

CHAP. LI.¹

Conspiracies of the Indians against the English in New England discovered and prevented. From the year 1641 to 1646.

AFTER the subduing of the Pequots in the year 1637, the Narrhagansets, the most numerous of the other Indians, either out of discontent that the whole sovereignty over the rest of the Indians was not adjudged to belong to them, or out of envy that Uncas, a sachem of the Mohegin Indians, had insinuated further than themselves into the favor of the English, were observed to be always contriving mischief against them, though they carried it subtilly and underhand for some years, and were pretending quarrel with the said Uncas, against whom they always had an inveterate malice ever since the agreement made about distributing of the Pequots after the war with them was ended, expecting, in probability, that all should have been left to their sole arbitrament. And therein were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of one Miantonimo, the heir apparent of all the Narrhaganset people, after the decease of the old sachem Canonicus, that was his uncle. This Miantonimo was a very good personage, of tall stature, subtil and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs. It was strongly suspected that, in the year 1642, he had contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy against the English; for the first of September, 1642, letters came to Boston from the Court at Connecticut, and from two of the magistrates there, that the Indians had conspired to cut off the English all over the country; Mr. Ludlow certified so much from the place where he lived near the Dutch. The time appointed to be for the assault was said to be after harvest; the manner to be by several companies entering into the chief men's houses, by way of trade, and then to kill them in their houses, and seize their arms, and others should be at hand to prosecute the massacre. This was also con-

¹ L in the MS.—x.

firmed by three Indians that were said to reveal it in the same manner, and at the same time, to Mr. Ludlow and to the Governor¹ of New Haven. It was added also, that another Indian should discover the same plot to Mr. Haines, of Connecticut, by some special circumstances, viz. that being much hurt by a cart, (which usually there are drawn with oxen,) he should send for Mr. Haines and tell him, that Englishman's God was angry with him, and sent Englishman's cow (meaning the oxen in the cart or wain) to kill him, because he had concealed such a plot against the English, and so told him all, as the other Indians had done.

Upon this, their advice from Connecticut was, that we should begin with them, and enter upon a war presently; and that if the Massachusetts would send one hundred and twenty men to Saybrook, at the river's mouth, they would meet them with a proportionable number. This was a very probable story, and very likely it was that the Indians had been discoursing of some such business amongst themselves. But the General Court of the Massachusetts, when called together, did not think those informations to be a sufficient ground whereon to begin a war. Although the Governor and magistrates, as many as could convene together before the Court, ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly yielded unto; and upon all the inquiries and examinations, which were made by the Court, when assembled together, they could not find any such violent presumption of a conspiracy, as to be the ground of a war. Besides, it was considered that the reports of all Indians were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when it may well be supposed, that they are or may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another, who may be very like to accuse one another, to ingratiate themselves with the English. Miantonimo, sachem of Narrhaganset, was sent unto, and, by his readiness to appear, satisfied the English that he was innocent as to any present conspiracy, though his quarrel with the Mo-

¹ Eaton.—H.

begins (who bordered upon Connecticut Colony) might very probably, as was judged, render him the subject of such a report, or an occasion of it.

The said Miantonimo, when he came before the Court, peremptorily demanded that his accusers might be brought before him face to face, and if they could not prove it, then to be made to suffer what himself, if he had been found guilty, had deserved, i. e. death, which was a very rational collection. He urged very much the prosecuting such a law against his accusers, alleging that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about; and if they did believe it, equity required that they that accused him should be punished according to the offence charged upon himself. He offered also to make it good against Uncas, sachem of the Mohegins, that the report was raised either by him, or some of his people. The English answered, that divers Indians had robbed some of the Englishmen's houses, which might be a sufficient ground to disarm, and with that he was something satisfied. Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear the war against them, but at the last they were overcome with the allegations of the Massachusetts, to lay it aside.

Miantonimo, when he was at Boston, was very deliberate in his answers, shewing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal. But though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed, also, that he would never speak but when some of his counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches, at their return home.

They spent two days in the treaty, wherein at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were as his own flesh, engaging on their behalf that, if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, then he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the

Governor, telling him that was for the magistrates that were absent.

Intimations of a like nature about a conspiracy were sent down from Plymouth, but not backed with sufficient proof, so as, at the last, a present war was declined by all. The Massachusetts government also restored to the Indians their arms, (which they had honestly purchased from the French or Dutch,) choosing rather to trust God with their safety, than secure themselves by any act of unrighteousness, in withholding from Indians that which was their own.

However, this rumor of a conspiracy of the Indians so filled men's minds with fear, that a man could not halloo in the night, (as one did in a swamp near Watertown, upon the howling of a kennel of wolves, fearing to be devoured by them,) but it was feared by some of his neighbors he had fallen into the hands of the Indians, who were torturing him to death. Such an accident raised an alarm in all the towns about the Bay, on the 19th of September that year.

The Indians upon Long Island were more fierce and barbarous; for one Captain Howe about this time going with eight or ten men to a wigwam there, to demand an Indian that had killed one Hammond, an Englishman, the Indian ran violently out, (with a knife in his hand, wherewith he wounded one of the company,) thinking to escape from them, so as they were forced to kill him upon the place, which so awed the rest that they durst not attempt any revenge. If they had been always so handled, they would not have dared to have rebelled, as they did afterwards.

But to return to the Narrhagansets, with whom at present the English had to deal. This plot being discovered, thereby was the danger of it prevented, at least for the present; yet was not Miantonimo quiet, but still was hatching of new plots against Uncas, who stuck close to the English, that at last they might be revenged upon the English by their hostility against him; for in July, 1643, letters came from Mr. Haynes, the Governor of Hartford, to Boston,

that there was a war begun between one Sequasson, sachem of Connecticut, (a kinsman and firm friend of Miantonimo's,) and Uncas, the Mohegin sachem, who complained to the English at Hartford that Sequasson had assaulted him. The Governor of Hartford sent for Sequasson, and labored to make them friends, but Sequasson chose rather to have war, so as they were forced to leave them to themselves, promising to be aiding to neither. Soon after this, Uncas set upon Sequasson, and killed seven or eight of his men, wounded thirteen, burnt his wigwams, and carried away the booty. Upon this Miantonimo sent to Hartford to complain of Uncas, but were answered, that the English had no hand in the quarrel, nor would encourage them in it. He gave notice hereof in like manner by two of their neighbor Indians, and was very desirous to know if they would not be offended, if he should make war upon Uncas. The Governor answered him, that if Uncas had done him or his friends any wrong, and would not give satisfaction, they should leave him to take his course. Miantonimo upon this took his first opportunity to invade Uncas, with near a thousand men, and set upon him suddenly, without either demanding satisfaction or denouncing the war beforehand, so as Uncas had no time to make defence, not having with him above three or four hundred men. But the battle is not always to the strong, no more than the race to the swift; time and chance happens to them all; for Uncas, with his small company, had the victory, either by reason of better skill, or courage, though principally by the overruling hand of God, who is always wont to abase the children of pride. They killed about thirty of the Narrhagansets, wounded many more, and caused the rest to fly. Amongst the wounded were two of Canonicus's sons, and a brother of Miantonimo's. But he himself escaped a little way, where he was overtaken by the pursuers, being tired with armor, which Gorton, his friend, had furnished him with for the securing his person; but he was so hampered or burthened therewith, that, not being able to fight for want of courage, he was

unable to flee through too much armor, and so was easily overtaken by his enemies. Some say that two of his own Captains, perceiving his danger, laid hold of him and delivered him into the hands of Uncas, hoping thereby to obtain their own pardon; but he rewarded them with traitor's wages, the loss of their own heads, but reserved Miantonimo, as a matter of state, not hastily to be determined. When he was brought to Uncas, he stood mute, choosing rather to die than make supplication for his life, such was the dogged sullenness of his disposition. Uncas demanded of him, why he would not speak? If you had taken me, saith he, I would have besought you for my life; but some men's obstinacy and pride is beyond the command of their reason, choosing death rather than to yield to an insulting foe. The news of Miantonimo's captivity coming to Providence, Gorton and his company, (that was the occasion of his ruin) wrote to Uncas to deliver him, or else threatened the power of the English; upon which Uncas carries his prisoner to Hartford, to take the advice of the magistrates there, and at Miantonimo's earnest entreaties left him with them, (who, it seems, could yield to the English, though not to Uncas, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemy, and inferior in dignity, however at this time his superior in battle.) The English used him courteously, yet as a prisoner, and kept him under guard, and so continued till the Commissioners met at Boston, which was to be in September¹ following. They all concluded it would not be safe to set him at liberty, although themselves concluded they had not sufficient ground to put him to death. In conclusion, therefore, they delivered him into the hands of Uncas, letting him understand the apprehension of the Commissioners of all the Colonies, that he was worthy of death, which accordingly was executed upon him.* The reasons that induced them so to judge were: 1. It was now clearly discovered, that there was a conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English, and that Miantonimo was the head and contriver of the plot. 2. He was known, by long experience, to be of such a turbulent

¹ Sept. 7, 1643. See the proceedings in Hazard, ii. 7-9, 11-13; Sav. Win. ii. 131-4.—R.

and proud spirit, that there was no hope of peace, if he should be suffered to live. 3. He had procured a Pequot to shoot Uncas, as probably appeared, and in open Court promised to deliver the said Pequot to Uncas, yet killed him himself in his way homeward, out of enmity against the said Uncas. 4. He used to beat and spoil some of the other Indians, that had submitted to the English, and then bid them go and complain to the Massachusetts. Upon these considerations, the Commissioners could not but judge Miantonimo ought to die; but the enmity of the Narrhagansets did not die with him, although they were so quelled with the loss of their chieftain, Miantonimo, that they durst not openly rebel, but dissembled their malice as well as they could for a time; but in the end of the year¹ they send a present to the Massachusetts, with a request that, having sat still at the desire of the English, all the present year, they would suffer them to fight with Uncas the next year; but answer was returned, they would not be hired by all the wealth of Narrhaganset, to desert Uncas in a righteous cause, but it was their resolution all to fall upon them, if they meddled with their allies, the Mohegins.*

The Narrhagansets rested not fully satisfied in this answer, but at the next Court of Election,² in the year 1644, a letter came to the Massachusetts under the marks of Canonicus and Pessacus, (chief sachems amongst them,) though written by some of Gorton's company, to this effect, that they purposed to make war with Uncas, in revenge of the death of Miantonimo, and other of their people, and marvelled the English should be against it, and that they had put themselves under the government and protection of the King of England, and so now were become their fellow subjects, and therefore, if any difference should fall between them, it ought to be referred to him, professing withal their willingness to continue all friendly correspondence with them. The General Court received another letter from Gorton and his company to the like effect. In answer to the former, they sent two messengers to the Narrhagansets, to know whether they did

¹ Feb. 16, 1643—4.—H.

² In May.—H.

own the said letter, and by whose advice they had so proceeded, to persuade them also rather to sit still and be quiet, than to take counsel from evil men, such as they had banished from them. Canonicus would hardly admit of any speech with any of their messengers, unless it were some few froward expressions, but referred them to Pessacus, who came about four hours after, and carrying them into an ordinary wigwam, discoursed with them a long time about the business; his answers were witty and full to the question, and in conclusion told them, they would presently go to war upon Uncas, but not after the manner which Miantonimo did, with a great army, but by sending out small parties to catch his men, and prevent them from¹ getting their livelihood; and did make small attempts that way, but saw it was in vain to begin a war afresh with the Mohegins, so long as the English stood engaged to defend them, and therefore turned all their contrivance how to cut off the English throughout the country, insomuch that, the next year, the United Colonies were so far satisfied with the reality of their intentions, that they were fully resolved to fall upon them first, and had called several companies together for that end, who had their officers assigned them, and commissions drawn, and ammunition and provision prepared to send along with them, and forty or fifty men were sent before to secure Uncas's fort, and others came from Connecticut, for that end;^a so as when it came to the pinch, that the Narrhagansets perceived the English were in good earnest, their hearts failed them, and they were so alarmed with the terror of the English soldiers, (the conquest of the Pequots being yet fresh in their minds,) that they sent down their messengers, and one or more of their chief sachems came along with them, to sue for peace, and brought along with them the sachem's son for hostage, and engaged to pay a tribute, and yielded also to pay the charges which the English had been at in making their preparations for the war;^b for they happened to come down to Boston just as their soldiers were ready to march out against them, as not

¹ For in the MS.—H.
1645, in Hazard, ii. 40-4.—H.

^a See the Treaty, dated Aug. 27. (or 30.)

being willing to run any more hazard ; which occasioned the country to turn the fast, appointed to be kept September 4th, into a day of thanksgiving.

The Commissioners being then met at Boston to take care for the managing the war with the Narrhagansets, as is aforesaid, put out a declaration of the grounds of their proceedings, which here follows :

A Declaration of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrhagansets, with their confederates, wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing war are opened and cleared.

Published by order of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, at Boston, the 11th of the sixth month, 1645.

The most considerable part of the English Colonies profess they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy his precious ordinances with peace, and (to his praise they confess) he hath not failed their expectation hitherto, they have found safety, warmth, and refreshing under his wing, to the satisfaction of their souls. But they know, and have considered, that their Lord and Master is King of righteousness and peace, that he gives answerable laws, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame that (in their weak measure) they may hold forth his virtues in their course and carriage, not only with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wilderness : and accordingly, both in their treaties and converse, they have had an awful respect to divine rules, endeavoring to walk uprightly and inoffensively, and, in the midst of many injuries and insolencies, to exercise much patience and long suffering towards them.

The Pequots grew to an excess of violence and outrage, and proudly turned aside from all ways of justice and peace before the sword was drawn, or any hostile attempts made against them. During those wars, and after the Pequots were subdued, the English Colonies were careful to continue and establish peace with the rest of the

¹ It should be 10th. The date was probably in Roman characters, and, in copying, the final X was omitted.—π.

Indians, both for the present and for posterity, as by several treaties with the Narrhaganset and Mohiggin Sagamores may appear; which treaties, for a while, were, in some good measure, duly observed by all the Indians; but of late the Narrhagansets, and especially the Nianticks, their confederates, have many ways injuriously broken and violated the same, by entertaining and keeping amongst them not only many of the Pequot nation, but such of them as have had their hands in the blood and murder of the English, seizing and possessing at least a part of the Pequot's country, which, by right of conquest, justly appertains to the English; by alluring, or harboring, and withholding several Pequot captives fled from the English, and making proud and insolent returns when they were redemanded; and, more lately, the English had many strong and concurrent Indian testimonies from Long Island, Uncoway,¹ Hartford, Kinnebeck, and other parts, of Miantonimo's ambitious designs, travelling through all the Plantations of the neighboring Indians, and, by promises and gifts, laboring to make himself their universal Sagamore or Governor, persuading and engaging them at once to cut off the whole body of the English in these parts; which treacherous plots were confirmed by the Indians' general preparations, messages, insolencies, and outrages against the English, and such Indians as were subjects or friends to them, so that the English Colonies, to their great charge and damage, were forced to arm, to keep strong watch day and night, and some of them to travel with convoys from one Plantation to another; and when Miantonimo, in his circular travel, was questioned at New Haven concerning these things, instead of other and better satisfaction he threatened to cut off any Indian's head that should lay such a charge upon him to his face.

The Commissioners by the premises observed Miantonimo's proud and treacherous disposition, yet thought not fit to proceed against him in that respect, till they had collected more legal and convincing proof. But while these things were under deliberation, Miantonimo was brought prisoner, by Uncas, to Hartford, and the case

¹ Or Unquowa, Fairfield, Conn.—x.

being opened and cleared as followeth, he craved the Commissioners' advice how to proceed with him.

It appeared that, in a Treaty made with the English at Massachusetts, Anno 1637,¹ Miantonimo engaged himself not to fight with any of the Indians, and particularly not to invade Uncas, without the English consent; and after, in a tripartite agreement, made and concluded at Hartford, between Miantonimo and Uncas, with reference to the English, Anno 1638, in which one of the articles runs, That though either of the said Indian sagamores should receive injury from the other, yet neither of them shall make or begin war, until they had appealed to the English, and till their grievances were first heard and determined, and if either of them should refuse, the English might assist against and compel the refusing and obstinate party.²

Notwithstanding which, Miantonimo and his confederates have, both secretly and openly, plotted and practised against the life of Uncas, not at all acquainting the English or advising with them, but more especially of late, since the forementioned plots and designs were in hand.

First, a Pequot Indian, one of Uncas's subjects, in the spring, 1643, aiming at Uncas's life, shot him with an arrow through the arm, and presently fled to the Narrhagansets or their confederates, boasting in the Indian Plantations that he had killed Uncas; but when it was known [that³] Uncas (though wounded) was alive, the Pequot (taught, as was supposed,) changed his note, affirming that Uncas had cut through his own arm with a flint, and had hired him to say [that³] he had shot and killed him.

Miantonimo, being sent for by the Governor of the Massachusetts upon another occasion, brought this Pequot with him, and would have covered him with the former disguise; but when the English, out of his own mouth, found him guilty, and would have sent him to Uncas, his Sagamore, Miantonimo earnestly desired he might not be taken out of his hands, promising he would send him safe to Uncas to be examined and punished.

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 243.—H. ² This treaty was made Sept. 21, 1638. It was signed by Miantonimo and Uncas, and by John Haynes, Roger Ludlow, and Edward Hopkins, on the part of the English. See Drake's Book of the Indians, ii. 60-1; Trumbull, i. 93.—H.

³ Supplied from Hazard.—H.

But fearing (as it seems) his own treachery would be discovered, within a day or two he stopped the Pequot's mouth, by cutting off his head; but at parting he told the Governor, in discontent, that he would come no more to Boston.

After this some attempts were made, (as is reported,) to take away Uncas's life by poison and by sorcery; these failing, some of Sequasson's company (an Indian Sagamore allied¹ unto, and an intimate confederate with, Miantonimo,) shot at Uncas with an arrow or two, as he was going down Connecticut River. Uncas, according to the forementioned treaty, 1638, complained, and the English by mediation sought to make peace; but Sequasson, expressing his dependence on Miantonimo, refused, and chose war. They fought, and Uncas had the victory.²

Lastly, [Miantonimo,³] without any provocation from Uncas, (unless the disappointment of former plots provoked,) and suddenly, without denouncing war, came upon the Mohiggins with nine hundred or a thousand men, when Uncas had not half so many to defend himself. Uncas, before the battle, told Miantonimo that he had many ways sought his life, and, for the sparing of blood, offered by a single combat betwixt themselves to end the quarrel, but Miantonimo, presuming upon his number of men, would have nothing but a battle. The issue fell contrary to [his³] expectation; his men were routed, divers of considerable note slain, and himself taken prisoner.

These things being duly weighed, the Commissioners judged that Uncas could not be safe while Miantonimo lived, wherefore they thought he might justly put such a treacherous and blood-thirsty enemy to death, but advised him to do it in his own jurisdiction, without torture or cruelty. And Uncas having hitherunto shewed himself a friend to the English, and in this and former outrages (according to the treaty) craving their advice, if the Narragansets or their confederates should, for his just execution, unjustly assault him, the Commissioners for the Colonies promised [Uncas³] to assist and protect him.

¹ *Relied* in the MS.—H.

² Supplied from Hazard, ii. 47.—H.

³ See Sav. Win. ii. 128-9.—H.

Uncas hereupon slew an enemy, but not the enmity against him; the Narrhagansets soon fell to new contrivances. They pretended they had paid a ransom for their Sachem's life, and gave it in particulars, to the value of about £40. This, for a while, cast an imputation of foul and unjust dealing upon Uncas, but in September ||1644,|| the English Commissioners, meeting at Hartford, sent^a for the Narrhaganset Sachems, or their Deputies, desiring they might be instructed to make good their charge. Uncas came himself; they sent their Deputies; but, after due examination, it appeared, though some loose discourses had passed, that for such quantities of Wampum, and such parcels of other goods to a great value, there might have been some probability of sparing his life, yet no such parcels were brought, and the Narrhaganset Deputies did not allege, much less prove, that any ransom was agreed, nor so much as any serious Treaty begun to redeem their imprisoned Sachem. And for §the§ Wampum and goods sent, as they were but small parcels, and scarce considerable for such a purpose, so they were disposed by Miantonimo himself to sundry persons, for courtesies received during his imprisonment, and upon hope of further favor.

The Narrhaganset Deputies saw their proofs fell far short of former pretences, and were silent. The Commissioners promised that, upon better evidence hereafter, they should have due satisfaction; whereupon a truce was made, and both parties were engaged that all hostility should cease till planting time, 1645, and after that they would give thirty days warning, either at the Massachusetts or at Hartford, before the truce should cease;^a yet in February last, [the Narrhagansets,¹] by Messengers sent to Boston, declared that, unless Uncas would render one hundred and sixty fathom of Wampum, or come to a new hearing, within six weeks, they would begin the war.

This crossed the former Agreement, and the season was such as neither the Commissioners could be advised with, nor could Uncas travel, if notice had been given. After which, about or before planting time, Tantaquey-

|| 1664 ||

¹ Supplied from Hazard, ii. 48.—x.

son, a Mohiggin Captain, who took Miantonimo prisoner, was dangerously and treacherously wounded in the night, as he slept in his wigwam; and other hostile acts were on both parts attempted in a private and underhand way, as they could take advantage each against other.

But since, the Narrhagansets have at several times openly invaded Uncas, so that Connecticut and New Haven were forced, according to engagement, to send men from those Colonies for his present defence, but with express direction not to begin any offensive war against the Narrhagansets, or their confederates, till further order.

In the mean time, Messengers were sent to the Narrhagansets from the General Court in the Massachusetts, signifying the Commissioners' meeting, promising their aggrivances should be fully and justly heard, and requiring a cessation of war in the mean time, but they refused; and hearing, probably, that the English from the western Colonies were returned, they made a new assault upon Uncas, and have done him much hurt.

The Commissioners being met,¹ sent Messengers² the second time both to the Narrhagansets and the Mohiggin Indians, minding them of the former treaties and truce, desiring them to send their Deputies, instructed and furnished with authority to declare and open the ground of the war, to give and receive due satisfaction, and to restore and settle peace.

At first the Narrhaganset Sachem gave a reasonable and fair answer, that he would send guides with them to the Mohiggins, and, if Uncas consented, he would send his Deputies to the Commissioners, and during eight days hostility should cease; but he soon repented of this moderation, told the English Messengers his mind was changed, sent private instructions to the Niantick Sachem, after the delivery of which there was nothing but proud and insolent passages. The Indian guides, which the English Messengers brought with them from Pumham and Socononoco, were, by frowns and threatening speeches, discouraged and returned; no other guides could be obtained, though much pressed; they knew (as they ex-

¹ At Boston, July 28, 1645.—H.

² Serjeant John Dames, (Davis?) Benedict Arnold, and Francis Smyth. See their "Instructions" in Hazard, ii. 28-9.—H.

pressed themselves) by the course held at Hartford last year, that the Commissioners would [mediate and¹] press for peace, but they [were¹] resolved to have no peace without Uncas's head. It mattered not who began the war, they were resolved to continue it; the English should withdraw their garrison from Uncas, or they would take it as a breach of former covenants, and would procure as many Moquauks* as the English should affront them with; that they would lay the Englishmen's cattle on heaps as high as their houses; that no Englishman should step out of doors to piss* but he should be killed. They reviled Uncas, charged him with cutting through his own arm, and saying the Narrhagansets had shot him, affirmed that he would now murder the English Messengers as they went or returned, (if he had opportunity,) and lay it upon the Narrhagansets.

The English Messengers, upon this rude and uncivil usage, wanting guides to proceed, and fearing danger, returned to the Narrhagansets, acquainted Pessacus with the former passages, desired guides from him, he (in scorn, as they apprehended it) offered them an old Pequot Squaw, but would offer no other guides. There also they conceived themselves in danger, three Indians with hatchets standing behind the interpreter in a suspicious manner, while he was speaking with Pessacus, and the rest frowning and expressing much distemper in their countenance and carriage. The English Messengers, not hoping for better success at that time, departed, telling Pessacus that, if he would return any other answer, he should send it to the English trading-house, where they intended to lodge that night. In the morning he invited them to return, and promised them a guide to Uncas, but would grant no cessation of arms. When they came to Providence, they understood that, in their absence, a Narrhaganset Indian had been there, and feigning himself to be of Connecticut, spake in that dialect, but could not put off the Narrhaganset tone. He told Benedict Arnold's wife, (who well understands the Indian language,) that the English Messengers should not pass to the Mohig-

* So the MS. Ed. [A very valuable piece of information!—K.]

¹ Supplied from Hazard, ii. 49.—K.

gins, he knew they should have no guides, but should be destroyed in the woods, as they travelled towards Uncas.

Thus the English Messengers returned, and the interpreter¹ under his hand, and upon his oath, related the former passages (with others less material) more largely.

Mr. Williams by the Messengers wrote to the Commissioners, assuring them that the country would suddenly be all on fire, meaning by war; that by strong reasons and arguments he could convince any man thereof, that was of another mind; that the Narrhagansets had been with the Plantations combined with Providence, and had solemnly treated and settled a neutrality with them, which fully shews their counsels and settled resolutions for war.

Thus while the Commissioners, in care of the public peace, sought to quench the fire, kindled amongst the Indians, these children of strife breathe out threatenings, provocations, and war against the English themselves; so that, unless they should dishonor and provoke God by violating a just engagement, and expose the Colonies to contempt and danger from the Barbarians, they cannot but exercise force, when no other means will prevail, to reduce the Narrhagansets and their confederates to a more just and sober temper.

The eyes of other Indians, under the protection of the Massachusetts, and not at all engaged in this quarrel, are (as they have expressed themselves to the English Messengers) fastened upon the English with strict observation, in what manner and measure they provide for Uncas's safety. If he perish, they will charge it upon them who might have preserved him; and no Indians will trust the English, (if they now break engagements,) either in the present or succeeding generations. If Uncas be ruined in such a cause, they foresee² their heads, upon the next pretence, shall be delivered to the will of the Narrhagansets, with whom, therefore, they shall be forced to comply (as they may) for their future safety, and the English may not trust an Indian in the whole country. The premises being duly weighed, it clearly appears that God calls the Colonies to a war.

The Narrhagansets and their confederates rest on their numbers, weapons, and opportunity to do mischief; and

¹ Arnold.—H.

² Substituted for *see* in the MS., on the authority of Hazard, ii. 50.—K.

probably, (as of old, Ashur, Amalek, and the Philistines, with others, did confederate against Israel,) so Satan may stir up and combine many of his instruments against the Churches of Christ, but their Redeemer is the Lord of Hosts, the mighty one in battle; all the shields of the earth are in his hands; he can save by weak and by few means, as well as by many and great. In him they trust.

JO: WINTHROP, President,

In the name of all the Commissioners.¹

This storm being blown over, all the rest of the Indians never durst make any open attempt upon any of the English till the year 1675, when they broke out into an open rebellion, as is at large declared in a narrative published for that end, and intended to be annexed to this history.

But at Stamford, in the end of August, 1644, an Indian coming into a poor man's house, and none of the family being at home but the wife, and a child in the cradle, he barbarously struck her divers blows on the head with the edge of a lathing-hammer, and so left her for dead; but he being afterwards taken, confessed the fact, with the reasons why he did it, and brought back some of the clothes he had carried away. The woman was recovered afterwards, though her senses were very much impaired by the wounds, (some of which almost pierced to her brains,) and the Indian was put to death by the Court at New Haven, in whose jurisdiction the fact was committed.

And at the meeting of the Commissioners at New Haven, 1647,² information was given them, that Sequasson (the sachem near Hartford) would have hired an Indian to have killed some of the magistrates near Hartford, whereupon he was sent for, but came not; but being gotten among the Indians at Poconpheake, they sent for Uncas, who undertook to fetch him in; but not being able to do it by force, he surprized him in the night, and brought him to Hartford, where he was kept in prison

¹ Hubbard's version of the "Declaration" varies somewhat from that in Hazard, ii, 45-50. On "the xxviiith of the sixth month," according to Hazard, (Holmes, Hutchinson, and Trumbull say Aug. 30,) 1646, a Treaty was "made and concluded at Boston" between Pessacus, Mexanno, and other Chiefs, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies, by which a war was, for the present at least, avoided. See Hutchinson, i, 133; Holmes, i, 277-8; Trumbull, i, 164; Hazard, ii, 40-3; Drake's Book of the Indians, ii, pp. 93-5.—H. ² A mistake; it was Sept. 9, 1646. In 1647 the Commissioners met at Boston. See Hazard, ii, 54, 59, et seq.—H.

divers months, but there not being proof enough to convict him, &c., he was discharged; but the Indians, from whom he was taken, took it so to heart against Uncas, as they intended to make war upon him, and the Narrhagansets sent Wampum to them to encourage them; accordingly in August, 1648, they were gathered together from divers parts, about a thousand Indians, and three hundred or more having guns and other ammunition. The magistrates of Hartford hearing thereof, sent three horsemen to them, (one¹ being very expert in the Indian language,) to know their intent, and to tell them, that if they made war upon Uncas, the English must defend him. The Indian sachem entertained the messengers courteously, and having heard their message, after some time of deliberation gave them this answer, viz. they knew the English to be a wise and warlike people, and intended not to fall out with them, and therefore would at present desist, and take further time to consider of the matter.

And God had so disposed that, at the same time, they had intelligence of a defeat given to some of their confederates, by other Indians, which called them to their aid; also the Narrhaganset failed to send all the Wampum he had promised, so as, by the concurrence of all these accidents, the English were freed from war at that time, which might have proved very dangerous to them all, especially to their friends at Connecticut.

But the Narrhagansets being behind with their tribute, the Commissioners being met at Plymouth in the month of September following, ordered four men to be sent to them, with an interpreter, with instructions how to treat with them, both concerning their hiring other Indians to war upon Uncas, and also about the tribute of wampum that was behind. Captain Atherton,² with Captain Pritchard,³ undertook the service, and going to Mr. Williams, they procured the sachems to be sent for, but they, hearing that many horsemen were come to take them, shift for themselves. Pessacus fled to Rhode Island, but soon after they were, by Mr. Williams's means, delivered of their fear, and came to the messengers, as they were desired, and being demanded about hiring the Mowhauks against

¹ Thomas Stanton. Trumbull, i. 171.—H. ² Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester.—H.

³ Hugh Pritchard, of Roxbury and Gloucester.—H.

Uncas, they solemnly denied it; only confessed that the Mowhauke being a great sachem, and their ancient friend, and being come to meet them, they sent about twenty fathom of Wampum for him to tread, as the manner of the Indians is. But Canonicus's son used this asseveration, "Englishman's God doth know that we do not stir up or hire the Mowhauks against Uncas." They also then promised that they would not meddle with Uncas, nor stir up any other against him, before they had paid all the tribute to the English that was behind; and then they would require satisfaction for all the wrongs Uncas had done them, and if the English would not see them satisfied, they would then consider what to do. But for what was behind, of what was due to the English, they desire to be borne with at this time, in regard their want of corn the last winter had made them lay out their Wampum for corn to the English, but the next spring they would provide part of it, and the rest so soon as they could, which was a fair answer, and according to equity accepted by the English. But still it appeared that this condescension was more out of fear than love, and that the old quarrel was not like easily to be forgotten and forgiven in the present age. Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narrhagansets, died the 4th of June, 1648,¹ being a very old man, still leaving the hereditary quarrel entailed upon his successor. But Uncas was alive and well in the year 1680, and probably may live to see all his enemies buried before him.

It is here to be minded also, that although they were engaged to pay a yearly tribute to the English, upon the account of the forementioned rebellion, yet, after some years, they grew slack in the payment thereof, and, at the last, in a manner denied to do any thing that way, inso-much that the General Court of the Massachusetts, or else the Commissioners,² sent Captain Atherton, of Dorchester, with twenty soldiers to demand it. When he came to the place, Pessacus, the chief sachem, put him off with dilatory answers awhile, not suffering him to come into his presence, while his followers were gathered into a great

¹ A mistake; it was June 4, 1647. Sav. Win. ii. 308.—H.

² The Commissioners passed a resolution, Sept. 5, 1650, to send the force, and prepared the Instructions, "to be given to such Commanders and Soldiers as the Government of the Massachusetts shall think meet to send." See Hazard, ii. 151-2.—H.

assembly, consulting how to put them off, but the Captain, not able with patience to wait any longer, carried his twenty soldiers to the door of the wigwam, where the Indians sat in consultation, and there leaving them, himself boldly entered in amongst them all, with his pistol in his hand, (as was said,) and taking hold of Pessacus's locks, drew him from the midst of his attendants, (some hundreds in number, and all armed,) telling him that he should go along with him, and if any of them stirred he would presently speed him. By this undaunted courage of Captain Atherton, Pessacus and all the other sachems were so affrighted, that they durst make no resistance, but presently paid down what was demanded, and so they were dismissed in safety.

Not long after, Ninicrite, another of their sachems, began to raise new troubles against the English amongst the Nianticks, but upon the sending Captain Davis¹ with a troop of horse into his quarters, he was struck with such a panic fear, that he scarce durst come to the speech of the English, till he was fully secured of his life, and then readily complied with their demands. Such was the terror of [the] English upon them in those times, till afterwards, by too much familiarity, they grew more emboldened, and ||adventured|| upon a war with them.

CHAP. LII.²

The Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; the grounds and reasons leading thereunto, with the Articles agreed upon, for that end.

Woe to him that is alone, saith Solomon. The people that came over to New England were necessitated to disperse themselves further, each from other, than they intended; yet finding that, in their first and weak beginnings, they might be exposed to danger by many enemies, and as well from the natives as any foreign nations, although that they saw they could not be accommodated within the bounds of one and the same Patent, yet judged it very expedient to be joined together in one common

|| ventured ||

¹ Probably the "Serjeant John Davies" who was sent, with Atherton, to the aid of Uncas, in 1645, and the same person whom Hazard calls "Serjeant John Dames," who went on a mission to Pessacus the same year. See Hazard, ii. 28, 30.—H.

² LI in the MS.—H.