, that they describe Church in no such context.

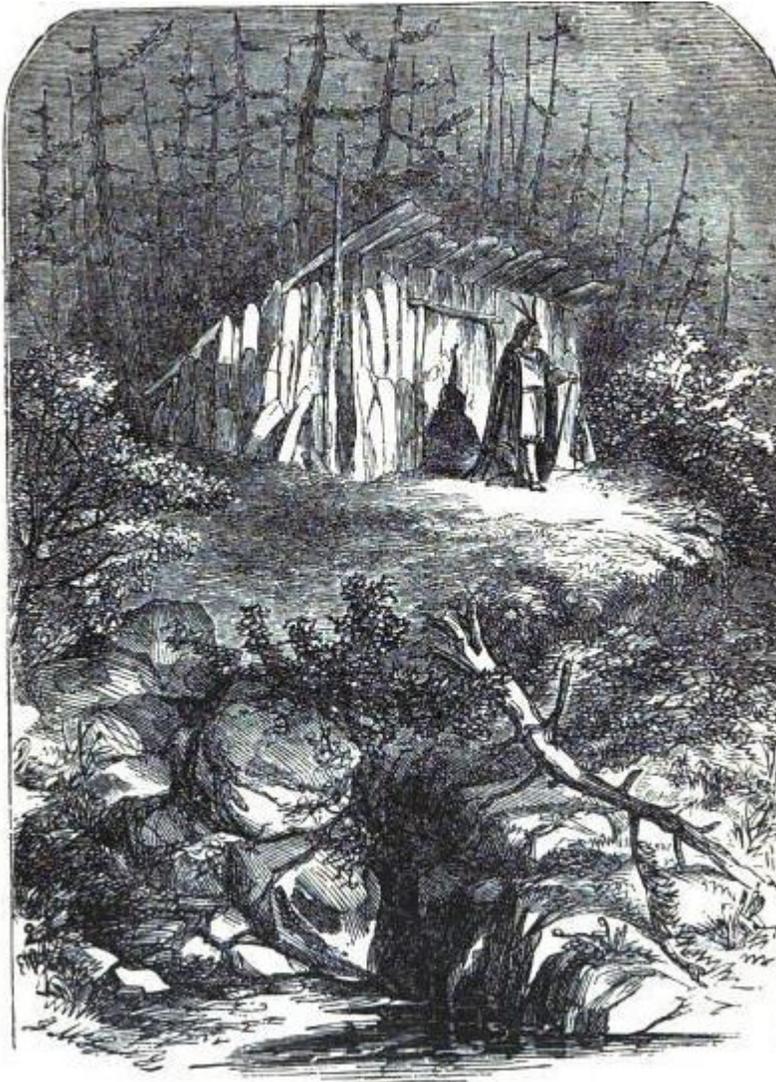
THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

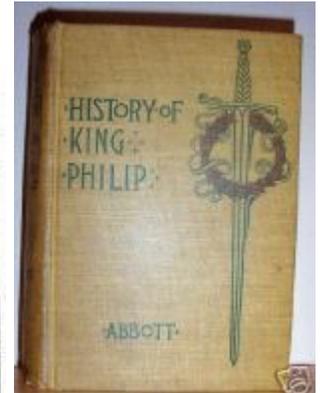
PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1899

John Stevens Cabot Abbott’s HISTORY OF KING PHILIP, SOVEREIGN CHIEF OF THE WAMPANOAGS. INCLUDING THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SETTLERS OF NEW ENGLAND. WITH ENGRAVINGS (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, Publishers).



THE PALACE OF MASSASOIT.



HISTORY OF KING PHILIP





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1906

October: After 120 soldiers had boarded the *Cluny Castle*, [St. Helena](#)'s barracks were for the 1st time empty.

A monument was dedicated near South Kensington, [Rhode Island](#), in memory of the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675. They put the monument where they conjectured the fight to have occurred, although archaeological digs in the area have turned up nothing but layer after layer of pristine soil and sand. On the face of the monument they inscribed the suggestion that here **THE NARRAGANSETT INDIANS MADE THEIR LAST STAND** –forlorn last stands being romantic and all that– although actually the fight was inconclusive and anyway marked the beginning of English conflict with the [Narragansett](#) rather than the end of it (until this attack, the Narragansett had been neutral in regard to the fight of the English against the [Wampanoag](#), but, Metacom's people having just been resoundingly defeated and scattered, the English at this point were determinedly expanding the conflict).

#### “KING PHILLIP'S WAR”



“The Great Swamp Fight ensured that the roused Narragansett would now prosecute the war against the English with great vengeance.”

– Eric B. Schultz, page 267





THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1911

Publication of [Friend](#) Rufus M. Jones's THE QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES, in New York and London. This book alleged that in the great New England race war of 1675/1676,

“The [Quaker](#) officials in the [Rhode Island](#) Colony were in every instance devoted to the maintenance of peace”

although the author also confessed that indeed these Quakers had been guilty of performing “public acts of a warlike nature.”

(He provided us with no explanation whatever for how these two things would have been compossible.)

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”



“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



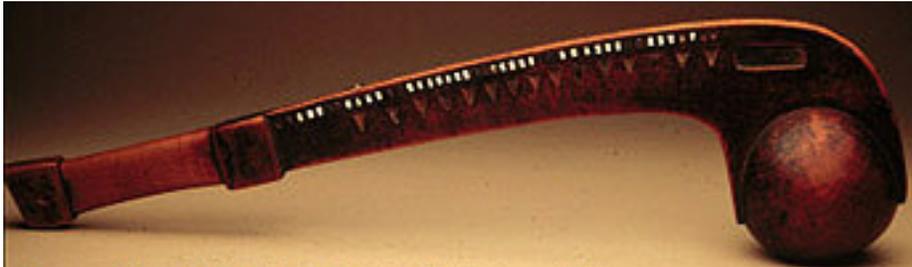
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1913

At this point Dr. Warren King Moorehead learned that Mrs. Laura Anne Fuller Daniels of Union, Maine believed that she had in her possession King Philip's authentic war club. Mrs. Daniels believed she was descended from the Reverend [John Checkley](#), a Church of England clergyman who became a missionary to the Indians in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). As the story was told, this Reverend had contact with Captain Benjamin Church and allegedly had secured this important relic from the native American named Alderman who had shot Philip in 1676. Family tradition contends that the Reverend traded his gold watch for [Metacom's](#) war club, belt, and heavy pipe. The club had allegedly been handed down in the family, from person to person to Mrs. Daniels. There is no doubt that the Reverend Checkley had worked among the Indians of the Mount Hope area, although this definitely did not happen during Captain Church's lifetime (1639-1717). There is also evidence which suggests that the Reverend was in fact a collector of Indian relics, of sorts, and that he probably handed some objects down to future generations of his family (described in his estate papers only as some "Indian toys"). Family tradition contends that there once existed a signed receipt from the native American who sold the artifacts to the Reverend Checkley. There is, however, no record which mentions these events or the club itself, until the mid-19th Century — at which time its authenticity as being King Phillip's war club was already being presumed.





**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**1914**

A history was written, of [Brown University](#):

**READ THIS HISTORY BOOK**

A statue was made of a native American performer in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which was touring Paris. This statue presently stands on Watch Hill in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), where it is purported to depict a leader during "[King Phillip's War](#)" — Ninigret, of whom no contemporary depictions survive.



"When one is happy in forgetfulness,  
facts get forgotten."  
— Robert Pen Warren, 1961  
THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR





# THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

# “KING PHILLIP”

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

### 1919

In England in 1916 Fry’s and [Cadbury](#)’s had merged their manufacturing operations, and at this point they merged also their financial interests. Two formerly [Quaker](#) firms had coalesced into one formerly Quaker firm.

At the combined factory Saturday ceased to be a full day of work and the hours of workers thereby fell, to 44/week.

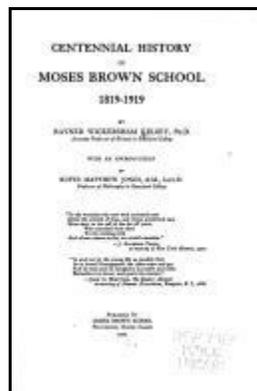


CHOCOLATE

The [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) celebrated the centenary of its initiation in 1819.



Publication, by the school, of Professor Rayner Wickersham Kelsey’s A CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF MOSES BROWN SCHOOL, 1819-1919.



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

(Associate Professor Kelsey was at the Department of History of Haverford College.)

### VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

Enrollment at the school, which had been 172 in 1904, had doubled to 345. It is clear that by this point in the curricular trajectory of the Friends' School the practice of informing the charges of the Peace Testimony of the Friends had been entirely discontinued, for the educational content being offered had come to differ not one whit from what would have been being offered in any lay academy intended for the socialization of the well-endowed. The influence of the Quaker founder [Moses Brown](#) had been entirely superseded by the influence of his Baptist brother of the *Gaspee* incident, [John Brown](#):

The social side of student life was natural and enjoyable, far removed from the stern repression of the ancient regime. The social occasions were manifold and multi-named: the introductory sociable in the fall and the farewell sociable in the spring were interspersed with the Hallowe'en, the Thanksgiving, and the Valentine sociables and other similar events. There were skating parties at Cat Swamp, and holiday excursions to Sakonnet Point and Newport. Above and before all there was the [Mount Hope](#) excursion. On this gala day the teachers and pupils not only



enjoyed the view of water and country green, but lived again the heroic scenes of earlier times. As they passed down the harbor the earthworks on opposite sides, at Fort Hill and Fields Point, were pointed out to them as the places where the bristling cannon of the Revolutionary patriots bade defiance to the ships of King George. A few miles farther down the bay appeared Gaspee Point, where Captain Ben Lindsay swung his packet around the point in 1772 and lured the Gaspee to her tightening berth on the sandbar where the patriots of Providence seized and destroyed her. Then at Mount Hope, with the gracious view of wooded hills and far-flung bay, came those other visions of the good chief

THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

Massasoit, friend and protector of the Pilgrim Fathers, and then the mighty struggle and tragic death of his son, King Philip. Amid such scenes, with Walter Meader to point out the historical landmarks, and Thomas Battey to reveal the hidden wonders of nature in brook and inlet, field and forest, the picnic parties from Friends' School spent some of the happiest and most profitable days of the epoch. The life of the period was new life. The tendency of the preceding epoch to break through the ancient Quaker exclusiveness was accentuated. Old forms were laid aside. Innovations were welcomed if they gave promise of usefulness. The happy social life, the rapid growth of student organizations and activities, and the more intimate association with other schools and with outside interests in general, these were the sure signs that the ancient and medieval days were done, the renaissance accomplished, and the modern age at hand.



However, in this year the school discontinued the “principal” system of incentive compensation which had been in effect for well over half a century, and which had led to the desires of their founder, Friend Moses Brown, being so utterly ignored! –Would that mean that the school was going to go back to being what it had been chartered to be, a guarded environment for the imparting of a Quaker education to Quaker youth? Stay tuned.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

The line of inscribed characters on the rock at the tide line on [Mount Hope](#) was deciphered as a rendition of spoken Algonkian, in the [Wampanoag](#) dialect, rendered in the [Cherokee](#) syllabary. The meaning turned out to be “Metacomet, Great Sachem.” However, in terms of the Cherokee syllabary as represented in Cherokee newspapers of the 19th Century, the syllabics on the rock had been poorly executed, as if this inscription had been hammered into the rock by an amateur. Since the Cherokee syllabary reached its final form in 1821, and the inscription was first noticed in 1835, it is supposed the in all likelihood the inscription was created by someone with some knowledge of written Cherokee, some knowledge of Wampanoag history, and some personal involvement, in the second decade or the first half of the third decade of the 19th Century, and that therefore the inscription is of no particular historical merit. Record has been obtained, for instance, that there was a Cherokee man married to a woman of Wampanoag descent, in this area of New England at that time. Beyond this it is difficult to speculate.



METACOM



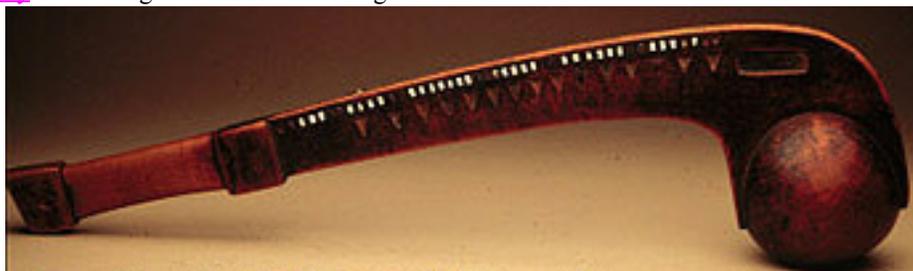
## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1929

July: Warren K. Moorehead unsuccessfully attempted to negotiate the purchase, from Mrs. Laura Anne Daniels of Union ME, of the war club that was being said to have been collected by Alderman at the site of his killing of [Metacom](#) and was being said to have been passed on to Captain [Benjamin Church](#) and the Reverend [John Checkley](#) in exchange for the Reverend's gold watch.

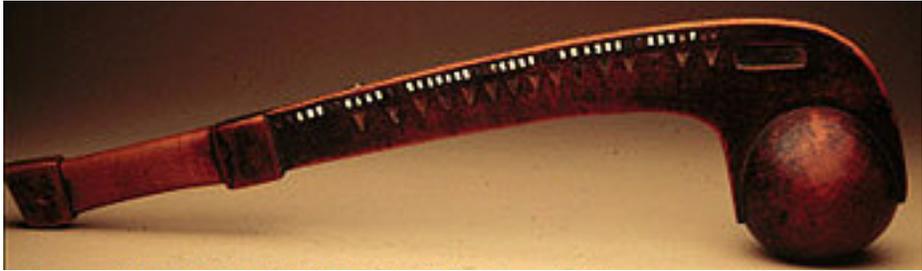


(Mrs. Daniels's great aunt Angelica Gilbert James allegedly had inherited this antique head-basher from her distant ancestor, the Reverend Checkley of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Perhaps the unsuccessful Mr. Moorehead might have succeeded had he been able to offer to recover for this Mrs. Daniels her ecclesiastical ancestor's celebrated gold watch — or perhaps he ought merely to have bashed her on the gourd and made a run for it. :-)

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1930

Miss Clara Endicott Sears purchased the object attributed as *Metacom*'s war club from Mrs. Laura Anne Fuller Daniels of Union ME.



Sometime during this decade, the following image representing *Metacom* would be painted by Thomas Hart Benton:

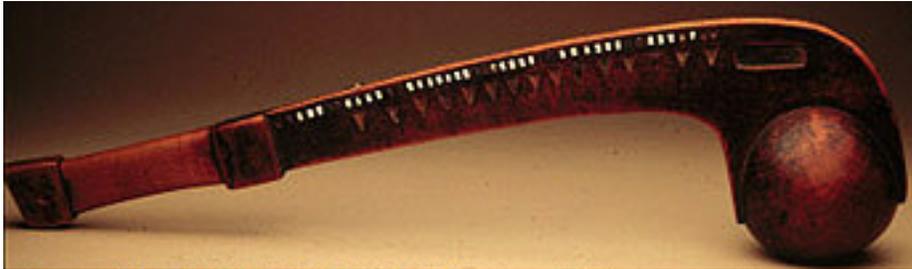


## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

May: Warren K. Moorehead purchased the war club said to have been collected by Alderman at the site of his killing of [Metacom](#) and said to have been passed on to the Reverend [John Checkley](#) in exchange for the Reverend's gold watch. He formally presented this headbasher to the Fruitlands Museum, where to make sure it would never during time of peace be used for its intended function it would be secured inside a Plexiglas® case.





## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1941

Howard H. Brinton asserted categorically in SOURCES OF THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY (Wallingford PA: Pendle Hill Historical Studies, #2) that “The [Quakers](#) remained in their homes during Indian raids and were unmolested while the remainder of the population sought the protection of stockades.” (Such an assertion is at best, of course, a pious exaggeration, and as the author must have recognized, needs to be characterized historically as a just-so misrepresentation of the record. Meredith Baldwin Weddle, in WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, recites the historical evidences for the existence of Quaker blockhouses, etc. which on their face easily and totally refute such tall tales. But inaccuracy is not the worst part. Basically, the Quaker historian Brinton was suggesting here –and suggesting very falsely– that to embrace the Quaker Peace Testimony can be the easy way out in that it can lead one directly to security. In making such a nefarious suggestion, of course, he was doing our Peace Testimony the ultimate disservice — he was suggesting not very subtly to prospective warriors among our young people, that it is alright to take the easy way out.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

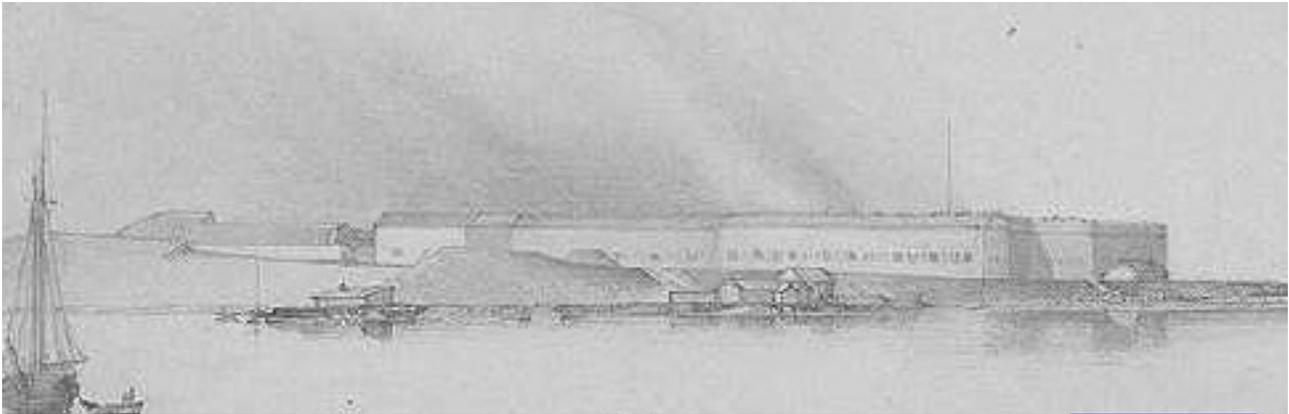
## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1952

Douglas Edward Leach's [THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF KING PHILIP'S WAR](#) (Harvard UP).

The fort that had been guarding [Newport Harbor](#) for two centuries and more, Fort Adams, the second largest such stone fort along our nation's coastline, was in this year decommissioned, which is to say, upgraded from expensive militaristic nuisance to remunerative militaristic [tourist trap](#).



RHODE ISLAND



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**1958**

Douglas Edward Leach's FLINTLOCK AND TOMAHAWK: NEW ENGLAND IN [KING PHILIP'S WAR](#) (NY: W.W. Norton & Co.).



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1963

From this year into 1965, [Ronald Earl Clapper](#) would be serving as a teaching assistant in the Department of English at UCLA.

Douglas Edward Leach (ed.) A RHODE ISLANDER REPORTS ON [KING PHILIP](#)'S WAR: THE SECOND WILLIAM HARRIS LETTER OF AUGUST, 1676 (Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence).

[Kenneth Walter Cameron](#)'s INDEX-CONCORDANCE TO EMERSON'S SERMONS; WITH HOMILETICAL PAPERS. (Hartford, Connecticut; Box A, Station A, Hartford 06126: Transcendental Books).

[Cameron](#)'s TRANSCENDENTAL CLIMATE: NEW RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF EMERSON, THOREAU AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES (3 volumes, Hartford CT: Transcendental Books,).

Among the materials here published by Cameron were facsimiles of three map tracings that allegedly had been prepared by Henry Thoreau, that existed in a forlorn map drawer at the Library of Congress.

CARTOGRAPHY

This contains, in Volume II, a facsimile of Henry Thoreau's "Canadian Notebook."



## THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

## “KING PHILLIP”

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

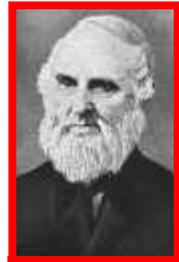
1966

Douglas Edward Leach's FLINTLOCK AND TOMAHAWK: NEW ENGLAND IN [KING PHILIP'S WAR](#) (Norton).

A new Howard Johnson Motor Lodge in Haverhill, Massachusetts featured a [Hannah Emerson Duston](#) room, presumably for casual nighttime hatchet murders.



This new HoJo also a [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) room, presumably for casual nighttime [Quaker](#) meditation.



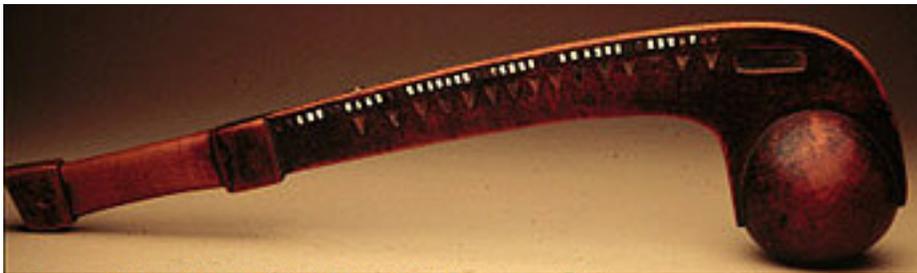
THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1970

July 2, Thursday: Two men in a tan 1963 Chevy parked directly in front of the Fruitlands Museum, one of them pretending to be disabled in order to park in that location, and shortly thereafter the artifact purporting to be *Metacom*'s headbasher was discovered to be missing from its Plexiglas® case. It is possible that a third party was involved in the theft, with a mission to distract museum employees while the others took the opportunity to break into this case.



ALDERMAN  
BENJAMIN CHURCH  
JOHN CHECKLEY  
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1981

Zane Kotker's WHITE RISING: A NOVEL, about "[King Phillip's War](#)", was published in New York.



"What the American public always wants is a tragedy with a happy ending."

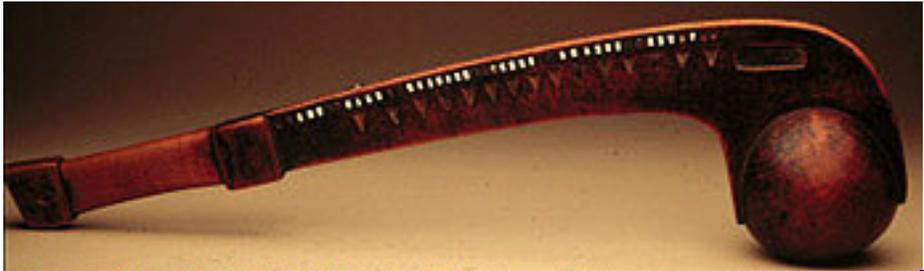
— William Dean Howells



PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1994

October: Ned Jalbert purchased, at a Worcester yard sale, for \$125, the war club that would turn out to be the one that had been stolen from Fruitlands Museum in 1970. Afterward, it would be learned that this object had previously been acquired as part of an estate sale.



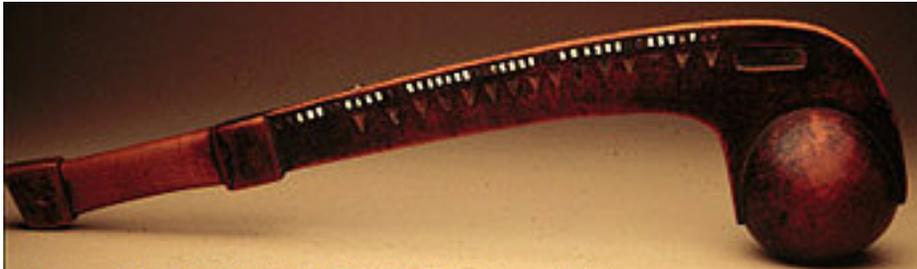
ALDERMAN  
BENJAMIN CHURCH  
JOHN CHECKLEY  
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1995

Spring: George R. Horner’s MASSASOIT AND HIS TWO SONS: WAMSUTTA AND [METACOM](#) (Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society. 56, Spring:20-22).

June 19, Monday: The native American war club that Ned Jalbert had purchased, at a Worcester yard sale in the previous year, for \$125, was at this point formally returned to the Fruitlands Museum, from which it had been heisted in 1970. The circumstance, that it was heisted from the museum and then recovered, demonstrates the



ALDERMAN  
BENJAMIN CHURCH  
JOHN CHECKLEY  
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

contention power of such attributed cultural objects, but of course does nothing whatever to corroborate the idea that this piece of shaped wood had ever been held in [Metacom](#)’s maimed hand:



“That [John Checkley](#) accumulated important and perhaps unique Native American artifacts is likely, that he bought them from Alderman with [Benjamin Church](#)’s assistance unlikely, and that he traded for them at the time of Philip’s death impossible.”



– Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougias,  
KING PHILIP’S WAR: THE HISTORY AND LEGACY OF AMERICA’S FORGOTTEN CONFLICT, Woodstock VT:  
The Countryman Press, 1999, page 296



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1998

■ Jill Lepore. THE NAME OF WAR: [“KING PHILIP’S WAR”](#) AND THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN IDENTITY.  
NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

1999

James David Drake's [KING PHILIP'S WAR: CIVIL WAR IN NEW ENGLAND, 1675-1676](#) (U of Massachusetts P).

Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougias's [KING PHILIP'S WAR: THE HISTORY AND LEGACY OF AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN CONFLICT](#) (Woodstock, Vermont: Countryman Press)

“KING PHILLIP'S WAR”



**THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:**

**“KING PHILLIP”**

**PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK**

**2011**

Robert A. Geake's A HISTORY OF THE [NARRAGANSETT TRIBE](#) OF [RHODE ISLAND](#): KEEPERS OF THE BAY (The History Press).

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FABULATION: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**



THE PEOPLE OF A WEEK:

“KING PHILLIP”

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN A WEEK

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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 1, 2014



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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.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place requests with <kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.