

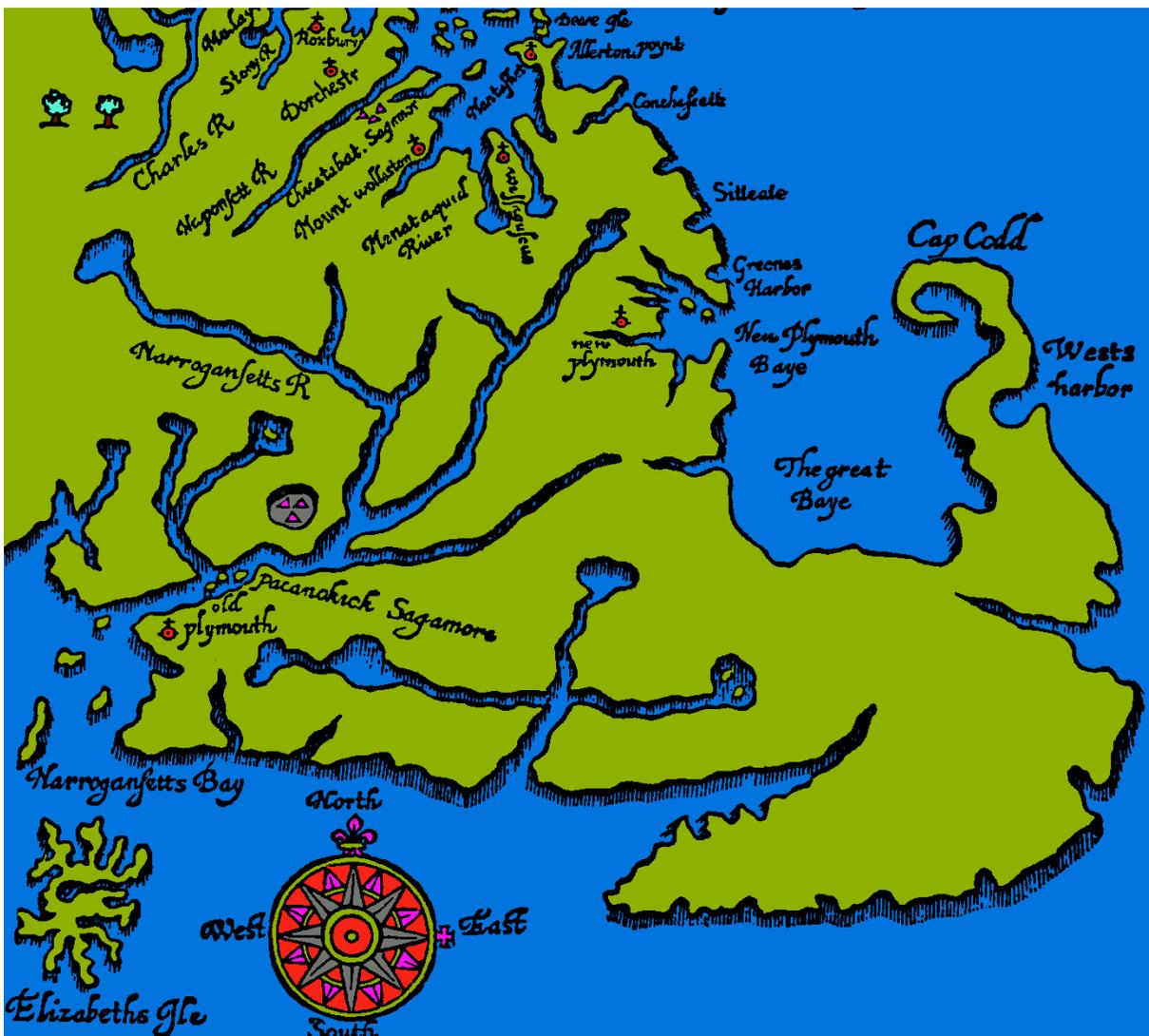
## THE NARRAGANSETT



"Ye see, Hinnissy, th' Indyun is bound f'r to give way to th' onward march iv white civilization. You 'an me, Hinnissy, is th' white civilization... The' on'y hope f'r th' Indyun is to put his house on rollers, an' keep a team hitched to it, an', whin he sees a white man, to start f'r th' settin' sun."



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





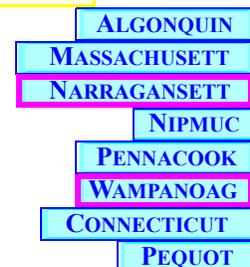
## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

When the English settlements first commenced in New England, that part of its territory, which lies south of New Hampshire, was inhabited by five principal nations of Indians: the Pequots, who lived in Connecticut; the Narragansets, in Rhode Island; the Pawkunnawkuts, or Womponoags, east of the Narragansets and to the north as far as Charles river;<sup>1</sup> the Massachusetts, north of Charles river and west of Massachusetts Bay; and the Pawtuckets, north of the Massachusetts. The boundaries and rights of these nations appear not to have been sufficiently definite to be now clearly known. They had within their jurisdiction many subordinate tribes, governed by sachems, or sagamores, subject, in some respects, to the principal sachem. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, they were able to bring into the field more than 18,000 warriors; but about the year 1612, they were visited with a pestilential disease, whose horrible ravages reduced their number to about 1800.<sup>2</sup> Some of their villages were entirely depopulated. This great mortality was viewed by the first Pilgrims, as the accomplishment of one of the purposes of Divine Providence, by making room for the settlement of civilized man, and by preparing a peaceful asylum for the persecuted Christians of the old world. In what light soever the event may be viewed, it no doubt greatly facilitated the settlements, and rendered them less hazardous.

1. I have supposed that the Indians living south of Charles river did not belong to the Massachusetts tribe. Chickatabot, sachem of Neponset, and Obatinuat acknowledged submission to Massasoit in 1621, and were at enmity with Squaw Sachem. No instance within my knowledge is recorded of a petty sachem going to war with his own tribe. It is also worthy of remark, that these sachems and their descendants executed deeds of lands within Massasoit's territories, but never in the Massachusetts territories. As the country became settled by the English, and the jealousies between different tribes were forgotten, all the Indians living within the Massachusetts patent were rather erroneously classed among the Massachusetts Indians. Hence the statements of Winthrop, Gookin, and other historians. See Prince, ANNALS, 1621.

2. MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTION, volume I.

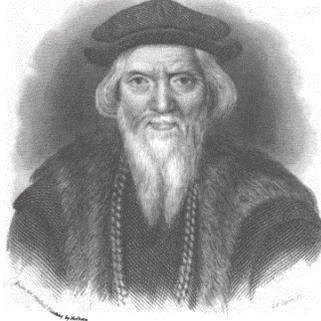


# WAMPANOAGS

# NARRAGANSETTS

1497

During the late 1500s and early 1600s, the natives known as the Massachuset or “Those of the Great Hills” (since, in Algonquian, “massa” meant great and “wadschuasch” meant hills and “et” meant at) were allied in conflict against the [Narragansett](#) confederacy. Eastern Massachusetts groups were located at the endpoint of extensive trade network involving the French, Micmac, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, and Eastern Abenaki.



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

In about this period [John](#) and [Sebastian Cabot](#) would have been passing offshore, as they sailed down along the northeastern coasts of America. Such voyages financed by private merchant groups were not necessarily intended for public review, as the object was to find secret trade routes and trading sites to be exploited for profit, so the extent and exact dates of their voyages are in dispute, but probably Sebastian Cabot in the later voyages would get as far south as Virginia or North Carolina.

This is what an 1893 textbook for kiddies alleged that John Cabot saw:





**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1500

Pedro Alvarez Cabral was claiming Brazil for Portugal and Férnandes was exploring Labrador. By the time of their 1st contact with Europeans, the *Pequot* would have situated themselves in what is now southeastern Connecticut from the Nehantic River eastward to the border of what is now [Rhode Island](#), but at this early point the Pequot and the Mohegan were still a single tribe migrating into eastern Connecticut from the upper Hudson River Valley, perhaps from the vicinity of Lake Champlain.<sup>1</sup> Situated as they were behind Long Island, the Pequot and their neighbors would be off the intrusives' radar screens have little contact with Europeans before 1600, but the effects of the European presence in North American would begin to reach them soon afterwards. Warfare precipitated by the start of the French fur trade in the Canadian Maritimes would sweep south at the same time that a sickness left among the *Wampanoag* and *Massachusetts* by English sailors on a slave raid would depopulate [New England](#) in three separate epidemics between 1614 and 1617. The Pequot and [Narragansett](#) would emerge from this chaos as rivals for the status of dominant tribe in the area.

Like other Algonquin in southern New England, the *Wampanoag* were a horticultural people who supplemented their agriculture with hunting and fishing. Villages were concentrated near the coast during the summer to take advantage of the fishing and seafood, but after the harvest, the villages packed up and moved inland and separated into winter hunting camps made up of extended families. Since New England was heavily populated before the epidemics began, these hunting territories were usually defined to avoid conflict. Ownership passed from father to son, but it was fairly easy to obtain permission to hunt on someone else's terrain. The Wampanoag were organized as a confederacy with lesser sachems and sagamores under the authority of a Grand Sachem or Metacom. Although the English often referred to Wampanoag sachems as "kings," there was nothing royal about the position beyond respect and a very limited authority. Rank had few privileges and sachems worked for a living like everyone else. It should also be noted that, in the absence of a suitable male heir, it was not uncommon among these people for a woman to become the sachem (queen or squaw-sachem).

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,  
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,  
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**

1. "*Pequot*" is From the Algonquin *pekawatawog* or *pequuttoog* meaning "destroyers." This group was also called *Pekoath*, *Pequant*, *Pequatoo* or *Sickenames* (by the Dutch), *Pequod*, *Pequin* (*Sequin*), *Pyquan*, and *Sagimo*. It had allied itself with the Eastern and Central Metoac, Manchaug (*Nipmuc*), Massomuck (*Nipmuc*), Monashackotoog (*Nipmuc*), Quinebaug (*Nipmuc*), Menunkatuc (*Mattabesic*), Pequannock (*Mattabesic*), Quinnipiac (*Mattabesic*), Siwanoy (*Wappinger*), and Western Niantic.

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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1524

March 1, Tuesday (1523, Old Style): [Giovanni da Verrazano](#) (or Verazzano, or Verrazzano) of Firenzi may have visited our coast in *La Dauphine* as early as 1508 in the service of French merchants. However, the landfall of this date to this point has stood as the 1st verifiable visit to [Rhode Island](#) waters by a European.



[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

This skipper was in the employ of King Francis I of France and several Italian promoters, and was searching for an all-water way to get past the barrier of savage North America and on west toward the great markets of civilized Cathay ([China](#)).

After his initial landfall at Cape Fear on what is now the North Carolina coast, on about this date, as the 1st French ship to scout this coast, he would proceed northward to the present site of New-York and anchor in the



narrows which are now spanned by the giant bridge bearing his name, and claim the Algonkian *Manah-hatin* “Island of the Hills” on behalf of the French king.

# WAMPANOAGS

# NARRAGANSETTS



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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

From there, according to his own account, he would sail in an easterly direction until in about April he “discovered and llande in the forme of a triangle distant from the maine lande three leagues about the bigness of the Islande of Rhodes,”<sup>2</sup> an island which he named Luisa in honor of the Queen Mother of France. This must have been the island we now know as [Block Island](#), but the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) and others would



later mistake this as a reference to [Aquidneck Island](#), at which Verrazzano soon came to anchor under the guidance of Wampanoag canoes.<sup>3</sup> Thus they would reject that indigenous name Aquidneck<sup>4</sup> in favor of “Rhode Island” after Verrazzano’s “the Island of Rhodes” and it would be Verrazzano who had (inadvertently, indirectly, as a ricochet) given to our smallest state its name “[Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations.” When Verrazzano’s ship would reach the waters off Point Judith, the [Wampanoag](#) would paddle out and guided the sailors to a 2d anchorage in Narragansett Bay, at what is now [Newport](#) harbor. Their ship would anchor there for a couple of weeks while noting the fertile soil, the woods of oak and walnut, and such game as lynx and deer. There is not now any record of what the [Narragansett](#) thought of their strange guests, but we do happen to have retained a record of what that Florentine navigator thought of them:

*These people are the most beautiful and have the most civil customs that we have found on this voyage. They are taller than we are ... the face is clear-cut ... the eyes are black and alert, and their manner is sweet and gentle, very much like the manner of the ancients.*

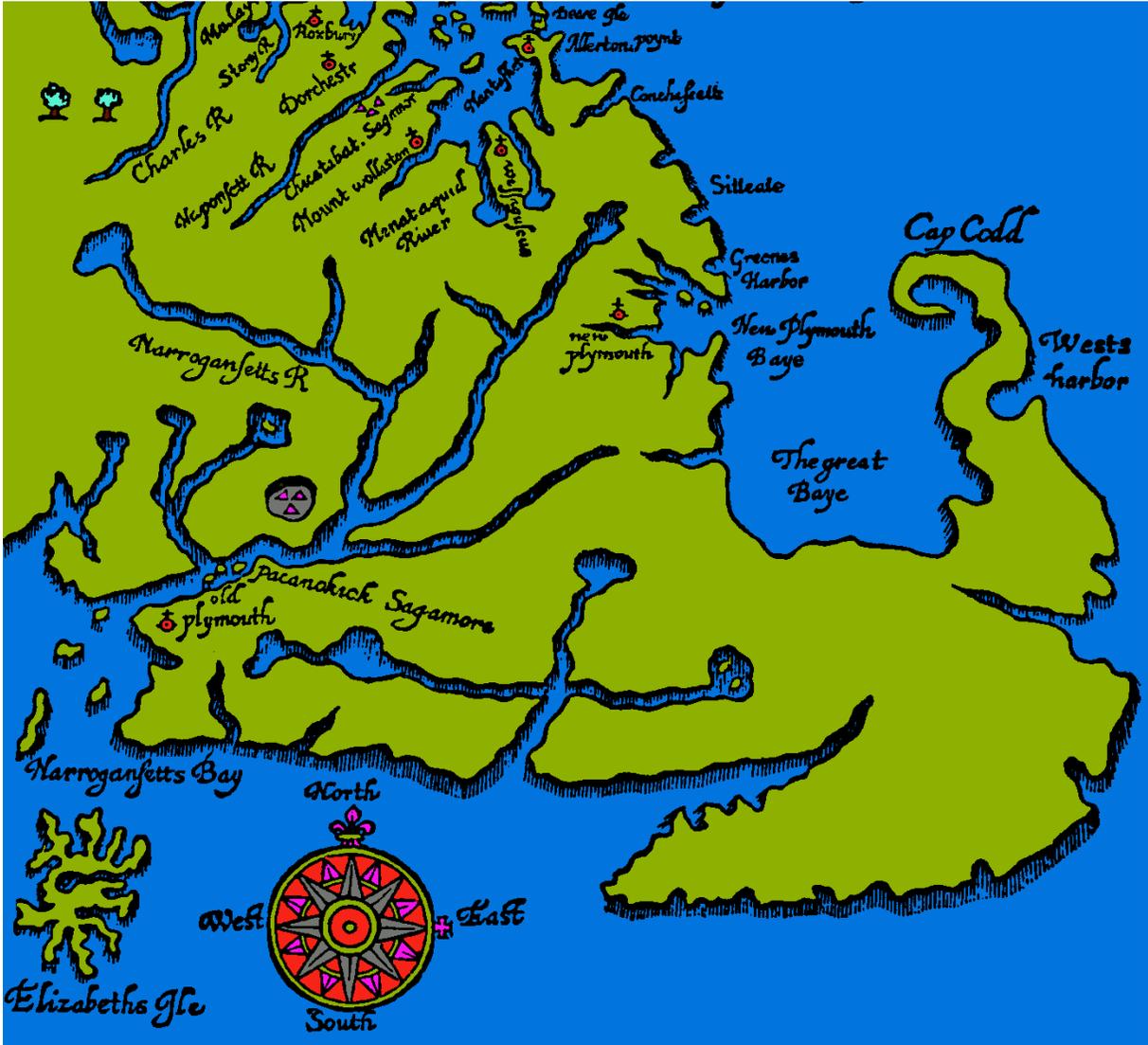
2. Rhodos, in Greek, means “rose,” and from this we have the Reverend Williams’s comment that “Rhode Island, like the Isle of Rhodes, is an island of roses.”

3. [Giovanni da Verrazano](#) would, on a subsequent voyage, provide protein supplement to New-World cannibals. Later, the Dutch mariner [Adriaen Block](#) would rename Luisa Island, which had become Claudia Island, in honor of himself.

4. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.

WAMPANOAGS

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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

He then may have landed somewhere in this cluster of eight islands now known as the Isles of Shoals.

(When they built a bridge in his honor, they put it between Long Island and Staten Island rather than between any two of the islands in this group off the mouth of the “Merimock” River.)

One of the things to bear in mind, in regard to the fire that [Henry Thoreau](#) and his companion would so carelessly start, is that all this forest growth had come about subsequent to the cessation of the native American practice of constant management by burning. Here, for instance, is what [Giovanni da Verrazano](#) had to say about New England as managed by the native Americans:

We often went five or six leagues [15 to 20 miles] into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as it is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or [olive] oil; there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent entirely free of trees ... and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous.

**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;  
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS  
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED  
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).**

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THOREAU'S CARELESS FIRE



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1565

It would have been at about this point that *Canonicus* would have been born, the 1st son of the union of the son and daughter of the *Narragansett* headman *Tashtassuck*. Such a birth in that culture was considered auspicious, so we may anticipate that this infant will grow up to be a Very Important Person.

*Canonicus*'s principle place of residence was on an island near the present *Cocumcusoc* of [Jamestown](#) and [Wickford, Rhode Island](#). The island would receive the name *Conanicut* (*Quononicut*) in his honor. He had three younger brothers. Eventually, *Canonicus* would share rule with his brother *Mascus*, with *Canonicus* providing leadership in counsel and *Mascus* serving as war leader. During this time the *Massachusett*, *Wampanoag*, *Nipmuc*, *Sakonnet*, *Nauset*, *Shawomet*, *Niantic*, and *Coweset* peoples came to be subject to *Narragansett* rule. At the height of their influence, the *Narragansett* ruled about 30,000 people. *Mascus* died before the arrival of the English. However, shortly after his death, in about 1618, *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (the *Massasoit*) of *Pokanoket* and 10 of his sagamores (subordinate sachems) would be obligated to attend a council held by *Canonicus* and *Mascus*'s son and successor, *Miantonomi*, and formally acknowledge himself and his lands as vassals of the *Narragansett*. –Politics as usual.

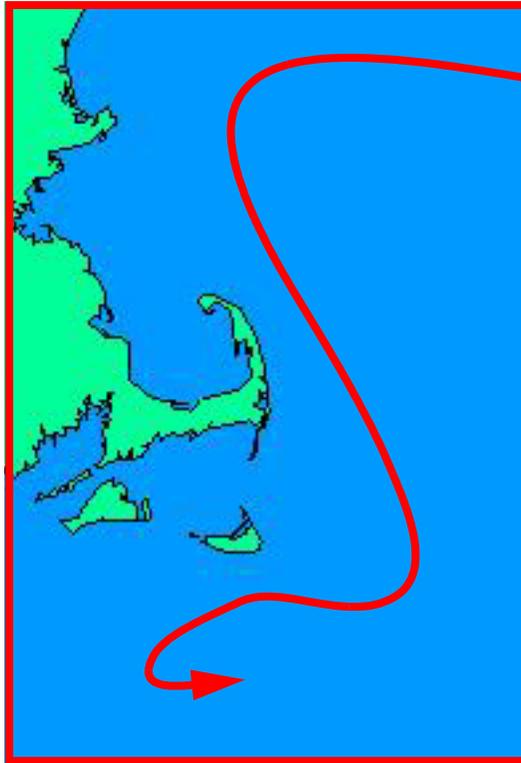
**“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.**

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1602

May 14, Friday (Old Style): [Captain Bartholomew Gosnold](#), in the vessel *Concord* commissioned by the Earl of Southampton in March to establish a New World colony, had sighted Cape Neddick (Latitude 43 degrees) on the Maine coast:



They skirted the coastline for several days and then on this day came to anchor in York Harbor, where they were greeted by “a Biscay shallop [a small fishing vessel used by the Basque of Spain on the Bay of Biscay] with sails and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed to be Christians distressed. But approaching us nearer, we perceived them to be savages.” It is to be noted that even at this early point, one of the natives was attired in a waistcoat, breeches, stockings, shoes, and a hat, and knew some English words, and was able to draw a map of the coastline, on which he marked out the Newfoundland fisheries. Clearly, the New England coast had previously been being visited by trading or fishing vessels.



## WAMPANOAGS

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One of these intrusives, the [Reverend John Brereton](#), reporting on the voyage, would author a BRIEF AND TRUE RELATION OF THE DISCOVERIE OF THE NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA. The sponsor of this voyage, the Earl of Southampton, was also a patron of [William Shakespeare](#), and about three years later this playwright would be writing a little something called *The Tempest* — quite probably accessing, for inspiration, Brereton’s accounts of Cuttyhunk.

RHODE ISLAND

### BRERETON’S RELATION

[Brereton](#) described the [Wampanoag](#):

exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition and well-conditioned, excelling all others that we have seen; so for shape of body and lovely favour ... of a stature much higher than we ... complexion ... dark olive; their eyebrows and hair black ... of a perfect constitution of body, active, strong, healthful and very wittie [intelligent].

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:  
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1603

Spigelius published instructions in *ISAGOGES IN REM HERBARIUM* for the creation of dried herbarium specimens. This was a technique that had been being applied for only about fifty years at this point. The collecting, exchange, archiving, and study of such pressed, dried plants, which had been mounted upon sheets of paper according to Spigelius's instructions, would revolutionize taxonomy, floristics, and systematics.

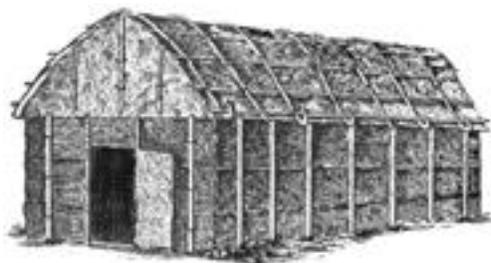
PLANTS

Martin Pring was 23 years old when word of [Captain Bartholomew Gosnold](#) and the [Reverend John Breerton](#)'s voyage inspired a group of merchants in Bristol, England to send him on a 6-month trading voyage to "the northern part of Virginia." He would visit again in 1606, and would continue a distinguished career as a merchant trading captain until his death in 1626. An account of his 1603 voyage would be published in 1625.

The traders made their landfall off the [Maine](#) coast and established a trading post somewhere in the vicinity of [Cape Cod](#), perhaps at Plymouth harbor, trading with the [Narragansett](#) for sassafras bark and roots on which they could realize a great profit in the [London](#) herbals market. The local people were antagonized by the mastiffs brought along by the intrusives, who explored in the Truro/Provincetown area.<sup>5</sup>

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**

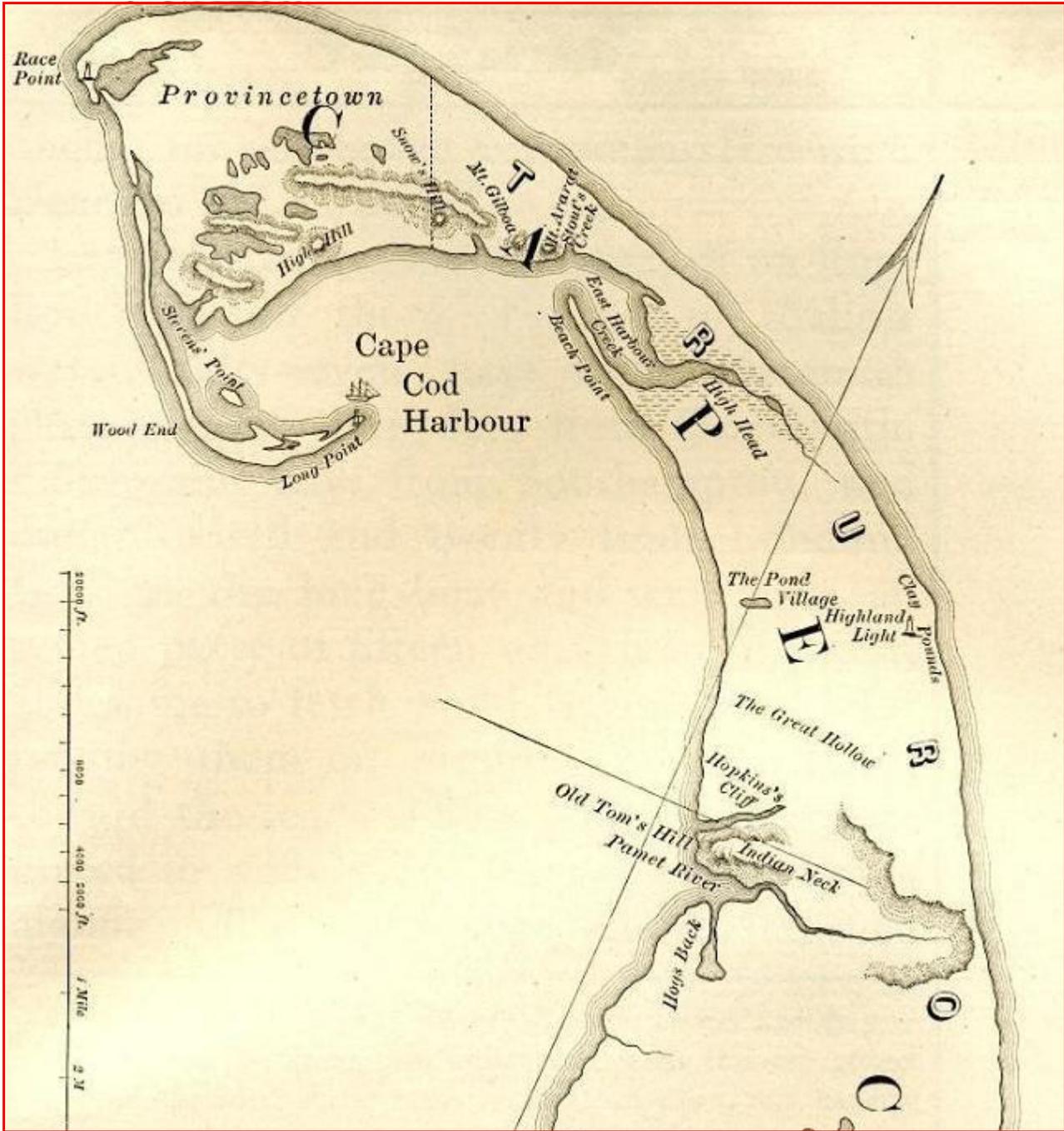
5. "Narragansett" is an Englishing of *Nanhigganeuck* "people of the small point." The [Narragansett](#) confederation was made up of the Aquidneck, Chaubatick, Maushapogue, Mittaubscut, Narragansett, Pawchauquet, [Pawtuxet](#), Ponaganset, and the Shawomet (Shanomet). It was allied with the Coweset (Nipmuc), Eastern Niantic, Manissean (Block Island Indians), and after 1653, the Metoac of Long Island. This was an Eastern Woodland grouping, well organized and with central authority. The Narragansetts governed themselves by reliance upon eight subordinate hereditary sachems under the guidance of a grand sachem who usually resided in the largest village. Their large, fortified villages of medium-sized longhouses were usually located on islands in Narragansett Bay.



RHODE ISLAND

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**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1605**

March 5, Tuesday (1604, Old Style): [Sir Ferdinando Gorges](#) helped sponsor an expedition led by [Captain George Weymouth](#) to the mouth of the Kennebec River along the coast of what is now the state of [Maine](#) that sailed from England on this day in the *Archangel* – to find a place where English Catholics unwanted in Protestant England could found a settlement.

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE MARCH 5TH, 1605 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**

The indigenes of the southern coastlines of the North American continent, known as “Creek,” were at this point being decimated by disease.

At this point, a few years prior to the arrival of the Bay Puritans, the people of what would become “New England” were also being drastically reduced in an epidemic. And in response to this depopulation, the Mohegans of northern “[Nieuw-Nederland](#)” were in the process of shifting generally northward, away from the Mohawk and into Algonquin territory along the ocean coast. These Mohegans were referred to locally, in the Algonquin language, as “Pequots” or “Human Killers.” The white intrusives would ally with the [Narragansett](#) against the Mohegans.

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

Narragansetts

Narragansetts

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



## WAMPANOAGS

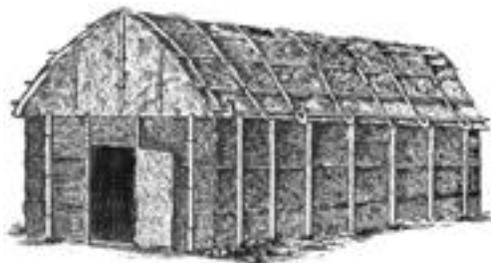
## NARRAGANSETTS

1610

The [Narragansett](#) probably at this point numbered more than 10,000, although a plague had begun and would be followed by another one in 1616, in some villages killing every soul, and by 1674 their population would have dropped to 5,000.<sup>6</sup>

**HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT BY 1674 THIS POPULATION WOULD DROP TO 5,000, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. NOTHING BECOMES PART OF REALITY UNTIL IT HAPPENS. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN'T EVER HAPPENED, YET.**

6. "Narragansett" is an Englishing of *Nanhigganeuck* "people of the small point." The [Narragansett](#) confederation was made up of the Aquidneck, Chaubatick, Maushapogue, Mittaubscut, Narragansett, Pawchauquet, [Pawtuxet](#), Ponaganset, and Shawomet (Shanomet). It was allied with the Coweset (Nipmuc), Eastern Niantic, Manissean (Block Island Indians), and after 1653, the Metoac of Long Island. This was an Eastern Woodland grouping, well organized and with central authority. The Narragansetts governed themselves by reliance upon eight subordinate hereditary sachems under the guidance of a grand sachem who usually resided in the largest village. Their large, fortified villages of medium-sized longhouses were usually located on islands in Narragansett Bay.



1614

The first meeting of the Pequot with Europeans occurred when Dutch traders from the valley of the Hudson River began expanding east along the northern shore of Long Island Sound beyond the Connecticut River. Although the Dutch also visited the [Narragansett](#) villages in [Rhode Island](#), the Pequot's location in eastern Connecticut gave them an advantage over their rivals. They were not only closer to [Nieuw-Amsterdam](#) (on Manhattan Island), but they controlled the lower Connecticut River, the traditional native trade route to the beaver areas of the interior.



“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

The pre-contact wave of epidemics which swept across New England and the Canadian Maritimes somehow missed the [Narragansett](#), perhaps due to the isolation of their villages on the islands of Narragansett Bay. With their population relatively unscathed and later reinforced by incorporation of survivors from other tribes, they would emerge from this disaster as the dominant tribe in southern New England and subjugate many of their neighbors. By 1620 the Narragansett had experienced some contact with Europeans and were trading with the Dutch from New York. Located just to the east in southeast Massachusetts between Plymouth and the Narragansett in [Rhode Island](#), the [Wampanoag](#) were one of the tribes forced to pay tribute, so it is hardly surprising that the Wampanoag were welcoming the new English settlement at Plymouth in 1620 and sought an alliance with them. It is even less surprising that the Narragansett were suspicious of the English and viewed this alliance with the Wampanoag as a threat to their authority.

In their exposed situation on [Cape Cod](#), [Squanto](#) along with 27 other Patuxet were kidnapped and sold into slavery in Malága, Spain. He would escape to England, and most of the other victims would eventually be redeemed (by Spanish friars, not, as pretended in the Walt Disney movie, by English monks near Plymouth).

LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1618

The epidemic of what most likely was either measles or scarlet fever reached *Wampanoag* country, causing mass depopulation. The war with the *Narragansett* was put on hold. At about this period *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (*Massasoit*) of *Pokanoket* submitted to *Canonicus* of *Narragansett*.



NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1621

In Plymouth colony, Governor John Carver died and was succeeded by [William Bradford](#) (until 1657). The [Narragansett](#) sachem Canonicus sent a war challenge to Plymouth in the form of some arrows wrapped in a snakeskin. Governor Bradford sent back gunpowder wrapped in the same snakeskin, and the Narragansett, after much puzzled discussion among themselves, decided that for the moment they would leave these strange people alone. The English took the precaution of building a fort, but this crisis which might well have destroyed the tiny Plymouth colony was ended through the timely intervention of other enemies who forced the Narragansett of [Rhode Island](#) to turn their attentions elsewhere.

### THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



August: The *Nauset* returned John Billington, Jr. to the English colonists. *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (the [Massasoit](#)) was attacked by the [Narragansett](#); *Combatant* tried to incite the Americans against the English but failed when the English supported the *Massasoit*. The *Narragansett* sent peace offers to [Plymouth](#). *Epenow* made peace with Plymouth.

After the First Comers made peace with the *Massasoit*, another [Wampanoag](#) named [Hobomok](#), who could speak some English, had come to live just outside the walls of Plymouth. At this point [William Bradford](#) described him as follows:

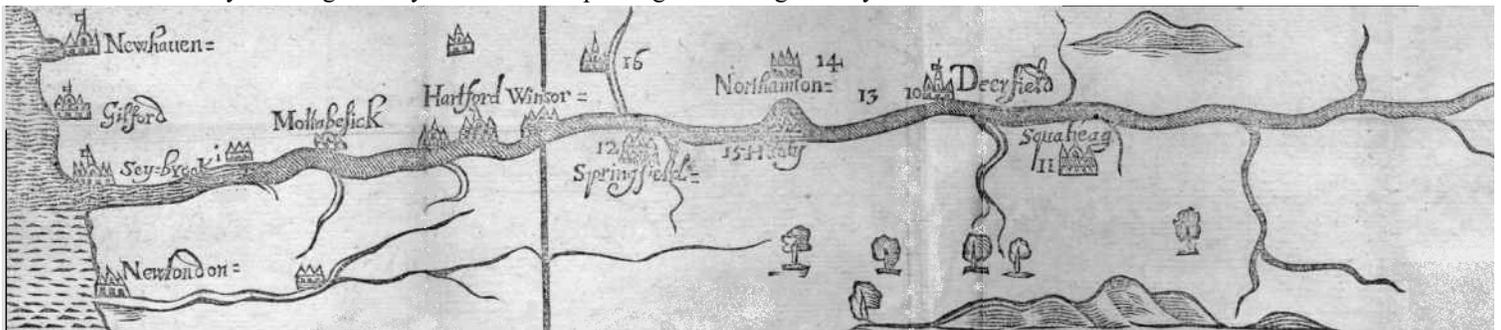
And there was another Indian called Hobomok, a proper lusty man, and a man of account for his valour and parts amongst the Indians, and continued very faithfully and constant to the English till he died.

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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 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.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

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





**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT**



Relying upon the customary nomenclature scheme according to which the term “settlers” is relied upon to privilege white people over colored people, Douglas R. McManis’s COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND: A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY (NY: Oxford UP, 1975, page 142) has reported that:

A series of Indian trails provided the basic network of an intercolonial road system in southern New England. Settlers who first emigrated to the Connecticut Valley chose as a route of entry the Great Trail. Beginning at Watertown in the Bay Colony, the trail ran to Sudbury and then wound its way around ponds and bogs and over hills and rocky outcroppings to a point near Springfield. There it crossed the Connecticut, linking with another trail that ran along the west bank of the river. That route remained the major trunk connection between the Massachusetts section of the Valley and the Bay towns throughout the colonial era, but it was throughout the 17th Century unsuitable for vehicular traffic. Brookfield was its main way-station. A more direct route between Hartford and the Bay settlements was developed south of the Great Trail. At Mendon one branch of the new trail went west to Hartford, while another continued south to [Providence](#) and [Rhode Island](#). Along the coast the settlements east of the mouth of the Connecticut River were linked to the river settlements by the Pequot Trail. There, too, a series of driving routes centered on New London was in use by the end of the 17th Century. West of the river, road conditions as late as the Revolutionary War, if some travelers are to be believed, were so poor that travelers to New York preferred to ferry to Long Island and then continue to New York.

**SELFPRIVILEGING**

**REFER TO THE NEXT SCREEN:**

HDT

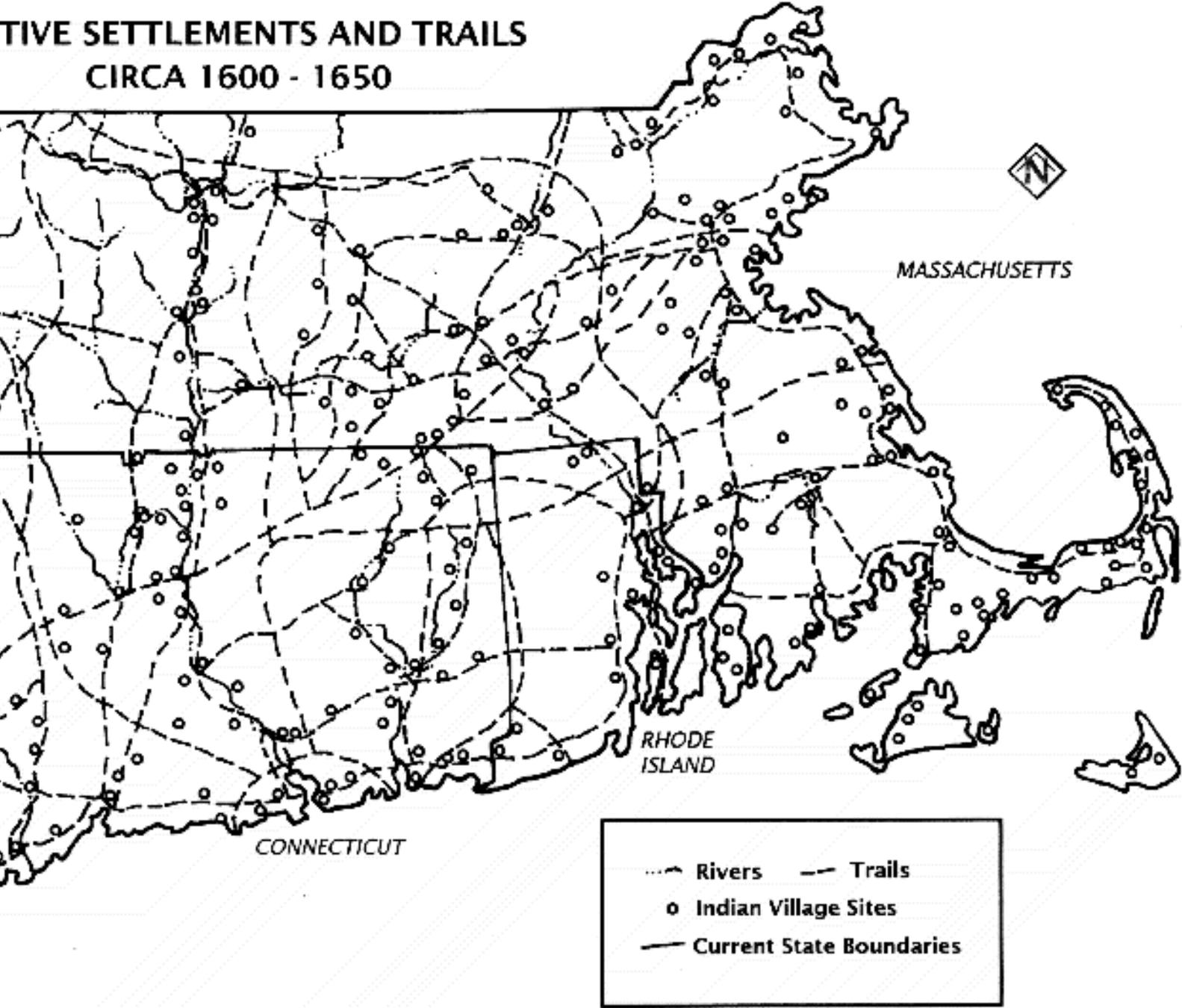
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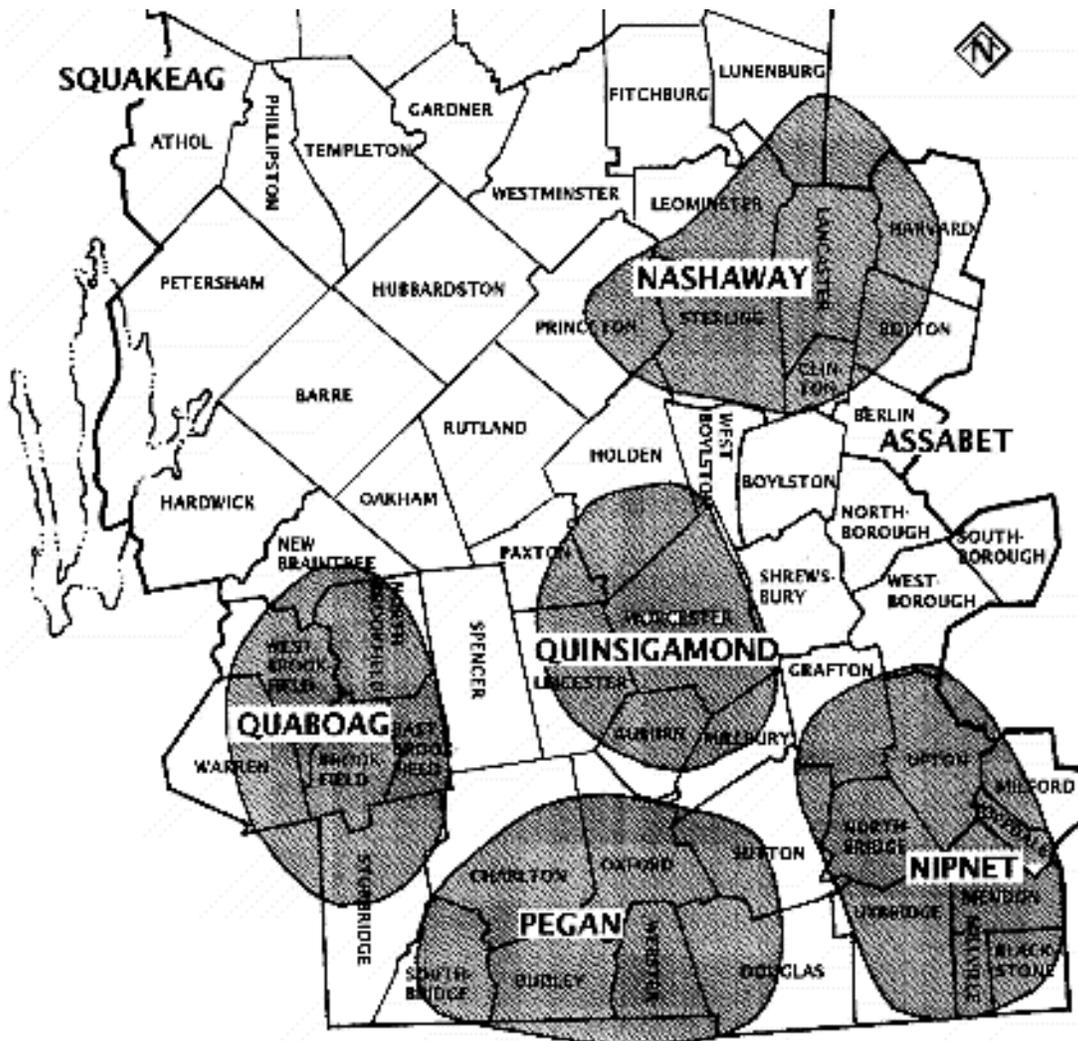
**NARRAGANSETTS**

**INDIAN SETTLEMENTS AND TRAILS  
CIRCA 1600 - 1650**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS



January: Due to a miscommunication, the [Narragansett](#) threatened [Plymouth](#). Plymouth issued a counter-challenge.

April: The First Comers decide to revisit their friends, the Massachuset. But [Squanto](#) (*Tisquantum*) informed them that the Massachuset had made a secret alliance with the [Narragansett](#) and were become enemies preparing to sack Plymouth as soon as the Pilgrims left it unguarded. [Squanto](#) claimed that [Ousamequin](#) Yellow Feather (the [Massasoit](#)) was secretly plotting against them with [Corbitant](#) and the Massachuset. It was [Hobomok](#) that stood up for the Massasoit's honesty, and soon exposed [Squanto](#), who was gaining personal power and prestige among the natives by threatening to turn the First Comers against them. [Hobomok](#)'s squaw was sent on a spying mission to determine whether or not Massasoit was still faithful, or whether he was plotting against the First Comers as [Squanto](#) claimed. She found Massasoit still faithful and friendly to the First Comers.

**THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE,  
A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A  
MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH  
WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL  
CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT.  
THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS  
EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.

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## NARRAGANSETTS

1623

The [Narragansett](#) of the bay of [Rhode Island](#) were drawn into in a prolonged war with the Mohawk during which Pessacus, an important sachem, would be killed. By the time the Narragansett were free to deal with the English at [Plymouth](#), the white intrusives would have become firmly established there, and in addition large numbers of Puritans would be settling at Massachusetts Bay.

### MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Emmanuel Althem of Plymouth wrote:

Only without our pales dwells one [Hobomok](#), his wives and his household (above ten persons), who is our friend and interpreter, and one whom we have found faithful and trusty.



**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS,  
AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER,  
THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT**

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

November/December: [Hobomok](#) accompanied Emmanuel Altham's voyage on the *Little James* to trade with the [Narragansett](#) and others to the southward. Due to the superior quality of the trade goods available from the Dutch West India Company, their voyage would prove unsuccessful.



FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1626

The [Plymouth](#) colonists who considered themselves “Brownists” and “First Comers” built a pinnacle at the Manomet River (the *Aptucxet*), with a house to maintain it. The pinnacle was used to voyage to [Narragansett Bay](#) to attempt to make an entry in the wampum trade.

[Myles Standish](#) represented the [Plymouth](#) colony in England.

[Thomas Browne](#) graduated from [Pembroke College of Oxford University](#). He would travel to the continent to study medicine at various universities.

Jesuit priests were introducing Huron Indians living around Quebec to Roman Catholicism. By the point at which the Hurons would be exterminated by the Five Nations in 1649, almost half of them had become Roman Catholic (this success had been due mostly to laws allowing French traders to sell firearms only to Christians). Undaunted, the Jesuits would start over at Montréal, where they would succeed in converting many war refugees to Catholicism during the 1660s. The Jesuit success would owe less to the Prince of Peace than to the native desire for a more powerful war god, as these converts to Catholicism would continue to involve themselves in smuggling and kidnapping operations all along the English and Dutch frontiers.

[Martin Pring](#) died at the age of 46, possibly while arranging for a 3d trip to the Virginia coast, and the body was placed at St Stephen’s Church in Bristol where the oval tablet is still viewable just to the north of the pulpit (the figured surround of the oval would be added considerably later, dating merely to 1733):

**“To the Pious Memorie of Martin Pringe, Merchaunt,  
sometyme Generall to the East Indies,  
and one of ye Fraternity of the Trinity House,”**

*Hic terris multum jactatus et undis (etc.)*





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**HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1627

The Dutch concluded a limited trade agreement with the *Mohawk* **MOHAWK**.

**IROQUOIS**

By this point the Dutch had become concerned enough about the continued survival of English competition in the New World fur trade that they sent a representative to Plymouth to negotiate a trade treaty. A treaty was negotiated which ensured the Dutch monopoly over the entire southern coast of New England including the Connecticut Valley and the Narragansett Bay. After 1630, however, the arrival of Puritans would begin to overwhelm the realpolitik basis of this Plymouth agreement with the Dutch, and it would come to be generally ignored. Sachem Canonicus of the Narragansett remained aloof from the English colonists, but he could not ignore the defection of the Wampanoag. In 1632 he would decide to reassert his authority over them, but when the English colonists would support the *Wampanoag*, the *Narragansett* would consider that they needed to abandon the effort. The English had altered the balance of power in the region and would soon make themselves felt in other ways. In 1633 the Narragansett, for the 1st time, would feel the full force of an epidemic when they would lose 700 of their people to the small pox. A 2d epidemic would strike in 1635, but the Narragansett would still be able to drive the *Pequot* from the southwest corner of *Rhode Island* that year and reclaim the territory which they had surrendered in 1622.

The following year, a major change would occur in relations between the English and Narragansett.

**ONE COULD BE ELSEWHERE, AS ELSEWHERE DOES EXIST.  
ONE CANNOT BE ELSEWHEN SINCE ELSEWHEN DOES NOT.  
(TO THE WILLING MANY THINGS CAN BE EXPLAINED,  
THAT FOR THE UNWILLING WILL REMAIN FOREVER MYSTERIOUS.)**

1630

It would appear that the Niantic had been driven out of the region that eventually would become Connecticut by the Pequot at some point late in the 16th Century, to the southern coast of the region that eventually would become Rhode Island where they lived near what is now Charlestown and Westerly. The inland Nipmuk, weak in comparison to the coastal Narragansett and the Wampanoag, had been permitted a tenuous foothold on the northwesterly corner of Rhode Island as tributaries of the Wampanoag, but at this point became tributaries instead of the expanding Narragansett. The same shift of alliances was occurring in regard to two subtribes of the Warwick area, the Cowesitt and the Shawomet.



In the Massachusetts Bay to the north –where human populations were more sparse due to the devastation of disease, and where, in consequence, intrusives were more welcome– a massive colonization was occurring.

IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS, WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)



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**1632**

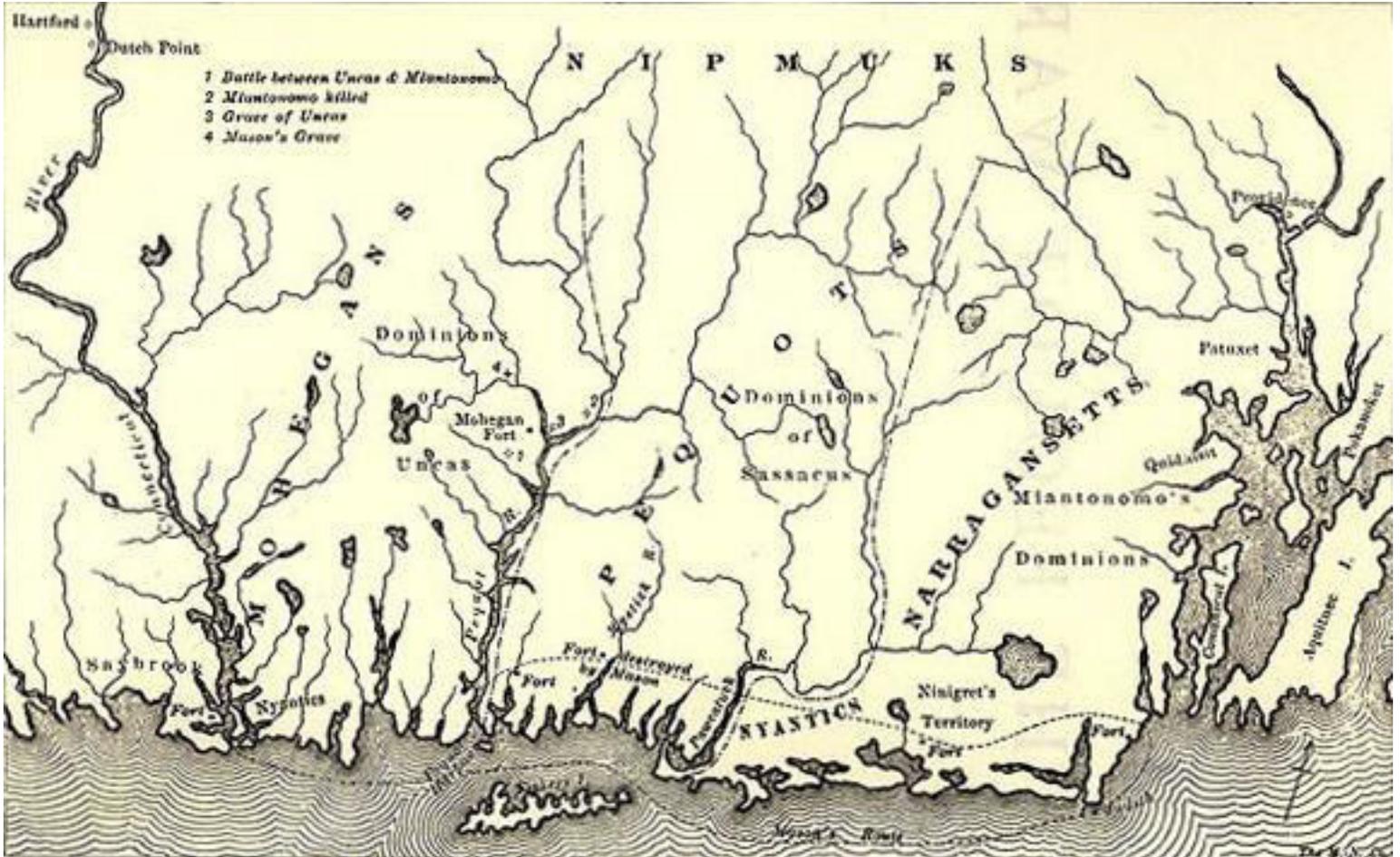
[Narragansett](#) sachem Miantonomi and his wife Wawaloam traveled from south of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to [Boston](#) to be received by Governor John Winthrop at his home, and to attend church services. As visiting dignitaries they merited a cannon salute of honor.

**“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.**

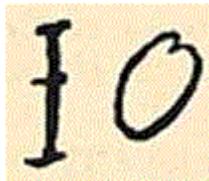
## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

There was conflict between the Pequot and the [Narragansett](#) over the territory just east of the Pawcatuck River in [Westerly](#) and Hopkinton, [Rhode Island](#). The Massachusetts Bay sachems Chickatabut and John Sagamore allied themselves with Canonicus in his fight against the Pequot.



Here was Chickatabut's (Josias's) mark:



CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

The [Narragansett](#) attacked the [Massasoit](#) (*Ousamequin* Yellow Feather), who took refuge with the English at their trading post near his town.



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**1635**

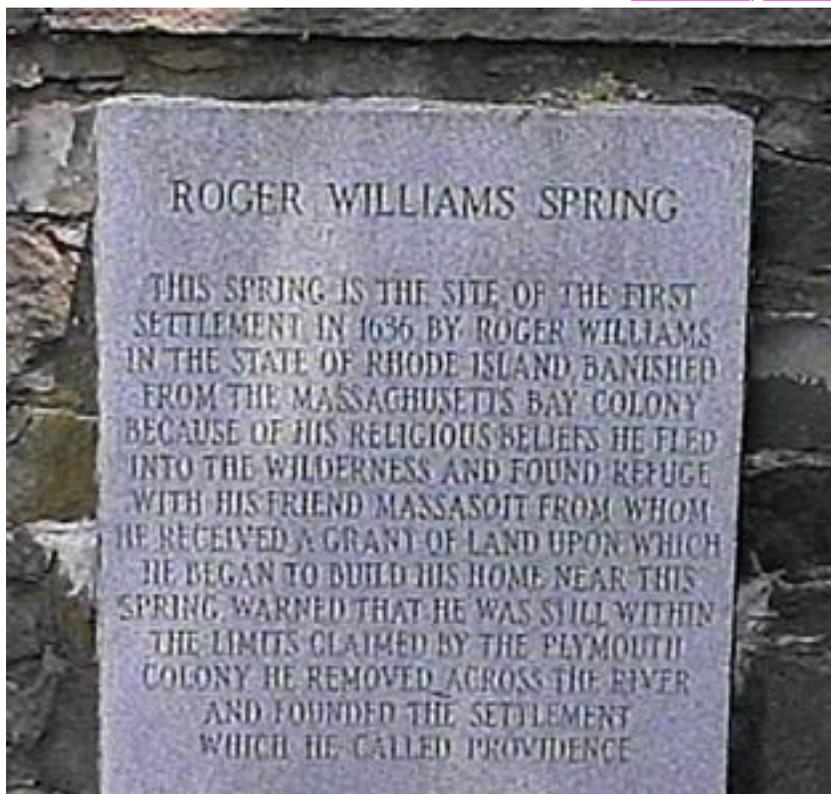
The largest group in the [Rhode Island](#) area at the time was the [Narragansett](#), of the *Algonquin* network of related peoples whose habitat stretched from what is now southern Canada to present-day North Carolina. They numbered approximately 7,000 (counting the *Niantic* as by this point having become by intermarriage part of the *Narragansett*) and occupied the district from Warwick southward along Narragansett Bay to the present towns of [South Kingstown](#) and Exeter. They may have held many of the islands in the bay as well as territory within the present bounds of [Providence](#) and [Warwick](#). *Narragansett* leadership rested in the hands of two hereditary chief sachems, *Canonicus* and his nephew *Miantonomi*. Other portions of the region were populated by other *Algonquin* groups, some of them such as the *Nipmuc*, the *Cowesett*, and the *Shawomet* allied with the *Narragansett* and some of them allied instead with the *Wampanoag*.

## CONTINGENCY

**ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST  
THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.**

1636

The “Puritan” “trading company” which had settled in New England as the “Massachusetts Bay Colony” managed to beat off the first threat against what they really regarded not as a trading company but as their Divine Commonwealth. This threat came in the person of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), a dissenter who had been forced by the orthodox Puritans to find shelter along with several friends with the natives of the [Narragansett](#) Bay area. In that new area these dissenters from Puritanism founded a settlement which they named Providence Plantation. Temporarily, at least, the dissenters of Providence Plantation practiced something in which they did not truly believe, but which was for the moment a convenient practice, to wit, religious toleration. Also temporarily, and while convenient, these newcomers at Providence Plantation practiced something in which they did not truly believe, but which was for the moment a convenient practice, to wit, fair dealings toward local inhabitants who did not have the grace to have white skins. (Eventually a dispute would arise between the Reverend Williams and the Reverend [William Blaxton](#), with the Reverend Williams on the side of religious intolerance and racial discrimination and the Reverend Blaxton on the side of religious tolerance and racial equality, and the Reverend Williams would win, and religious intolerance and racial discrimination would win, and yet the winner, the Reverend Williams, would be put down in our history books as a foe of religious intolerance and racial discrimination, while all memory of this Reverend Blaxton and of his lonely stand would be more or less elided from the culture myth which we teach to our children — except for such mementos as the Blackstone Avenue of fine homes in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).)



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.

## READ HUBBARD TEXT

- Chapter XXXII. The general affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 to the year 1641.
- Chapter XXXIII. Various occurrences in the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 to 1641.

The congregation led by the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) fled to [Rhode Island](#) to create its 1st permanent white settlement in the colony of Providence Plantations in territory disputed between the [Pokanoket](#) and the [Narragansett](#). Head hereditary sachems [Canonicus](#) and Miantonomi granted the new arrivals “the meadows” upon the [Pawtuxet](#) River and its Seekonk estuary (which is to say, the [Blackstone River](#) and the brackish arm of the Narragansett Bay into which it feeds) and they began to plant. However, they were soon advised by Governor Winslow that this area was within the limits of Plymouth Colony. The Reverend accordingly embarked during the spring or early summer with five companions, landing at what has since been referred to as Slate Rock to exchange greetings with the local natives, and then rowing on to the site of their new settlement as negotiated, on the Moshassuck River, which, Williams observed, for the many “Providences of the Most Holy and Only Wise, I called Providence.” He observed of this, “I spared no cost towards them in tokens and presents to Canonicus and all his, many years before I came in person to the Narragansett; and when I came I was welcome to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English to his last breath.” [Henry Thoreau](#) would write later that “Nathaniel Morton, in his NEW ENGLAND’S MEMORIAL, printed in 1669 — speaking of white men going to treat with Canonicus, a Narragansett Indian, about Mr. Oldham’s death in 1636 — says ‘Boiled chestnuts is their white bread, and because they would be extraordinary in their feasting, they strove for variety after the English manner, boiling puddings made of beaten corn, putting therein great store of blackberries, somewhat like currants’ — no doubt whortleberries. This seems to imply that the Indians imitated the English — or set before their guests dishes to which they themselves were not accustomed — or which were extra-ordinary. But we have seen that these dishes were not new or unusual to them and it was the whites who imitated the Indians rather.”



# WAMPANOAGS

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**"HUCKLEBERRIES"**: But Nathaniel Morton, in his NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL, printed in 1669 – speaking of white men going to treat with Canonicus, a Narraghanset Indian, about Mr. Oldham's death in 1636 – says 'Boiled chestnuts is their white bread, and because they would be extraordinary in their feasting, they strove for variety after the English manner, boiling puddings made of beaten corn, putting therein great store of blackberries, somewhat like currants' – no doubt whortleberries. This seems to imply that the Indians imitated the English – or set before their guests dishes to which they themselves were not accustomed – or which were extra-ordinary. But we have seen that these dishes were not new or unusual to them and it was the whites who imitated the Indians rather.

NATHANIEL MORTON  
CANONICUS



"Everything in life is unusual until you get accustomed to it."

– The Scarecrow, in THE MARVELOUS LAND OF OZ (L. Frank Baum, 1904)



**THE AGE OF REASON WAS A PIPE DREAM, OR AT BEST A PROJECT. ACTUALLY, HUMANS HAVE ALMOST NO CLUE WHAT THEY ARE DOING, WHILE CREDITING THEIR OWN LIES ABOUT WHY THEY ARE DOING IT.**

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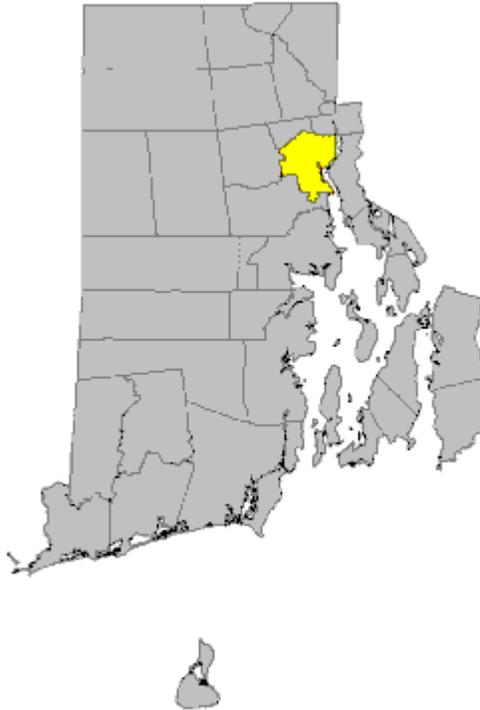
## WAMPANOAGS

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[Thomas Angell](#) went to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) where the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), William Haris [Harris], John Smith, Joshua Verin, and Francis Wicks composed the first white settlers of Providence



(ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE, pages 20-21). Each of these received a lot of land. Thomas Angell's lot was where the 1st [Baptist](#) Church and High School and Angell Street are now situated, fronting on what was then the Towne Road but is now termed North Main Street. According to COLONIAL RECORDS, Volume 1, page 14, Angell was one of the six Commissioners from Providence to make the laws for the Colony. The first rules of government were signed by 13 men, among them Thomas Angell.



In 1844 when this history of this town began to be portrayed for the benefit of its citizens, here is the manner in which its history would be made to appear:

1636. First settlement of the town, by Roger Williams and his companions, viz. William Harris, John Smith (miller), Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell and Francis Wikes.

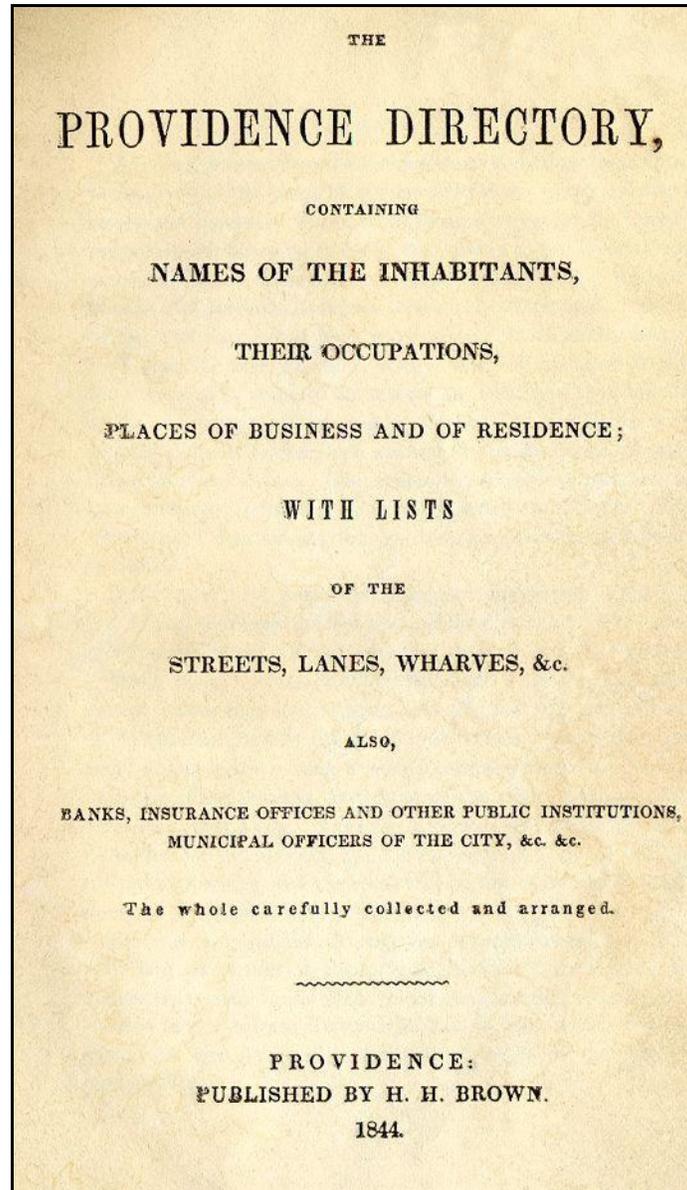
The tract of land which constituted the town of Providence, which then extended to the present limits of the county, was purchased by Mr. Williams for a valuable consideration, as appears from a deed made to him, and signed by the two [Narragansett](#) chiefs, Connanicus and Meauntunomie, 1639, which was in confirmation of a parol grant made two years prior to that date. These lands were in 1661 parcelled out in equal proportions to the rest of the Company, by Mr. Williams. Soon



## WAMPANOAGS

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after this, "the Town street was laid out, which is now known as North Main and South Main streets. To each member of the Company were assigned a home lot and a six acre lot; and the home lot of Mr. Williams was in the vicinity of what is now St. John's Church." The spring of fresh water, where it is believed these pilgrims first stopped, is a little southerly from the church, in the rear of the large brick block of Nehemiah Dodge, on the westerly side of North Main st.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

January: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) fled Salem, where he had found no peace, and took haven with the tolerant [Narragansett](#) tribalists of what would become [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



March: In [Rhode Island](#), the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) used his influence with the [Narragansett](#) to convince them not only to reject a Pequot war belt but to ally with the English against them. In token of this alliance they sent to



the English settlement forty fathoms of their wampum, plus one chopped-off Pequot hand.

### THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



Uncas and the Mohegan also declined, choosing instead to fight against their former tribesmen. Despite this, and despite their decimation by disease, the Pequot were still formidable and claimed the nominal allegiance of 26 subordinate sachems from other tribes. However, the loyalty of many of their allies was suspect and, when the war began in real earnest, many of their erstwhile allies would await developments rather than committing themselves.

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS



May: A small army of 90 colonists and 70 Mohegan warriors assembled at Hartford, Connecticut under the command of Captain John Mason with the intention of attacking the main Pequot fort at Mystic. Mason's command travelled by boat down the Connecticut River to Fort Saybrook and, after adding a few more men, following the coastline east to Mystic, only to find the Pequot waiting for them. Outnumbered, the expedition continued east to the [Narragansett](#) villages in [Rhode Island](#). Canonicus considered Mason's force much too small and provided 200 of his own warriors led by his son Miontonimo. Canonicus also gave permission for the English to travel overland through Narragansett territory to make a surprise attack on Mystic from the rear. Once enroute, however, the Narragansett became concerned about the bumbling manner in which English soldiers moved through the woods and considered leaving the expedition before it might be discovered and ambushed. A fiery speech by the Mohegan chief Uncas, however, challenging their courage, made them decide to stick with these bumbling-along English blokes.

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**READ MASON (EXTRACT)**

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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

June: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#), under banishment from Salem, and the group that went into exile with him, crossed to the other side of the Seekonk estuary to avoid any complication with the Plymouth Colony before founding a settlement what would be the [Rhode Island](#) Plantation. This was the first sizeable European settlement on Narragansett turf (preceding by a couple years the Antinomian settlement on [Aquidneck Island](#)).

### ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY

The Reverend Williams's negotiation with this tribe was timely, since the beginning of English settlement in Connecticut was provoking a serious confrontation with the Pequot. The Reverend selected the name [Providence](#) for this new settlement in gratitude "for God's merciful providence to me in my distress" in causing the local [Narragansett](#) headman to grant permission to use this site. When he landed, the natives greeted him in English as a friend with the famous "What cheer, nehtop!"



The landing site of the Reverend Williams in Providence is now commemorated by a column at the corner of Gano Street and Williams Street. The plaque states that the waterline was in 1836 right there, despite the fact that the waterline is presently quite a ways downslope from this city plot (the slate outcropping upon which the Reverend set his foot now being buried a number of feet underneath fill material). The site of his home, at the corner of North Main Street and Canal Street along the Moshassuck River, is now the Roger Williams National Memorial. He always would have the friendship of Governor John Winthrop though circumstances, consistent with the honor of both, would enforce a long and sad separation. As the Colonial agent in [London](#), or chief Magistrate here, the Reverend would be equal, discreet, and disinterested to his death in April 1683.

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Summer: Thomas Hooker and the 1st English intrusives were settling at Hartford in Connecticut. The Pequot saw themselves being overrun and, while the Mohegan and Mattabesic were welcoming the new kids on the block, there were numerous confrontations between the English and their [Narragansett](#) allies, on the one hand, and the Pequot, on the other hand, at first stopping just this side of general warfare. The Pequot War began in full earnest when some warriors of the western Niantic got aboard the boat of Boston furtrader John Oldham near [Block Island](#) and killed him.

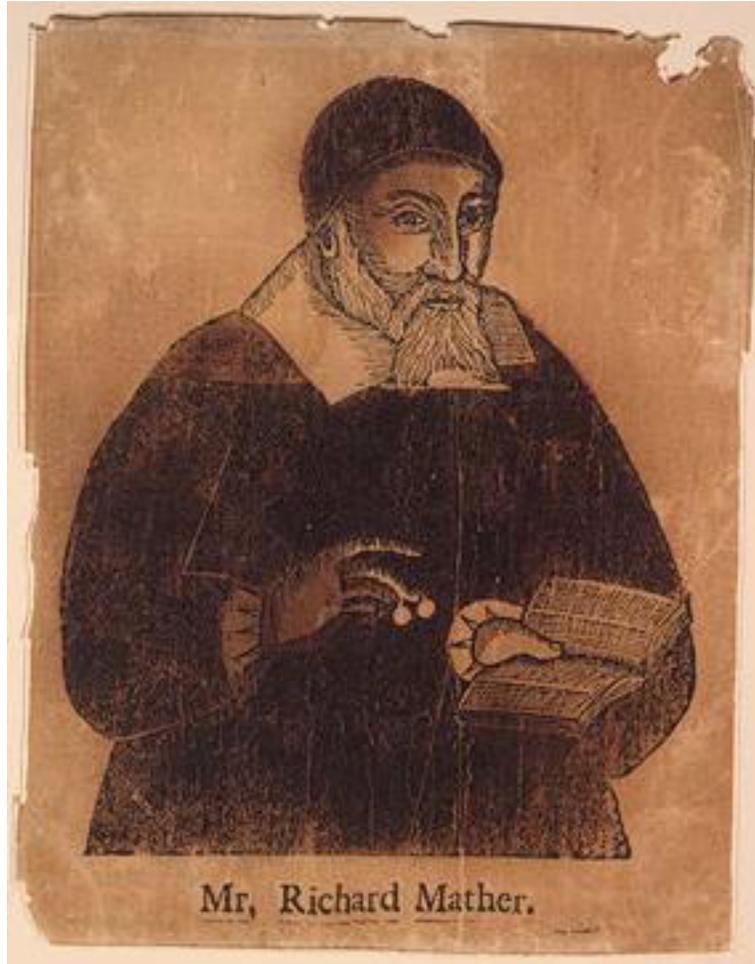


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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

August: The Reverend Richard Mather, in Boston, denounced the Pequot in general as “accursed seeds of Canaan,” in effect considering the confrontation in Connecticut as a “holy war” of Puritans vs. Forces of Darkness.



Without bothering to consult the whites in Connecticut, the whites in the Bay Colony allied with the [Narragansett](#) and sent a “retaliatory” expedition of 90 men under the command of John Endecott to [Block Island](#) in August, to kill every adult male and make prisoner the adult females and children. The English managed to kill 14 Niantics and an undetermined number of dogs and burn their village with its crops.

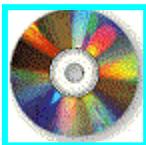
## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

(According to another note I have, the body count was 13 natives killed and 40 wounded.)



Endecott’s men then sailed to Fort Saybrook to add some additional soldiers for the 2d part of his mission — a visit to the Pequot village at the mouth of the Thames river to demand 1,000 fathoms of wampum for the death of Oldham, plus several children to hold hostage. Endecott’s arrival at Saybrook was the first indication the Connecticut colonists had of what had happened and, since it would be them who would bear the brunt of any Pequot and Niantic retaliation, they got upset. However, with the interracial situation already beyond repair, they reluctantly provided a few additional soldiers. Endecott then sailed up the coast to the Pequot village and made his demands. The Pequot were as stunned to learn what had happened as had been the English at Saybrook, but managed to stall while people escaped into the woods leaving Endecott with an empty village site, which he proceeded to loot and destroy. Satisfied that they had “chastised” enough heathen for one day, Endecott’s men sailed back to Boston. Some of the soldiers who had been making off with the Indian maize crop were recognized as being from Saybrook and the Pequot and Niantic would besiege that settlement and kill anyone trying to leave. Rather than having been made cautious, the Pequots had become enraged. During the winter they would plot revenge and sent war belts to the Narragansett and Mohegan asking their help. However, because of past actions the Pequot had few friends, and the English would find it fairly easy to isolate 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



Various white historians have attempted to make a case that the Pequot deserved to be brutally exterminated by fire and sword and enslavement, because they were the aggressors, and because they were generally unpleasant people. I quote from one such study: “The Pequots of old gave as good as they got — so much so that they brought their doom upon themselves.” Much has been made of the fact that other opposing tribes referred to this tribe as the Mankillers. Besides, “European colonists didn’t invent barbarity on this continent.” Yada yada yada quote unquote.<sup>7</sup>

7. My sainted mother would have said to me “I suppose you’re going to try to tell me that just because somebody else goes and jumps in the lake, you’ve got to go and jump in the lake too?”

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"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."

— Lyman Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



Winter: The Pequot planned their retaliation and sent war belts to the [Narragansett](#) asking their help. Because of their friendship with the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), the Narragansett of the bay of [Rhode Island](#) not only refused the Pequot request, but sent warnings to Boston of impending war and allied themselves with the English. Narragansett support would provide a key factor in the English victory the following year.

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1637

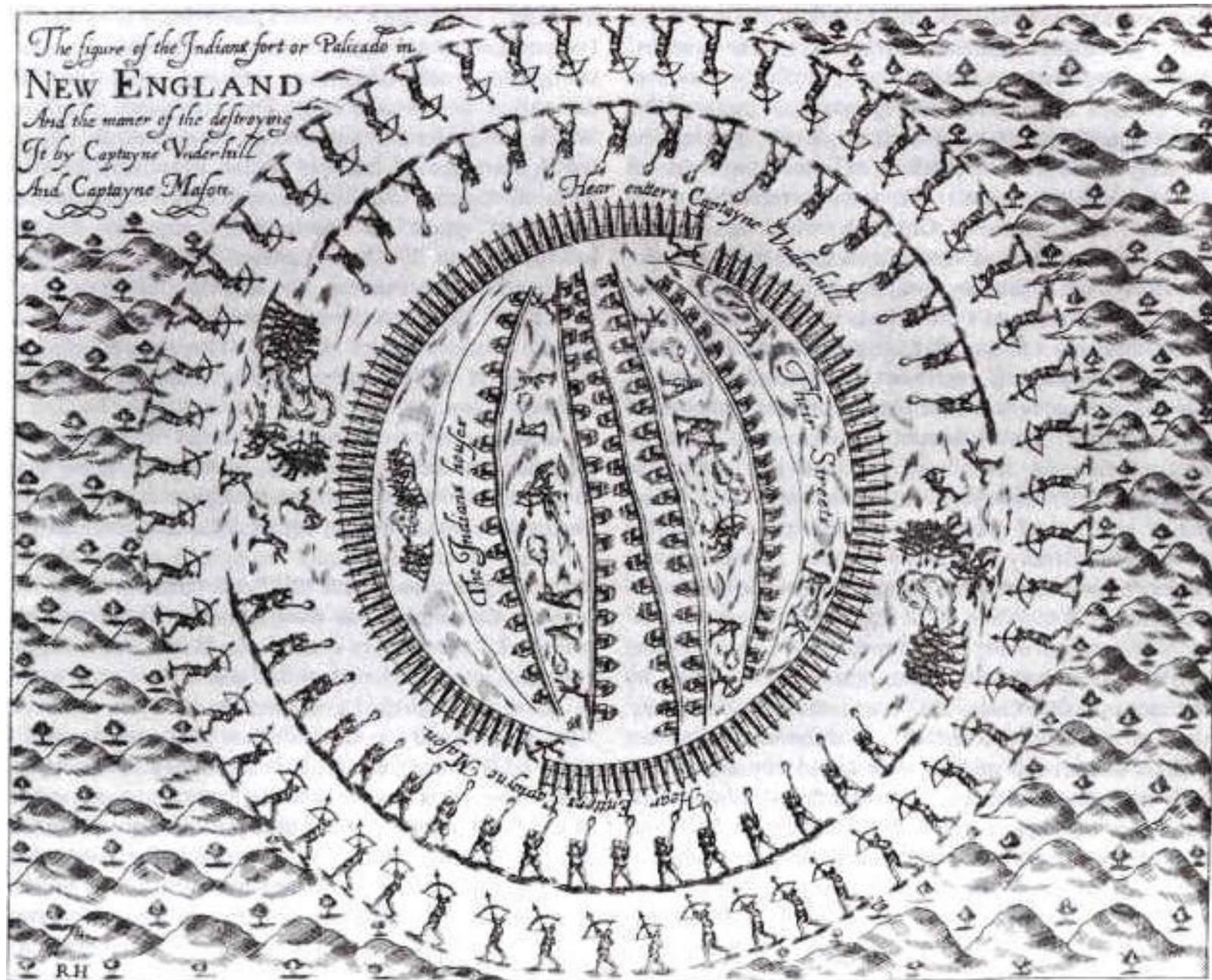
The Council of the [Narragansett](#) of the bay of [Rhode Island](#) decided to ally with the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut in its war against the Mohegan tribe known locally as the “Pequot” or “Mankillers” (they knew themselves not as mankillers but as “the fox people”). Because of their location outside the boundaries of the United Puritan Colonies, their political and military autonomy, and the peculiar religious views of the most prominent white minister in their midst, the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), [Narragansett](#) tribespeople were at that time able to discourage a flock of other ministers who were attempting to dissuade them from their religion.



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The Massachusetts militia massacred a Pequot village at Mystic. They killed about 600; taking 30 males offshore, they drowned them in the sort of event that is described as a “noyage”; their women and children were sold or handed around as [slaves](#).<sup>8</sup>



(For most nations, wars are about power and self-interest, but for Americans, they have always been about righteousness. American look at war as an epic struggle between good and evil. As Wubya put the matter, it is up to our nation “to defend the hopes of all mankind.” This sort of attitude began long before we were a nation, for in 1630 Governor John Winthrop had planted a great Biblical aspiration on American soil: “We shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.” It is no accident that soon afterward his colonists had launched this war against Indian “devil worshippers.” The bodies of so many “frying in the fire,” according to [William Bradford](#), seemed “a sweet sacrifice to God.” The anxieties of the Indian conflicts would next lead the society straight into internal hunts for “[witches](#).” [American Exceptionalism](#) means, it seems, never needing to say that you are sorry.)

## WAMPANOAGS

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The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote to Governor John Winthrop about the successful expedition against the “Pequot” or “Fox People”: “It having again pleased the Most High to put into our hands another miserable drove of Adam’s degenerate seed, and our brethren by nature, I am bold (if I may not offend in it) to request the keeping and bringing up of one of the children.”

The Pequot slaves were transported to the West Indies aboard the 1st American slave ship, the *Desire*.<sup>9</sup> On its return voyage, the ship transported a cargo of African slaves to Connecticut. (Refer to A WONDERFUL VICTORY OVER THE ENEMIES OF GOD and MASSACRE AT FORT MYSTIC.)

### INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



Hugh Peter wrote to John Winthrop, Jr. that he had heard of a “dividend” of women and children from the Pequot captives and that he would appreciate being sent his own share, “a young woman or girl and a boy if you think good.”

8. A few Pequot warriors would elude capture and obtain refuge with other New England Algonquin groups. Most of those captured were executed but the Reverend [Williams](#) proposed that as a humanitarian measure, instead, they should be sold for a profit, and so about 1,400 persons would be exported. The peace treaty would systematically dismember what remained of the tribe in a manner designed to ensure that the Pequot could no longer function as a cohesive grouping. Some women and children would be distributed as “servants” to white households. The [Narragansett](#) and Eastern Niantic would accept some of the Pequot women and children, and one band was exiled to Long Island and became subject to the Metoac. For the most part, these Pequot would be absorbed by their “hosts” within a few years and would disappear. The remainder were placed under the Mohegan, and it is from this group that the two current Pequot tribes have evolved. The Mohegans would treat their Pequot guests so badly that by 1655 the English would be forced to remove them. Two reservations would be established for the Pequots in 1666 and 1683. By 1762 there would be only 140 Pequots and the decline would continue until a low point of 66 was reached as of the 1910 census. At present, the State of Connecticut recognizes two Pequot tribes: the Mashantucket and the Paucatuck. The 600 Paucatuck (Eastern Pequot) have retained the Lantern Hill Reservation (226 acres) at North Stonington but are not federally recognized. The Mashantucket (Western Pequot) received federal recognition in 1983.

9. The slave ship *Desire*, 120 tons, was constructed at Marblehead, Massachusetts and was one of the 1st ships, if not the very 1st, built in the colonies.

### INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

## Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of America, known to us by the name of NEW-ENGLAND.*

*Anno Dom.*

1637. The *Pequites* Wars, in which were Slain Five or Six Hundred *Indians*.

Ministers that have come from *England*, chiefly in the Ten first Years, Ninety Four: Of which returned Twenty Seven: Dyed in the Country Thirty Six: Yet alive in the Country Thirty One.

The Number of Ships that transported Passengers to *New-England* in these times, was 298. supposed: Men, Women, and Children, as near as can be ghesed 21200.

1637. The first Synod at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, where the *Antinomian* and *Famalistical* Errors were confuted; 80 Errors now amongst the *Massachusetts*.

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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>10</sup>



Att the earnest 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 desiring 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*.

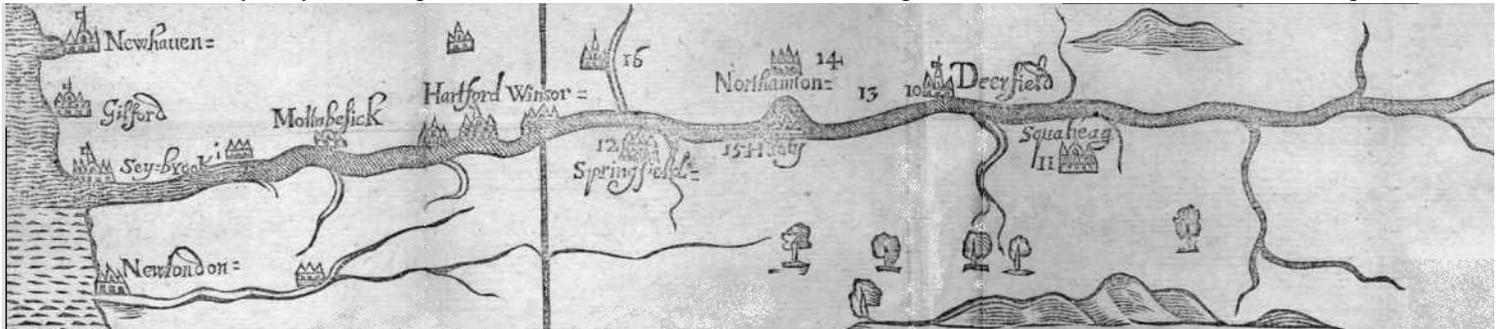
10. The brothers *Wamsutta* and *Metacom* were nicknamed Allexander (*sic*) and Phillip (*sic*) because the whites were into supplying Native American leaders with offensively grandiloquent and therefore implicitly derogatory names, more or less in the mode in which they were in the habit of condescending 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.

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April 12, Wednesday (Old Style): In the attack upon Wethersfield, 200 indigenes killed 6 male and 3 female intrusives, 20 of their cows, and a horse. Taking a couple of teenage girls hostage, the war party loaded their loot into canoes and went home via the Connecticut River, and while passing the fort at Saybrook they taunted the garrison by waving the bloody clothing of victims. In all, the intrusives lost 30 people in these raids, and in May the General Court at Hartford, Connecticut would issue a formal declaration of a state of war. Despite doubts about the loyalty of the Mohegan, a joint expedition of 90 English and 70 Mohegan warriors under Uncas would assemble near Hartford to attack the main Pequot fort at Mystic. Captained by John Mason, this tiny army would depart on what seemed a suicide mission. Passing down the Connecticut River, it would stop



at Fort Saybrook to add a few soldiers and would then proceed up the coast only to discover a large number of Pequot waiting for them at Mystic. Mason would prudently continue east to [Rhode Island](#). The Pequot would watch his departure and convince themselves that the English were going to take refuge in [Boston](#). However, 200 warriors would join Mason at the [Narragansett](#) villages and he would receive permission to travel overland through Narragansett territory to make a surprise attack on Mystic from the rear. With his force numbering more than 400 men, Mason would leave the Narragansett villages and move west across the hills of western Rhode Island. The Narragansett would become alarmed at the clumsiness of the English attempting to move through the forest and would fear that the entire group would be detected and ambushed, and only when Uncas challenged their courage would the Narragansett warriors continue. Despite becoming lost several times, the Mohegan would locate the Pequot fort on May 26th and guide Mason's army to it. They had been undetected and the Pequot who normally would have defended Mystic would be absent, having formed a war party and gone to raid the settlements near Hartford. Trapping 700 Pequot inside the fort (mostly women, children, and old people), Mason and his men would set it afire. Those Pequot who would not perish in the flames would be killed as they tried to escape the flames. Following Mason's orders, the Narragansett and Mohegan would finish off any Pequot warriors the English missed but would become aghast as the English indiscriminately slaughtered women and children. Their grim work completed, Mason would beat a hasty retreat to his boats waiting on the Thames. Grand sachem Sassacus's village was only five miles away and his warriors were in hot pursuit. During the race for the river, Mason would almost stumble into a returning 300-man war party, but the Pequot would be distracted by the smoke from their burning village and the English would reach their boats after suffering only 2 killed and 20 wounded. Abandoned to fight their own way home, fully half their native allies wouldn't make it. However, this massacre at Mystic would break the Pequot. They would still have most of their warriors, but the attack would demonstrate the utter vulnerability of their "fortified" villages and thus deprive them of the support they needed from their allies. Starving and unable to plant crops, the Pequot would abandon these villages, separate into small bands, and flee for their lives. As small groups they would make easy prey of themselves, and few would escape. After an abortive attempt to find refuge among the Metoac on Long Island, Sassacus in June would lead 400 of his people west, paralleling the coast and its seafood due to their being so short of food. Slowed by their women and children, the Pequot would cross the Connecticut River but kill three Englishmen near Saybrook. This would be unfortunate for them because it would inform the English of their location. Hartford would declare June 15th as a day of prayer and thanksgiving for the "victory" at Mystic. The English, however, would not be satisfied with merely having won a war and would determine to extinguish the Pequot.

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NARRAGANSETTS



"...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

- Declaration of Independence



End of June: More than anything else, the English wanted the Pequot grand sachem, Sassacus. Thomas Staughton landed at Pequot Harbor with 120 men. Finding the Pequot forts abandoned, he started west in pursuit. John Mason joined him at Saybrook with 40 men plus Uncas and his Mohegan scouts. With the Mohegan pointing the way, they followed the slow-moving band of Sassacus west. Intent on capturing Sassacus, other Pequot they encountered enroute were offed at the detection of the slightest reluctance to cooperate — one Pequot sachem near Guilford Harbor was beheaded and his head placed in a tree as a warning (the location is still known as Sachem Head). The English finally caught up with him at Sasqua, a Pequannock (Mattabesic) village near Fairfield, Connecticut. The Pequot retreated to a hidden fort in a nearby swamp but were surrounded when John Mason's men were able to reach Mystic undiscovered. Some 700 Pequot were trapped inside while most of their warriors were absent on a raid against the Connecticut settlements. After negotiations, 200 Pequannock (mostly women and children) were allowed to leave, but the Pequot were well aware what awaited them and refused to surrender. Mason and his men set the fort afire, and began to kill all who attempted to escape. Sassacus gathered 80 warriors and managed to break free, and 180 Pequot were captured to be sold as slaves to the West Indies, the remainder evidently being incinerated.



"...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

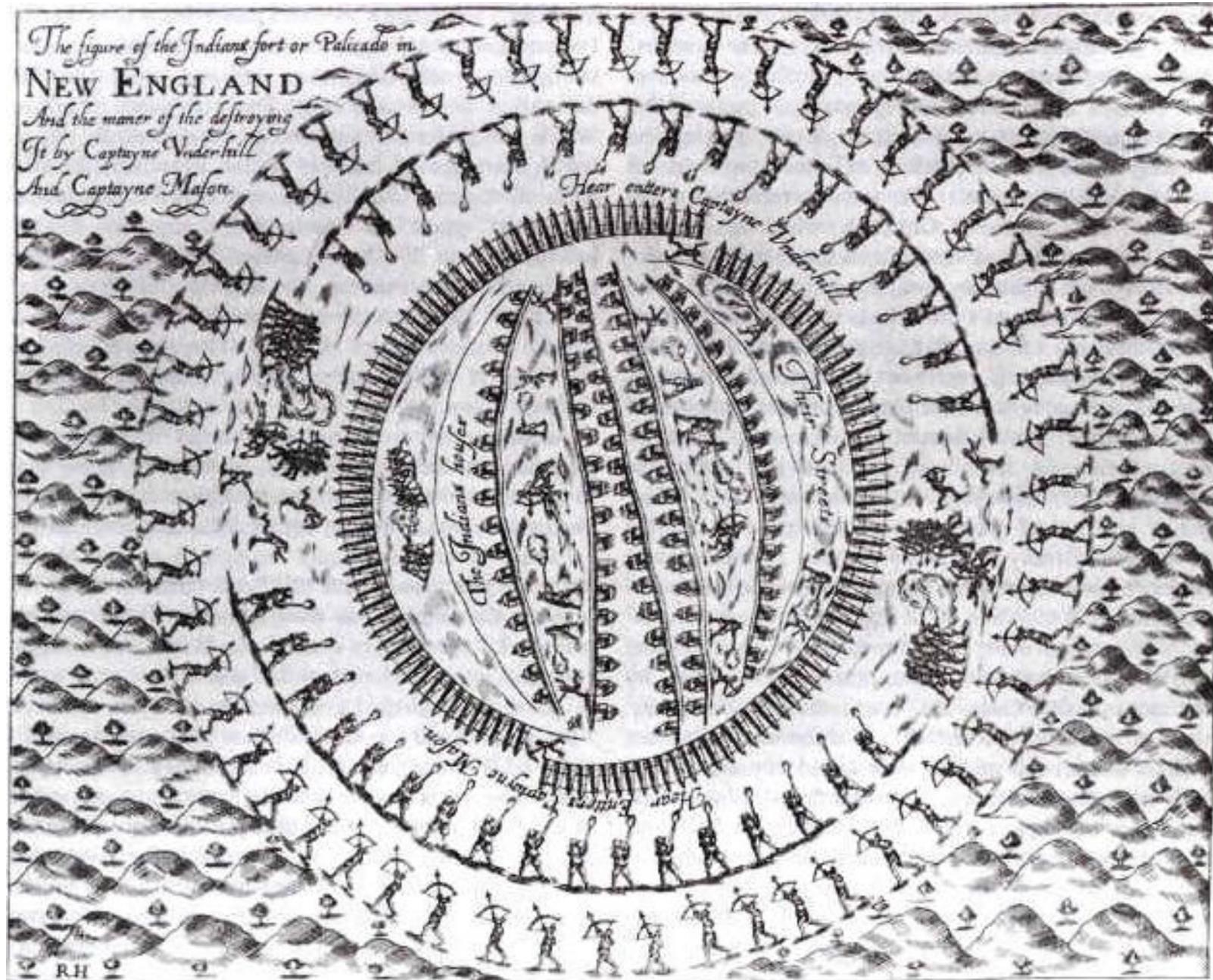
- Declaration of Independence



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The others were killed: "It was a fearful sight to see them frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave praise therof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them."



Sassacus and his escort fled west to the [New York](#) area. His logical choice for refuge should have been the Mahican (Dutch allies and close relatives), but the Mahican were subject to the Mohawk at the time, so Sassacus was forced to turn for refuge to some old enemies. The Mohawk had never forgotten who the Pequot were, and no sooner had the sachem reached the Mohawk village, than, without being allowed to speak in council, he and most of his warriors were killed. The few who escaped joined the Mahican at Schaghticoke. The Mohawk cut off Sassacus's head and sent it to Hartford as a token of friendship.

**THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS**

## WAMPANOAGS

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Since the General Court in Hartford levied a heavy fine on any tribe providing refuge to the Pequot, there was no place for them to go. The remaining Pequot were hunted down by the English, Mohegan, and [Narragansett](#), and the war ended in a series of small but deadly skirmishes. The remaining Pequot sachems surrendered asking to be spared.

The whites had soon grown dissatisfied with their red allies, warriors who strangely seemed not to have any concept of the agenda of such war, "to conquer and subdue enemies" but instead regarded fighting as "more for pastime." With the Pequot defeat, English settlement filled in Connecticut Valley and by 1641 would extend down the coast of western Connecticut as far as Stamford. The shame of the genocide would become so great that eventually it would be made a criminal offense in the Bay Colony to so much as mention that the Pequot had ever existed!



"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 canceled 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





**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1638**

In a treaty signed at Hartford, the [Narragansett](#) were given 80 of the captured Pequot as slaves. The Mohegan received an equal number, but the 1,500 Pequot and Western Niantic who had managed to surrender were placed under the control of Uncas and the Mohegan. Since their hosts were required to pay an annual tribute to the English for each Pequot living with them, they were not treated well.

Three [Plymouth](#) colonists were [hanged](#) for murdering a Nipmuc man who had been residing with the [Narragansett](#).

Four servants of Plymouth ran from their masters, and, coming to Providence, they killed an Indian. He escaped, after he was deadly wounded in the belly, and gat to other Indians. So, being discovered, they fled and were taken at the Isle Aquiday. Mr. Williams gave notice to the governor of Massachusetts, and desired advice. He returned answer, that, seeing they were of Plymouth, they should certify Plymouth of them, and, if they would send for them, to deliver them; otherwise, seeing no English had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the Island any government established, it would be safest to deliver the principal, who was certainly known to have killed the party, to the Indian his friends, with caution that they should not put him to torture, and to keep the other three to further consideration. After this, Plymouth men sent for them, (but one had escaped,) and the governor there wrote to the governor here for advice, especially for that he heard they intended to appeal into England. The governor returned answer of encouragement to proceed notwithstanding, seeing no appeal did lie, for that they could not be tried in England, and that the whole country here were interested in the case, and would expect to have justice done. Whereupon they proceeded as appears after.

...

The three prisoners, being brought to Plymouth, and there examined, did all confess the murder, and that they did it to get his wampom, etc.; but all the question was about the death of the Indian, for no man could witness that he saw him dead. But Mr. Williams and Mr. James of Providence made oath, that his wound was mortal, etc. At last two Indians, who, with much difficulty, were procured to come to the trial, (for they still feared that the English were conspired to kill all the Indians,) made oath after this manner, viz.: that if he were not dead of that wound, then they would suffer death. Upon this they three were condemned and executed. Two of them died very penitently, especially Arthur Peach, a young man of good parentage and fair conditioned, and who had done very good service against the Pequods.

The fourth escaped to Pascataquack. The governor sent after him, but those of Pascataquack conveyed him away, and openly withstood his apprehension. It was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance, etc., all such lewd persons as fled from us to them.

**JOHN WINTHROP JOURNAL**

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## NARRAGANSETTS

March: At a council held on the west bank of the Pettaquamscutt River, the [Narragansett](#) headmen [Canonicus](#) and Miantonomi granted to the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) permission to occupy a tract which included the [Providence](#) area from the Seekonk estuary to Neutakonkanut Hill on the west.



(There was no indication that this permission to reside was to be in any manner exclusive. This was in no sense a deed, or a title, or a grant of political independence, but quite to the contrary, amounted to a pledge of honest white subordination to the beneficent red leader. When the Reverend met him, he was tall, erect, heavy of frame, yet spare and bony, attired in a skin robe with fringes, with long feathers in his hair, carrying a bow and a spear in the fold of his arms. Williams characterized him as “a wise and peaceable prince ... for any gratuities or tokens, Canonicus desires sugar, Miantonomi, powder.” The friendship of Williams, Canonicus, and Miantonomi would not waver, and it was Canonicus who granted Chibchuwesa, to be called Prudence Island,

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There are no authentic depictions of any of these persons (including Rev. Williams)

## WAMPANOAGS

to Williams as a place of residence.)<sup>11</sup>



## NARRAGANSETTS

11. The Narragansett sachem Tashtassuck had had one son and one daughter, who, within the culture of their tribe, as son and daughter of a sachem, had been united in marriage. The first of their offspring had been [Canonicus](#), although eventually he would have three brothers. The youngest of his brothers, the war leader Mascus, would be the father of the war leader Miantonomi. Canonicus and Mascus came to share the tribal rule, with Canonicus playing the role of peace leader and Mascus that of war leader. The tribes that were in submission to the Narragansett during the period of the height of their influence were the Massachusetts, the Wampanoag, the Nipmuc, the Sakonnet, the Nauset, the Shawomet, the Niantic, and the Coweset, amounting to an alliance of about 30,000 people. Mascus had died before the arrival of the English, but the *Massasoit* (headman of the headmen) of the Wampanoag and ten of his sub-sachems had formally re-acknowledged their subordination to the Narragansett. (Massasoit's son Metacomet, who would be known to the English as "Phillip," was at this point still a rugrat.) Primarily, [Canonicus](#) resided near what is now Cocumcussoc, at [Wickford, Rhode Island](#).



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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

March 22, Thursday (1637, Old Style): Part of the problem was that [Mary Dyer](#), a woman associated with Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#), had given birth to a child, stillborn, characterized by Governor John Winthrop as a “monster.” The Reverend John Cotton, repentant, confided to the court his role in the secret burial. When exhumed, the body had seemed to lack a skull. Goody Hawkins, who assisted at the birth, was summoned to provide a description of the child as born. The baby’s “thornback” birth defect was being ascribed by the Puritans to the influence of antinomianism.

The group led by Mistress Hutchinson was expelled by an ecclesiastical court upon a charge of “traducing the ministers,” and she herself was excommunicated and ordered “as a Leper to withdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation.”



*Forasmuch as yow, Mrs. Huchinson, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways troubled the Church wth yor Erors & have drawen away many a poor soule, & have upheld yor Revelations: & forasmuch as yow have made a Lye, &c. Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronownce yow worthy to be cast owt, but I doe cast yow out & in the name of Ch. I dow deliver you up to Sathan, that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I dow account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: thefor I command yow in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church as a Leper to wthdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation; that as formerly yow have dispised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yor Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them.*

She would take refuge by abandoning [Boston](#) for Paumanok Long Island in [New York](#), and a number of people influenced by her heresy would take refuge, initially with the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) at [Providence](#) Plantations and then at [Portsmouth](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#), an island also known as Rhodes Island.<sup>12</sup>



## RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

12. So named because mistaken with [Block Island](#), which had originally been compared as similar in coastal outline on the map, or in appearance from the sea, or in some respect or other, to the much larger island of Rhodes, of the Eastern Mediterranean.

## Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of  
America, known to us by the name of NEW-  
ENGLAND.*

*Anno Dom.*

1638. *New-Haven* Colony began.

Mrs. *Hutchinson* and her erroneous companions banished  
the *Massachusetts* Colony.

A terrible Earth quake throughout the Country.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. *John Harvard*, the Founder of *Harvard* College  
(at *Cambridge* in *New-England*) Deceased, gave 700 *l.* to  
the erecting of it.

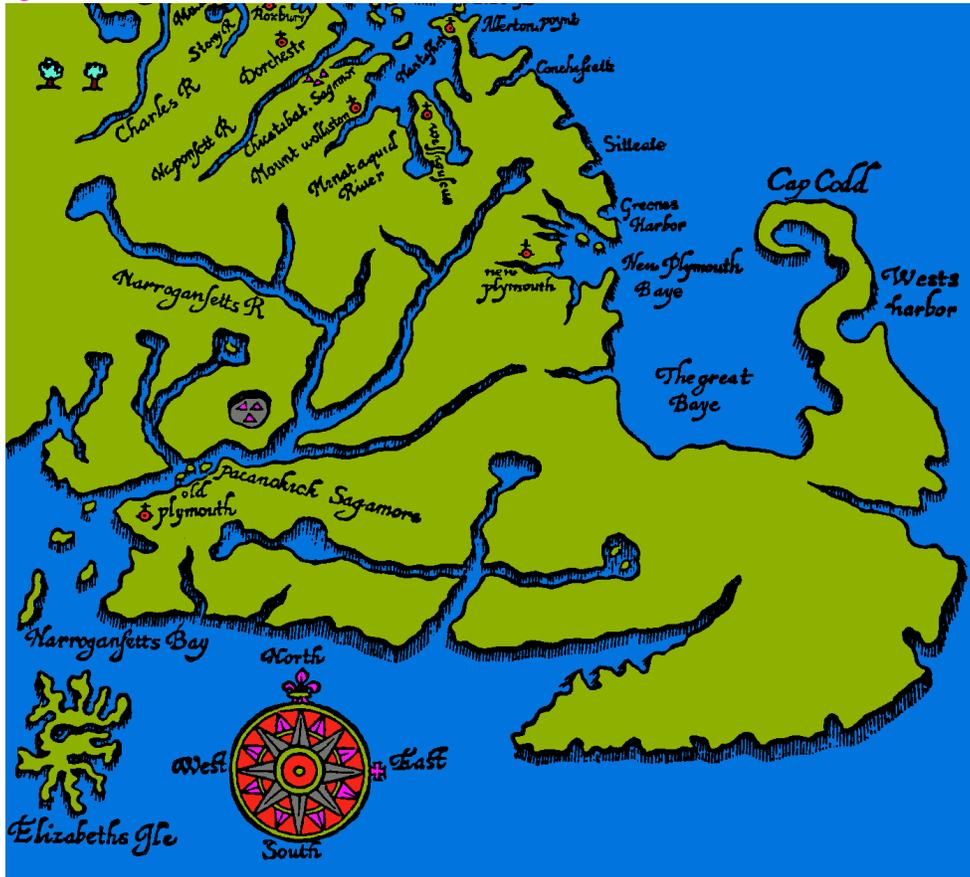
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<sup>1</sup> Compare Winthrop, N.E., vol. i. p. 265; Johnson's Wonder-working Prov. lib. ii. c. 12, *cit.* Savage; and Morton's Memorial, by Davis, p. 209, and note, p. 289.

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[William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#) were of course among those who sought refuge in [Rhode Island](#) on this [Narragansett](#) turf.



Note that at this point the Dyer family had not yet been tainted by [Quakerism](#) — the Reverend [Williams](#), in tolerating them at this point, was not by that fact tolerating Quakers.<sup>13</sup> It may be that the Reverend's track record was good, overall, at least for that era, but in fact he didn't like Quakers in the same way he didn't like Papists, which in our own day and age would be taken as a sign of religious intolerance rather than as a sign of religious tolerance:

They admit no interpreter but themselves, for the spirit within, they say, gave forth the Scripture, and is above the Scripture, ... and that all they do and say is scripture — Papists and Quakers most horribly and hypocritically trample it under their proud feet.

13. In addition, this is often overlooked but in fact in the Dyer family, only [Mary Dyer](#) and her son Will ever became [Quakers](#).



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

September: Under the peace signed at Hartford, Connecticut, the Pequot group was dismembered. The 180 who had been captured near Fairfield were distributed as [slaves](#), 80 being granted to the Mohegan, 80 to the [Narragansett](#), and 20 to the Eastern Niantic. Of the 80 whom the English captured in other engagements, 30 were adult males and presumably warriors and were thus executed, and 50 who were female and/or children were sold into slavery in the British colony of Bermuda and islands of the West Indies such as the Spanish colony of Jamaica. One band, that had surrendered, was exiled to Long Island and made subject to the Metoac who by 1653 would become subject to the Narragansett. Other captives were distributed as “servants” to New England households, in which status they would remain until their deaths. The largest group, perhaps as many as 1,000, were placed under the control of Uncas and the Mohegan. The additional fighting force provided by these Pequot warriors would make the Mohegan, upon their defeat of the Narragansett in 1644, the most powerful tribe in southern New England.

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1639

At the request of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) mediated with the natives to prevent a threatened coalition of the Pequot of Connecticut with the [Narragansett](#) and Mohegan groupings. He would write of this in later years: “Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms methought reeked with the blood of my countrymen murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River.”

April 28, Sunday (Old Style): After a brief dispute with the other whites occupying [Portsmouth](#) at the north end of [Aquidneck Island](#) (people such as Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and [Samuell Gorton](#)), a group under [William Coddington](#) obtained permission from the [Narragansett](#) to resettle at the southern tip of that island, founding [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#).<sup>14</sup>

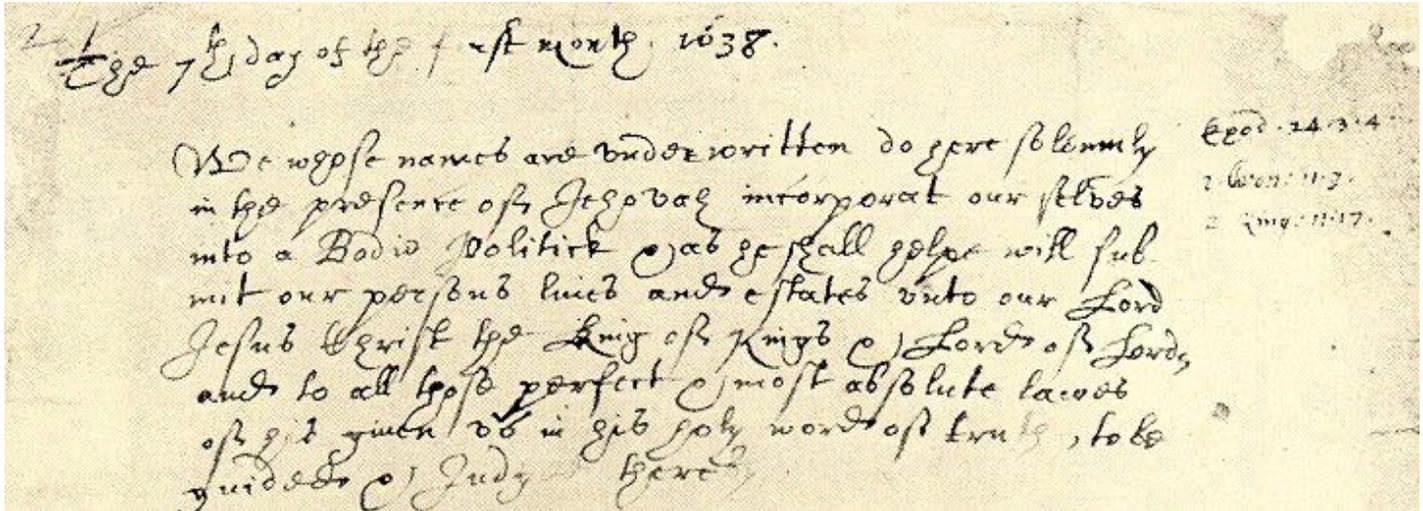


14. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.

WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

A "Portsmouth Compact" was signed by, among others, [John Clarke](#), [William Coddington](#), [William Dyer](#), Nicholas Easton (1593-1675),<sup>15</sup> John Coggeshall, William Brenton, Henry Bull, Jeremy Clarke, and Thomas Hazard.



- Willm Hutchinson.
- Samuell Gorton
- Samuell Hutchinson
- John Wickes
- Richarde Maggson.
- Thomas Spiser,
- ~~William Aspinwall~~
- ~~Willm Hauler~~
- John Roome, R mark
- John Sloffe I mark
- Thomas Beddar N mark
- Erasmus Bullocke
- Sampson Shotten

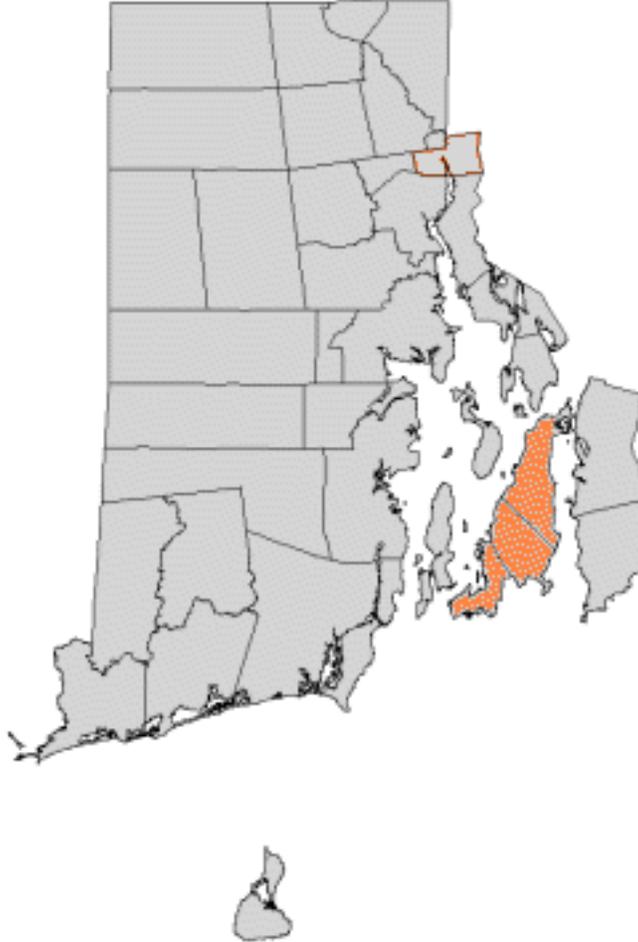
The arrival of the group made up of the Hutchinsons and about eighteen of their followers would bring the white population of [Aquidneck Island](#) to a total of 93 souls.

15. In this year Mr. Easton had been fined five shillings for coming to Puritan meeting without his weapons. He would become a [Quaker](#), and a governor of [Rhode Island](#).

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

Mistress [Hutchinson](#) would be living on the island for four years.



It would be there, in [Portsmouth](#) (then known as Pocasset) during the late summer of one year, that she would have what according to NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN amounted to a “menopausal pregnancy which, according to a modern interpretation of a doctor’s report, was aborted into a hydatidiform mole and expelled with great difficulty.” (She would then also be condemned, like [Mary Dyer](#), as the creator of a monster.)



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1640

The [Narragansett](#) grew increasingly alarmed at the growing power of Uncas and formed an alliance with the Pocumtuc and Tunxis (Mattabesic) against the Mohegan. Although the English forced them to sign a treaty promising not to go to war with the Mohegan without consulting them beforehand, during the 1640s the Mohegan and the [Narragansett](#) would be having a warlike dispute over the distribution of the defeated Pequot and their lands. Miantonomo would also be attempting to build an alliance to halt the expansion of the English. Here was Miantonomo's mark:





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1642

Summer: Accompanied by 100 of his warriors, headman Miantonomo of the [Narragansett](#) attended councils with the Metoac on Paumanok Long Island, Mattabesic in western Connecticut, and Mahican and Wecquaesgeek of the Hudson Valley. Few of these tribes were willing to join him in a war upon against the Mohegan in Connecticut and their English allies, but the Dutch in [Nieuw-Nederland](#), who were nervous about the animosity the Wecquaesgeek and Unami Delaware along the lower Hudson River seemed to be exhibiting toward them, found out about these visits. The Dutch feared that a native war on a tribe allied with the English could easily become a race war, red against white, and alerted their fellow white men of Massachusetts and Connecticut about the [Rhode Island](#) headman's activities.

Winter: The Dutch made a surprise attack on a sleeping Wecquaesgeek village. This "Pavonia Massacre" sparked a "Wappinger War" ("Wappinger" being another name they used for the Wecquaesgeek) which would consume 1643, 1644, and part of 1645. This fighting between the Dutch and the tribes of the lower Hudson heightened worries in New England about the friendship that the [Narragansett](#) had extended to the outcast Reverend Roger Williams.



1643

The Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven colonies of the English, together with their allied native tribes, formed something they termed the New England Confederation, while deliberately leaving the [Rhode Island](#) colony of the English and its allied native tribe, the [Narragansett](#), out in the cold, not invited to be any part of the defensive coalition. Isolated, these Rhode Island natives decided they would have to deal with the Mohegan by themselves. Meanwhile, the native response to the “Wappinger War” of the Dutch colonists had come to include nearly 20 tribes and in consequence the Dutch were at risk of being defeated. Concluding a treaty of friendship with the Mahican and Mohawk, they offered to pay 25,000 guilders to the English of the Connecticut colonies for soldiers to back up the Dutch military.

[Canonicus](#) sold additional land to [Roger Williams](#).

In a later timeframe the Reverend William Hubbard would have his own imitable comments on this “lustre of years” in New England.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

## READ HUBBARD TEXT

**Chapter XLIII. Ecclesiastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Providence and Rhode Island, to the year 1643. Intercourse between them and the Massachusetts.**

After [Squanto](#)'s death during November 1622, [Hobomok](#) had been the primary translator and guide for the First Comers and performed this duty faithfully. [Squanto](#) (*Tisquantum*) had mostly assisted William Bradford, [Hobomok](#) mostly [Myles Standish](#). He had guided and translated for the [Plymouth](#) settlers on their trips to visit the *Massasoit*, and to the Massachuset and Nauset among others. By this point in time, [Hobomok](#) also had died. In a pamphlet entitled NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS, of unknown authorship, published in London, [Hobomok](#)'s affections toward Christianity were described:

As he increased in knowledge, so in affection, and also in his practice, reforming and conforming himself accordingly; and though he was much tempted by inticement, scoffs and scorns, from the Indians, yet could he never be gotten from the English, nor from seeking after their God, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes, in their hearts, that his soul went to rest.

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

A conspiracy of the Massachusetts and the Connecticut with headman Uncas of the Pequot, probably encouraged and rewarded by the English of Boston, produced the murder/execution of Miantonomi, war leader of the [Narragansett](#), brother of headman [Canonicus](#). (Eventually Canonicus's grandson Canonchet would take over as the tribe's war leader, and he would be leading the tribe during the episode known as "[King Phillip's War](#)".)



Miantonomi was captured by the Mohegans and the newly formed United Colonies of New England ordered Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, to have him executed.

The [Narragansett](#) war against Uncas was halted due to English support of the Mohegans.



"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



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

March (1643/1644, Old Style): The commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, to wit the surrounding colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, the Plymouth Bay, and the Massachusetts Bay, had declared that they would accept [Rhode Island](#) as part of their alliance only on condition that a majority of the Rhode Island adult white males of property would “without reservation submit” either to the authority of the Plymouth colony or to the authority of the Massachusetts colony. To defend their Rhode Island and Providence Plantation settlements against this hegemonization on the part of the other English colonies, the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) journeyed to England and secured a parliamentary patent uniting the four white settlements on the Narragansett Bay, at [Providence](#), [Shawomet](#) ([Warwick](#)), [Newport](#), and [Portsmouth](#) ([Pocasset](#)), into a single colony and confirming the land grants his fellow settlers had received from native residents. This legislative document would serve as their foundational document until, due to the Stuart Restoration of 1660, it would become provident to seek a royal charter.

NATIVE  
PLACE-  
NAMES



On the voyage the Reverend would write, primarily upon the basis of his experience among the [Narragansett](#) tribespeople of the bay of Rhode Island, his *A KEY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF AMERICA*. In the dedication of this volume he would comment that “A little key may open a box where lies a bunch of keys.” Upon his arrival in London, his manuscript would be set in print by the shop of Gregory Dexter, later to be a master printer in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), and then pastor of the Baptist Church there, and then the Town Clerk, and then a Deputy Governor, and in 1655 the colonial Governor.

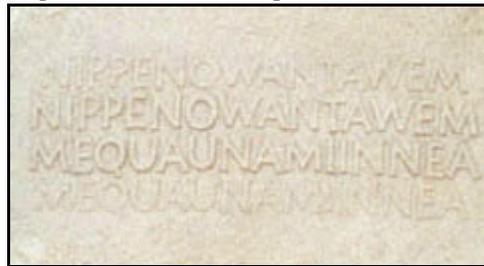
The Reverend would describe the native recipe for *Wuttáhimneash* Strawberries: “This Berry is the wonder of all Fruits growing naturally in these parts: It is of it selfe excellent: so that one of the chieftest Doctors of England was wont to say, that God never did make a better Berry: In some parts where the Natives have planted, I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship within few miles compasse: The Indians bruise them in a Mortar, and mixe them with meale and make Strawberry bread.”<sup>16</sup>

Thoreau would write of this that “Roger Williams, who knew the Indians well, in his account of those in his neighborhood –published in 1643– tells us that ‘*Sautaaash* are those currants (grapes and whortleberries) dried by the natives, and so preserved all the year, which they beat to powder and mingle it with their parched meal, and make a delicate dish which they call Sautauthig, which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake to the English.”

16. We need to bear in mind that these native American strawberries of this period were not identical with what we now grow in our fields — what we now grow is a cross between these native American strawberries and European alpine strawberries. The mixture of pounded strawberries and corn meal was made into hamburger-size patties and cooked, unsweetened of course, and eaten with boiled fish.

**“HUCKLEBERRIES”**: Roger Williams, who knew the Indians well, in his account of those in his neighborhood – published in 1643 – tells us that ‘Sautash are those currants (grapes and whortleberries) dried by the natives, and so preserved all the year, which they beat to powder and mingle it with their parched meal, and make a delicate dish which they call Sautauthig, which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake to the English.’

John Benson of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would conceive a sculpture in granite made from a block found at an exposed surface in the uppermost stratum of a [Westerly](#) quarry, worked during the most recent Ice Age. At the Bonner Monument shop near the quarry, he would modify this glacially worked surface to accommodate an inscription taken from the descriptions of the native American language found in this book by the Reverend Williams. The stone would be positioned on the campus of The University of Rhode Island in 1994.



(The writing means “I am of another language. / Remember me.”)

From A KEY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF AMERICA, a poem “Of the Heavenly Bodies”:

When Sun doth rise the Stars do set,  
 Yet there’s no need of Light,  
 God shines a Sun most glorious,  
 When Creatures all are Night.

The very Indian Boys can give  
 To many Stars their names,  
 And know their Course and therein do  
 Excel the English tame.

English and Indians none inquire,  
 Whose hand these Candles hold,  
 Who gives these Stars their Names, himself  
 More bright ten thousand-fold.

The charter for [Rhode Island](#) which Williams would obtain in England would prove to be very important as for the following 20 years it would be indisputable. Native troubles continued to increase in the colonies and Williams would be called upon to mediate these difficulties. He had established a trading post near [Wickford](#), which he operated very successfully, living there for long periods at a time while still maintaining his homestead in [Providence](#).<sup>17</sup>

17. To protect his trading post at [Wickford](#), the Reverend Williams invested in two of the type of small cannon referred to among the Christians as “murderers.”



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1644

Captain John Underhill organized two companies of Connecticut colonists, with Mohegan scouts, and went off to the assistance of the beleaguered Dutch forces. With the departure of the English soldiers and Mohegan warriors to fight in the Dutch's "Wappinger War," Miontonimo decided the time had come for his attack, and without the awareness of the English (who would have alerted the enemy tribe), he led 900 of his [Narragansett](#) warriors in a surprise attack on the Mohegan capital at Shetucket. The Mohegan warriors were close to defeat when some of them managed to capture Miontonimo, and with their sachem a captive, the Narragansett warriors were forced to withdraw. Uncas delivered Miontonimo to the English colonists at Hartford, Connecticut who kept him imprisoned, but the Connecticut colonists were uncertain what to do with him until they had consulted with the Massachusetts Bay colony. After much discussion, it was announced that Miontonimo would be released and allowed to return to his people under a combined English and Mohegan escort. The English took Miontonimo from Hartford to Shetucket to pick up the Mohegan part of the escort, but the combined party had scarcely departed when the brother of Uncas stepped forward and whacked Miontonimo from behind with his tomahawk, dropping him instantly (we may doubt that this offing could have occurred without the prior consent of the English).



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1645

The assassination of headman Miontonimo had marked the end of [Narragansett](#) power in [Rhode Island](#). For violating the treaty, this tribe would be forced to render an annual tribute, usually of wampum, to Massachusetts. Then, during 1653, they would attempt to render this annual tribute not in wampum but in the same manner as the Pequot, by crossing to Long Island and conquering the Montauk (Metoac) on the east end of the island — however, this warfare would upset English colonists who had been settled at Southampton since 1640. In 1654, threatened with war by the English, the Narragansett would need to desist from their conquest of the Metoac of Long Island.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1646**

The United Colonies supported Ousamequin and other sachems against [Narragansett](#) dominance.

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1647

June 4, Friday (Old Style): Sachem [Canonicus](#) of the [Narragansett](#) died, more than 80 years old with snow-white hair. His name would be applied to the place at which he had lived, [Conanicut](#) (Quononicut) Island — which eventually would become the site of the white town of [Jamestown, Rhode Island](#). The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote, “were it not for Canonicus ... Rhode Island would not be.” Headman Canonicus’s grandson Canonchet (Nanuntemo) would lead the [Narragansett](#) during “[King Phillip’s War](#)”.



In the [English Civil War](#), the army took [King Charles I](#) as its hostage, and held him at Newmarket.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1653

The [Narragansett](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had been rendering an annual tribute, usually in wampum, to Massachusetts, but at this point they attempted to render this annual tribute not in wampum but in the same manner as the Pequot, by crossing the sound to Long Island and conquering the Montauk (Metoac) on the east end of the island — however, this warfare would upset English colonists who had been settled at Southampton since 1640. In the following year, threatened with war by the English, the Narragansett would need to desist from their conquest of the Metoac of Long Island.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1654

The [Narragansett](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had attempted in the previous year to render their annual tribute to Massachusetts not in wampum but in the same manner as the Pequot, by crossing Long Island Sound and conquering the Montauk (Metoac) on the east end of the island. However, this warfare had upset English colonists who had been settled at Southampton since 1640, and because of this the English had threatened war. The Narragansett were therefore forced to desist from their conquest of the Metoac of Long Island.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1655

The Pequot living of necessity among the Mohegan were being treated so badly that the English, who usually overlooked such matters, were forced to remove them to separate locations in eastern Connecticut. These eventually became the Mashantucket (Western Pequot) reserve established at Ledyard in 1666 and the Pawcatuck (Eastern Pequot) reservation established at Lantern Hill in 1683. Separation from the Mohegan helped, but it did not change the obligation of the Pequot to support the Mohegan in times of war. Pequot warriors would join Mohegan war parties, one of which would capture the [Narragansett](#) sachem Canonchet during "[King Phillip's War](#)".



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1669**

Headman Passaconaway of the Pennacook died and was succeeded by his son Wanalancet. Despite his mistreatment in 1642, Wanalancet would eventually consent to being baptized and would work to keep the Pennacook neutral as the English hostility toward the [Narragansett](#) under Metacom escalated. Headman Wanalancet was being opposed in council by Kancamagus, the son of Passaconaway's brother Nanamacomuck and the sagamore of the Wachusett, and, considering what abuse the Pennacook had already suffered at the hands of the English, we may marvel that he was able to prevail.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1670**

A stone structure was erected near [Newport](#) as the base of a windmill which might also function as a fortress in the event of native attack. What remains of this structure has since been fancied to have been the handiwork of “Vikings,” and stands in Touro Park off Bellevue Avenue. The land upon which this ruin stands once belonged to Governor Benedict Arnold, [Rhode Island](#)’s first governor under the charter of 1663 and an ancestor of General Benedict Arnold of Revolutionary-era fame and notoriety.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

## **INTERNET WITHOUT COMMENT: THE VOYAGE OF WAVE CLEAVER**

What seems definite is that scholars seem agreed that the architecture is typical of “13th century Scandinavian (concepts)” and that comparisons to European structures also point to Portuguese bases (as to the 8 arch build). Otherwise all that seems known is that it is quite old — oldest standing structure on the North American Continent — and no one seems certain as to who built it and why.

Information here (not cited as this was not my main point of interest) does bring certain information that perhaps it had been built by both Portuguese and Scandinavians somewhere in the period of 1480 to 1511, and here is the story that leads to this supposition;

Records seem to show that around 1470 King Alphonso VI of Portugal and King Christian I of Denmark formed a treaty to explore west of Iceland. At this time European ties were much stronger than today and Iceland was a recognized and viable nation in mainland eyes — strong connections to the Vatican, for instance. Portugal was in process of systematic explorations in all directions; towards India is well documented but also sweeping the Atlantic and discovering the offshore islands of the Azores and others. It looks to me that they may have discovered Bermuda as well. Common sense indicates the purpose of this treaty — that Portuguese cartographers were interested in the north Atlantic as they were in all other areas and the most logical course of action was to turn to Scandinavia for intimate knowledge acquired over the years. I am not sure if Iceland was a colony of Denmark at this time but at any rate the Danes surely were as familiar with the northern seas as anyone else.

From what I can gather the terms of the treaty were that the ships and crews of the expedition(s) were to be provided by King Christian I and that Portuguese interests would be overseen by one Joao (“Yorra”) vas Corte Real, apparently a Portuguese nobleman with nautical connections. It might be noted here that the major base of Portuguese explorations was at Sagres, near Gibraltar, the port of which is at Lagos, a few miles away. Just a few miles west of Lagos is Palos, Spain, both places intimately familiar to Christopher Columbus, the former a place of salvation to him after his swim to shore in 1476, the latter his port of departure in 1492. My own mind is intrigued at this remarkable coincidence of geography at this particular date, especially when Columbus himself claimed he had been in the northern seas (“Thule”) in 1477. What appears here is that an unemployed and likely desperate Columbus was in the exact port when an expedition was fitting out for that precise destination.

Anyway, the party eventually did make an exploration with three Danish ships whose pilots were two Germans, Pining and Pothorst and one Norwegian, Johan Scolp. They were successful in passing Iceland and certainly reached Greenland and many historians claim Newfoundland itself. The trip seems to have been successful, for one of the Germans (Pining?) was rewarded with the Governorship of Iceland, the other an influential position in the Frisian Islands and Scolp becoming a noted geographer remarked at least six times in medieval documents. Joao vas Corte Real was rewarded with the Governorship of Terciera in the Azores which was in process then of pioneer settlement, having been recently discovered. It might be noted in context of what follows is that these pioneer settlers were not primarily Portuguese nationals but people hailing from Flanders, then the “netherlands” of Denmark. This must have been part of the Regal Treaty in some way and almost certainly in part personnel, families and crews of his expedition. (Could it be possible that some of them may have been Greenlanders?)

It is true that Joao vas Corte Real’s destination in the New World is indefinite but this is not the end of the story. It seems that Joao vas Corte Real had two sons with exploratory ambitions of their own. In 1498(?) they set out on an expedition in some way a duplicate of their fathers, doubtless to refine or extend the courses. Certainly they were privy to all the navigational material developed by their father. At some point their two ships separated by agreement with Miguel exploring north along Labrador or Greenland and Gaspar exploring south. After a year the ships rejoined at Newfoundland, shared information and then Miguel returned to Portugal with Gaspar remaining and returning to his prior destination or for further explorations. Now, at this rejoinder, Gaspar transmitted two clues as to where he had been (that have survived — certainly detail was more complete for the reports). He said that the natives who lived in that southerly place lived about “— a league inland”, that they had “greenish eyes” (could he have meant, possibly, Greenland type European eyes?), and that they were born white and turned dark and wrinkled in age from exposure to weather. Except for eye color these are characteristics of the [Narragansett](#) Indians at about 42° North latitude whom I have identified in my earlier papers so we might be amenable to the suggestion that Gaspar had reached [Narragansett Bay](#).



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

Well, what happened is that nothing further was ever heard from Gaspar. Evidently he was expected to return to Portugal but he never arrived and little trace of him ever surfaced. I say “little” as we will see that perhaps some sign of him has survived indirectly. A few years later brother Miguel mounted another expedition with the purpose of locating for rescue or Christian burial of the lost Gaspar. This expedition as it happens also disappeared into the mists of the Atlantic and nothing further ever was ever heard of it — in Europe.

But it may be there is documentation on the American side, especially in combination of the suggestion that Gaspar may have reached [Narragansett Bay](#) in 1499 or 50. There is a famous and preserved carved stone in a place called Dighton, Massachusetts which has come under intense study over the centuries it has been known. Among the most thorough and comprehensive are Portuguese-Americans, Dr. Manuel da Silva and Professor Edmund Burke Delabarre who translate some of the carvings to say, “Miguel Corte Real, 1511” accompanied with several of the Portuguese “Quinna” (heraldic shields) in close comparisons with other known Portuguese markers in south American and Africa. I have seen the stone both “in situ” and in its present museum close by and agree that Dr. Delabarre’s analysis might well be correct.

Dighton, Massachusetts can only be reached by water through [Narragansett Bay](#) with passage close to or immediately past [Newport](#) harbor. It is located at about the limit of navigation where the extended branch of the bay called Taunton River narrows and becomes impassable except to small craft.

So with the story, the clues, and the evidence it seems plausible that Portuguese seaman, almost certainly accompanied by Scandinavians, entered [Narragansett Bay](#) possibly in 1511, possibly in 1500, and speculatively so early as 1478. Here they were, it seems, and why here and what did they do?

The tower. I have seen this often and thought it through as best I can. It is not a church, people cannot congregate there; it is not a fortification, it is too blind; it is not a windmill, being of incorrect construction and with presence of a fireplace; not a powderhouse either from the same latter reason. So what is it? It is my belief that it was originally roofed with a conical thatch cover and served a purpose as a food cache or storage depot for commodities such as furs, both best kept well above ground.

The fireplace is important. Any open flame in a windmill is dangerous in the extreme and must have been well known almost so long as grain has been milled. Grain dust is explosive with enough power to destroy any structure at which it occurs. This particular fireplace is unusual as it is too shallow in depth to build a fire. It must have been for use of oil lamps and the two flues being placed to reduce soot and smoke inside. Construction of the flues indicates some awareness of prevailing weather pattern as predominate winds in winter are from the west and the flues are marginally efficient only from that direction. The fireplace had at one time a mantle above of massive bulk. If stone, it must have fallen and been removed; if wood, rotted away.

The tower has survived several earthquakes, one of which occurred in my lifetime (I slept the sleep of the just some thirty miles away). For the tower to be still standing shows masonry expertise of the highest water. According to an oil painting by Gilbert Stuart in 1773, it had been entirely covered with mortar or stucco with embossed artificial keystones formed in the material to disguise the actual crude fieldstones.

The floor had been massive — at least a foot and a half thick. Whether there had been an entry through the floor, is now impossible to say but with that thickness would seem unlikely. The entry, then, is the lintelled low opening on the north side. So low that anyone entering there is vulnerable by occupants, but whether this is by design or not is speculative. This opening is just below one of the eave pole openings near the top. It is my conjecture that a simple hoist was hung from that post to aid lift up a ladder to the opening and then inside. A side of mutton, goat or beef or a sack of grain could be so transported. Hard work, but that is the only entry. The sash of this opening is at about floor level.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

The window on the SW side is most interesting to me. Its placement defies logic. For symmetry it is well out of place and the lack of windows elsewhere argues that this one had some purpose other than light or ventilation, direct sunlight can enter it only near sunset, and then not directly. It is neither above a pillar nor an arch but placed in an apparent haphazard position with no evident design except accidental and seems to have been part of the original structure as built. Some have speculated that this may have been for purpose of a “lighthouse” since it is diametrically opposed to the fireplace on the other side (almost; the fireplace is directly above a pillar). This could be true but does have some peculiarities. For one thing it is placed in elevation in such a way as to be indiscernible anywhere on land just below or even for some distance out in the harbor. It seems, indeed, to have a very limited arc of visibility. Possibly it might serve a purpose of signalling a ship traveling north offshore that it had passed a headland and could turn into the harbor, but all in all that seems a lot of effort for such limited activity, no sane seaman would sail at night in such shallow waters. (Actually it is quite deep there — over 120 feet — but this is not apparent and is so close to shore that it is dangerous otherwise at night.)

So if it is for a lighthouse it is limited indeed, but I have laid out the arcs and find that a direct line of sight is straight across Pettaquamscutt Rock on the opposite side of the bay — at that locale called “Tower Hill” and where records hint there was a second tower at one time. However, the intervening island called [Jamestown RI \(Canonicut\)](#) has considerable height itself and I have not determined if a line of sight would clear and be visible over there. It is only speculative that so weak a light as oil lamps could be seen at that distance either — it would be only in very clear atmospheric conditions. On the other hand, if there were a station or tower on Jamestown as well, then signalling across the bay would be practical.

Such an interest might be considered by Norse of a thousand years ago, by Portuguese commercial interests 500 years ago and also possibly a restrained British military garrison 300 years ago. I doubt the British endeavor, for they militarily controlled the Bay anyway with ships and the design of the tower is too primitive and purposeless for them at that time, so of these possibilities we are left with Norse and Portuguese/Norse at different times.

I have tried to point out in my papers the intellectual interest in the latitude of 42° North in medieval times when natural phenomena such as that were important, especially towards the north with tropics and the equator itself feared and unknown. Has anyone noticed that Rome and Constantinople are on the same latitude — 42° North? Can it be then imagined that anyone finding himself on the American side of the Atlantic would have at least some incentive to travel that far south, if only to curry favor and support from the Vatican? [Narragansett Bay](#) happens to be located only a half degree south of 42° North and may actually extend northward to near 42° North.

There is an interest that also occurs in the log of Christopher Columbus during one of his expeditions of discovery and explorations. For some reason historians record as a grievous error Columbus’ notation of his latitude at 42° North when he actually was at 22° North. There is more to this than meets the eye, for this error is too large and too distorted to be realistic. Log entries are usually inserted daily, or at least at frequent intervals, so that this error would be immediately noticed by being obvious at sight and so compensated with no problem. Yet, I understand that it was queried during Columbus’ lifetime and he insisted it was correct as he wrote it. I am convinced that this episode requires application for some explanation, in view of the possibility that Columbus may have had intimate information concerning the Corte Real voyages at a period in his life when he was a Portuguese seaman and may, indeed, have participated directly or indirectly in those voyages themselves.

Pursuit of these factors might better be done with access to records in Europe, so this is offered to scholars there to pursue it at will. If anyone has access to the original logs or translations of Columbus’ trips, I would dearly love to find and analyze the context of the entry containing the reference to 42° North when his ship was at 22° North. It may well be something more than a simple entry — he may have been trying to tell us something.

1671

March: Metacom paraded his Wampanoag warriors through Swansea displaying their weapons. Called into court in Plymouth town, he acknowledged preparations for war.<sup>18</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.

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.)

18. 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.

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.

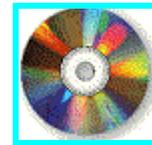
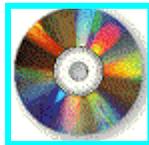
## WAMPANOAGS

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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.”

– Lyman Frank Baum, author of the Oz books

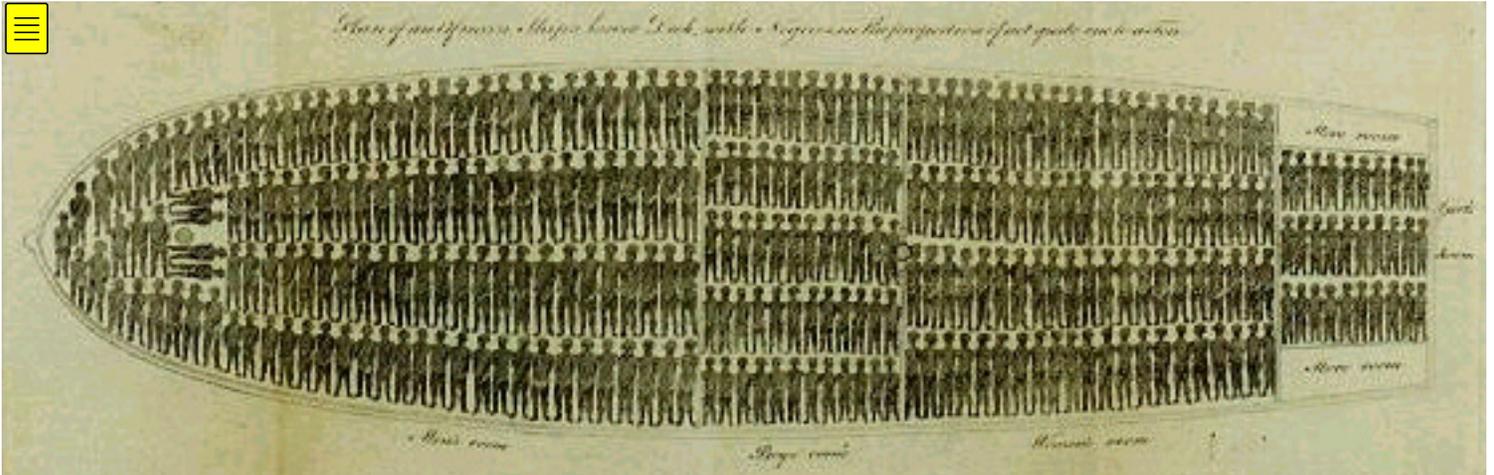


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The intrusive culture had reached critical mass and the native culture of the *Wampanoag* and *Narragansett*, with their “Welcome, Englishman, Welcome, Englishman,” and with their “What cheer, nehtop,” was at this point doomed to be virtually extinguished. Previously, they had been the white man’s valued allies against the Pequots, but the fact was, the English were white and delightful and these people were red and unenlightened. Uncounted thousands of the red previous allies would be offered 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.

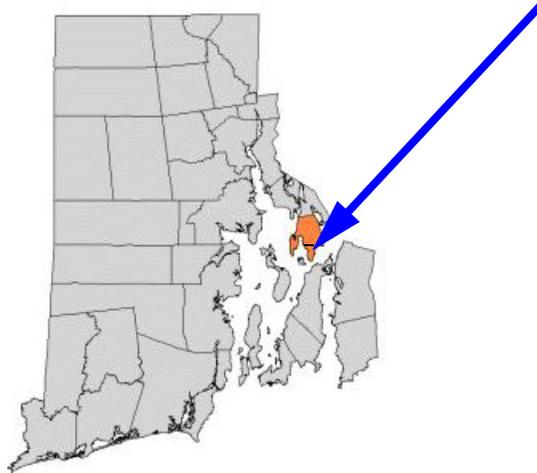
[Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#):]



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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.



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 *Engliffh*, *Mount-Hope*, about twelve Miles long, and judged to be the beft Land in *New England* : And it was about thirty five Miles off of this Place to the Northward, that the firft *Engliffh* 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 Bofton]

## WAMPANOAGS

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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].



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.**



## WAMPANOAGS

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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:

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.



## WAMPANOAGS

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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.

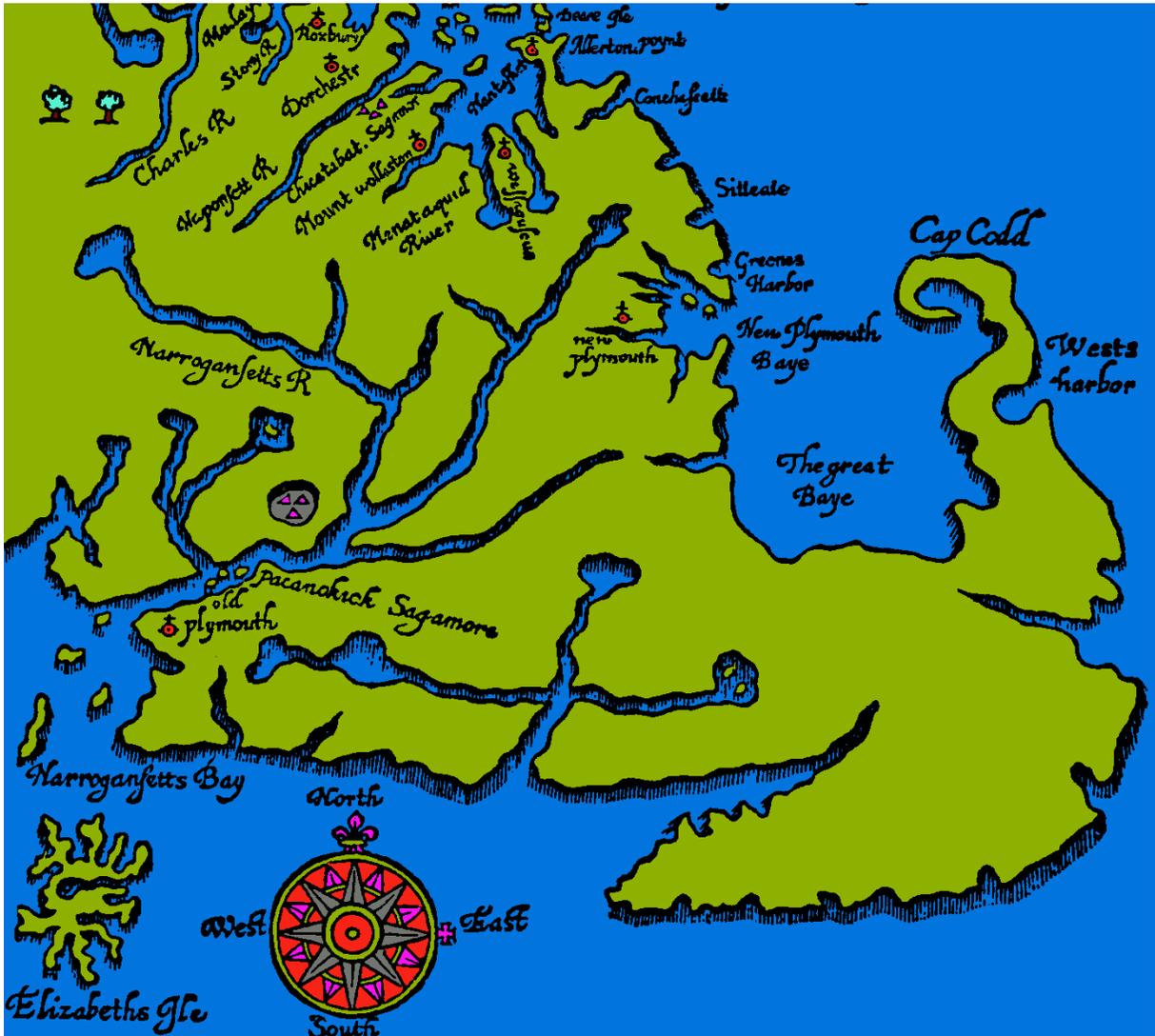


Writing thirty years after the fact of [Hiroshima](#) and [Nagasaki](#), Ralph Lapp, who had worked on the [A-bomb](#), would ask “If the memory of things is to deter, where is that memory?” He would add that “Hiroshima has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated.”

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.

WAMPANOAGS

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## WAMPANOAGS

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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.

## WAMPANOAGS

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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>20</sup> show that the government engaged in mobilising councils of war in the towns, ordering ammunition, mounting "great guns" and transporting Plymouth soldiers.<sup>21</sup> Quakers were specifically commissioned to oversee watches in Rhode Island, to evaluate whether to fund a garrison in Providence, to procure and manage the deployment of four boats, each with five or six men, and to patrol the waters of Narragansett Bay.<sup>22</sup> The Assembly appointed a major to command the military forces of the colony, thereby centralizing the war power. Governor Coddington signed

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

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

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



## WAMPANOAGS

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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>23</sup> [Meredith Baldwin Weddle, "Early Quaker Peace Testimony," in Mullett's NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX, pages 92-93]

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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 Swanzeay. 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*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63





## WAMPANOAGS

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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”

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”

 August 24 (24/6M), Tuesday (Old Style): A group of [Rhode Island](#) Quakers authored a curious document, a copy of which has recently been recovered from among the papers of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. of Connecticut, in which they were alleging there to be among them some who were falling away from the Peace Testimony by resorting to “**Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons.**” Along the way they described what their Peaceable Kingdom of God was supposed to be like — a place “**where Strife, Envy, Pride, Covetousness, are not**”:

***Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons, rendering Evil for Evil, are not; Revenge, Robbing for Conscience sake; watching with Guns or Swords to kill the Bodys of Men, though Enemies; Offending, or defending with Carnal weapons of whatsortsoever to preserve att Liberty Body or Estate are not.***

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



## WAMPANOAGS

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The problem these faithful [Quakers](#) who were authoring this document faced, obviously, was that those influential Quakers of Rhode Island who were endangering them by placing trust in “*Carnall Weapons, in the Kingdom of Contention, & Strife (as Guns Swords &c.) to defend their own, or others Bodys, Lives, or Estates, by threatning to Wound; or kill, or by wounding or killing, the Bodyes of their Enemyes,*” so far falling away from this ideal of the Peaceable Kingdom of God, were Quaker officials of the Rhode Island government which was purporting to represent them. These government types who were cooperating in the prosecution of the ongoing race war obviously were greatly endangering these Quaker nonviolents on their isolated farm homesteads, by creating the sort of hostile environment in which the [Wampanoag](#) and [Narragansett](#) could be expected to become agitated against, and to attack, English in general on the basis of the color of their skin, rather than carefully distinguishing between warlike English and harmless English adherents of the Peace Testimony.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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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”

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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”

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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”



## WAMPANOAGS

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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 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 Bloud." 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): 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.

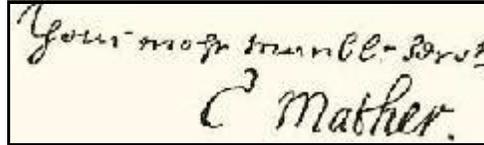
**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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



## WAMPANOAGS

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

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



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



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

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

(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.

~~REDACTED LINE~~

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>24</sup>

~~REDACTED LINE~~



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

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

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

*Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley*

*Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot*

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

*Amongst our Prisonrs & Slayn we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags*

24. 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 “mestee,” 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.)



## WAMPANOAGS

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*Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675*

*May it please your honour*

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



## WAMPANOAGS

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

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

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

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

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

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 we 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 let.



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

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

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

*31 67*

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

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

[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).



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1676

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.



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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>25</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.

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

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>26</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 [*Joshua*] *Tift*, a Renegadoe English man, who having received a deferved punishment from our General, deferted our Army, and fled to the Enemy, where he had good entertainment, and was again sent out by them with some of their Forces ; he was shot in the Knee by our Scouts, and then taken before he could discharge 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 false, he was Condemned to be Hanged and Quartered, which was accordingly done.**

*[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Boston]*

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

26. 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.



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February 19, Saturday (1675, Old Style): [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was attempting to deal with her distress:  
On this day in [Concord](#), according to the Reverend [William Hubbard](#)'s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES

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.

NARRAGANSETT

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRST PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAST YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DISCOURSE 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>27</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>28</sup> A company from Concord, and another from Watertown were also there.

~~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

27. [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.)

28. 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.

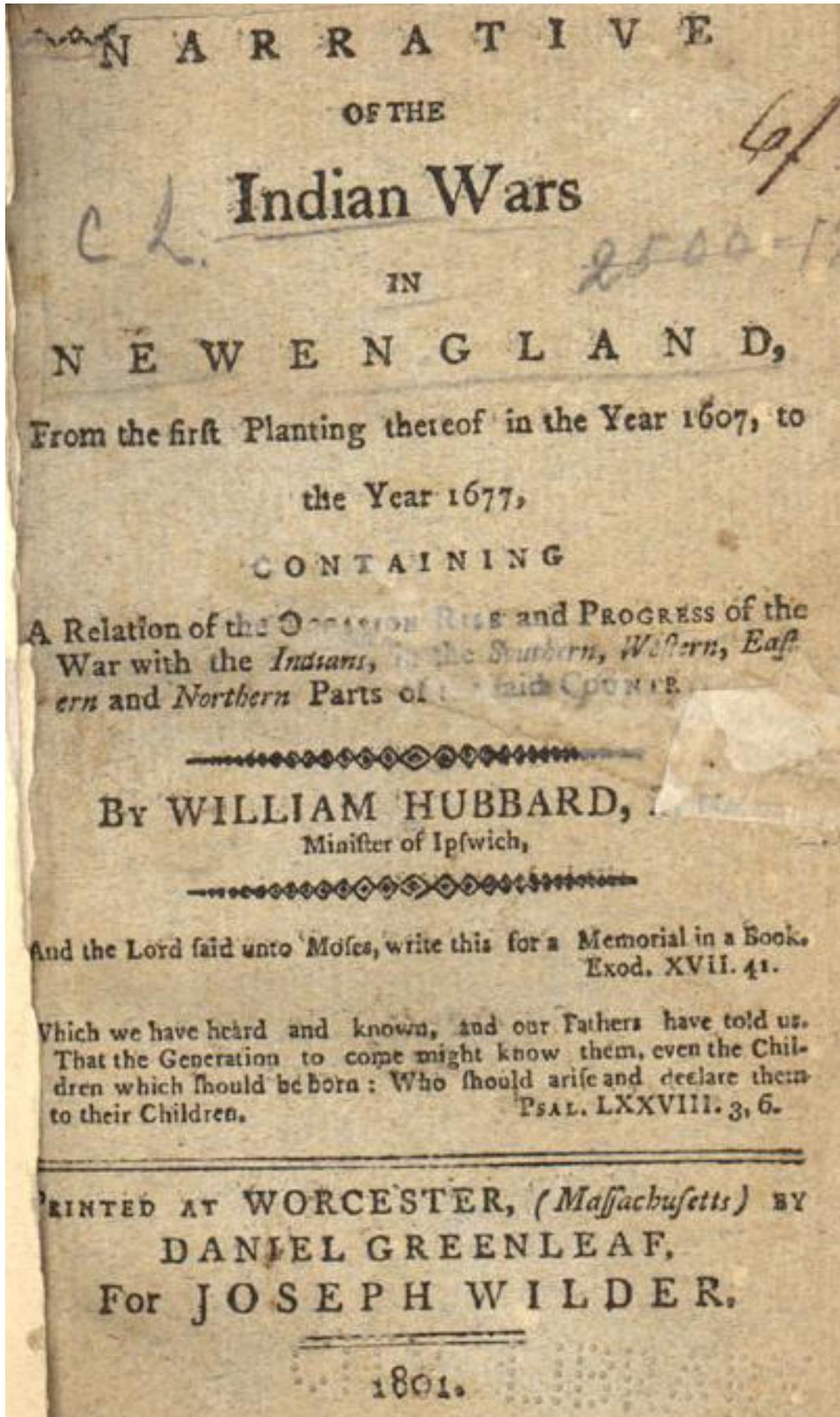
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WHAT?

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NARRAGANSETTS



WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.<sup>29</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>30</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.)



29. 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

30. 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.



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](#) 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

WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

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



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”



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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

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 boasted 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."

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

CONCORD

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 scarf 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.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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.

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

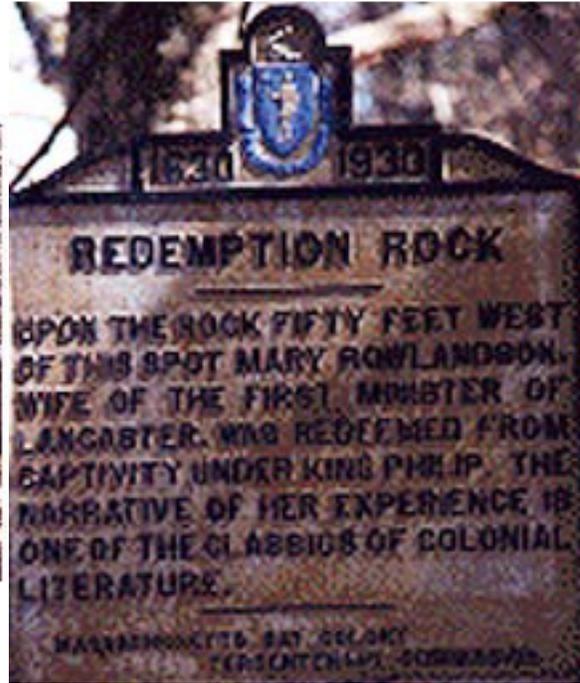
WILLIAM HUBBARD

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

WAMPANOAGS

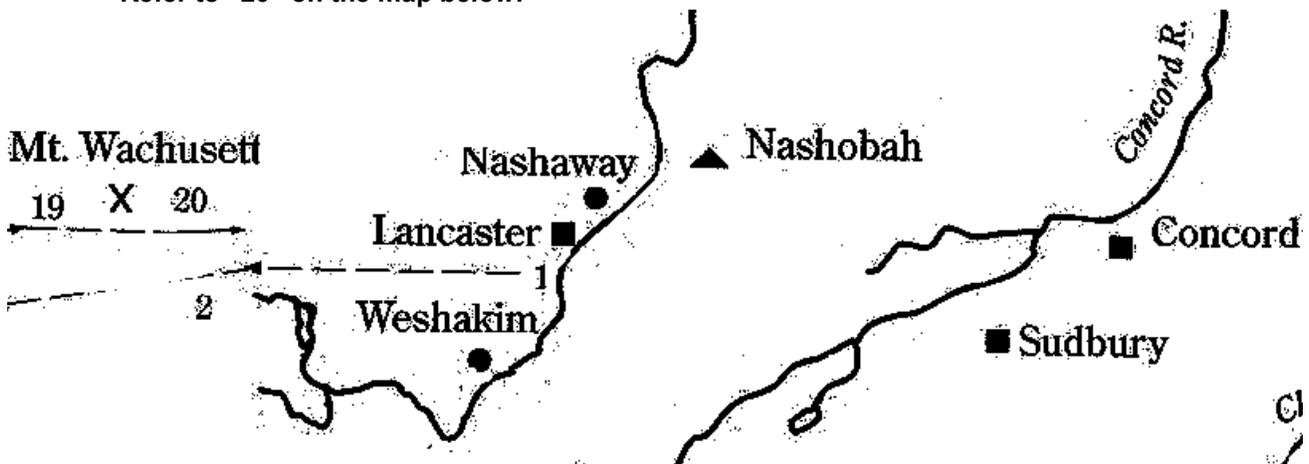
NARRAGANSETTS

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>31</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:



31. 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.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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.”

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



# WAMPANOAGS

# NARRAGANSETTS

August 10, Thursday (Old Style): In the general sharing out of the remains of the race war, the one record we have of an assignment to [Concord](#) town by the General Court was made out of a group of 32 red children that came in to Boston with John of Packachooge. “t is humbly proposed to the Honble Generall Court to set the times those children shall serue, and if not less if till they cam to 24 yeares of age, unto weh those yt had relations seemed willing. And also that ye could lay som penalty vpon them if they runne away before y’ time expire and on their parents or kindred yt shall entice or harberr and coaceale ym if they should runne away.”

To Mr. John Flint of Concord a mayd aged about feeten yeares; her parents dead, late of Narragauset.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS

WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE

THE FLINTS OF CONCORD

NARRAGANSETT

JOHN FLINT

INDENTURE

In full:

*A List of the Indian Children put to service that came in [to Boston] with John of Packachooge; presented To the Honorable Gen’l Court for their Confyrmatio, &c. By the Comittee Appointed for yt. Affayre, August 10, 1676.*

*A memorandum of Indian children put forth vnto service to the English, Beeing of those Indians that came in and submitted with John Sachem of Pakchoog; with the names of the persons with whome they were placed, and the names and age of the children, and the names of their relations, and the places they did belong to. By mr. [Daniel Gookin](#) sen’, Thomas Prentis, Capt., and mr. Edward Oakes who were a comittee appointed by the Council to manage yt affayr. The termes and conditions vpon wch they are to serue is to be ordered by the Gen» Coort who are to prouide yt the children bee religiously educated and taught to read the english tounge.*

*Boy, a maid. To Samuel Simonds esq, a boy named John; his’ father named Alwitankus, late of Quantisit, his father and mother prent both consenting; the boys age about 19 yeares. To him a girle named Hester her father and mother dead, late of Nashaway; her age ten yeares; her vncler John Woosumpegin of Naticke.*

*1 Boy. To Thomas Danforth esq., a boy aged about 13 yeares, his name John.*

*1 Boy. To Leift. Jonathan Danforth of Bilerekey, a boy aged twelue yeares, son to Papameck alius Daud, late of [Warwick](#) or Cowesit.*

*2 Boys. To Mathew Bridge of Cam Bridge, two boyes, the one named Jabez aged about ten yeares, the other named Joseph aged six yeares; their father named Woumpsleow, late of Packachooge. One or both these boyes is run away wth his father. 8ber 17th 1676.*

*A boy and two Girls. To mr. Jeremiah Shepard of Rowly, A boy named Absalom, his father of the same nam late of Mamhage; aged about ten yeares. To him, a girle, sister to the Lad, named Sarah, aged eleuen yeares. These ar kindred to Peeter Ephram of*

NATIVE PLACE-NAMES

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

Naticke. To him another girle aged about 8 yeares, her name Jane, her father and mother dead.

1 Mayd. To mrs. Mitchell of Cambridg widdow, a maid named Margaret aged about twelue yeares, her father named Sukamuck of Quantisit, her mother dead.

1 Boy. To Thomas Jacob of Ipswich, a boy aged ten yeares, on Wennaputanan his guardian and on Vpacuak of Quantisitt his grand mother was present; the Boy named Sawoonawuk.

1 Boy. To on Goodman Read a Tanner of Cambridge, a Boy named John aged about therteen yeares, his father Dead.

1 Boy. To mr. Jacob Green of Chares Towne, a boy aged about seucn yeares, his parents Dead, Late of Quantisit but his motber of Narragansit.

1 Boy. To Thomas Woolson of Wattertowne, a boy aged about 14 yeares, his name John, his father dead who was of Cowesit or Warwick, his mother prsent.

1 Boy. To Ciprian Steuens of Rumny March but late of Lancaster, a boy aged about six yeares, son to Nohanet of Chobnakonkonon, the Boy named Samuel.

1 Mayd. To Thomas Eliot of Boston a carpenter, a maid aged about ten yeares, her name Rebecka.

1 Boy. To Jacob Green Junior of Charles towne, a Boy named Peeter aged nine yeares, his father dead, his mother prsent named Nannantum of Quantisit.

Indian Children put to Service

1 Boy. To Goodrnan Greenland a carpenter of Charles towne on Misticke side, a boy name Tom aged twelue yeares, his father named Santisho of Packachooge.

1 Girle. To Mr. Edmund Batter of Salem, a maid named Abigal aged sixteen, her mother a widdow named Quanshishe late of Shookunnet Beyond Mendon.

A Boy a girle. To [Daniel Gookin](#) senior a Boy named Joshua aged about eight yeares, son to William Wunuko late of Magunkoog; his father dead, To him a girle aged about six yeares daughter to the widdow Quinshiske late of Shookanet beyond Mendon.

1 Girle. To Andrew Bordman, Tayler, of Cambridge, a girle named Anne sister to ye Later named.

22 wherof 14 male 8 femall

[Page 2]

1 Boy. To Thomas Prentis Junior, son to Capt. Prentis of Cambridge village, a boy named John son to William Wunnuko late of Magnkeg that was executed for Thomas Buring aged therteen.

1 Boy. To Benjamin Mills of Dedham, a boy aged about six yeares named Joseph Spoonant late Marlborow.

1 Boy. To Mr. Edward Jackson, a boy named Joseph, aged about 19 yeares, Late of Magungook cosen to Pyambow of Naticke.

1 mayd. To widdow Jackson of Cambridge village a girle named Hope aged nine yeares, her parents dead who were of Narraganset.

1 Boy. To old Goodman Myls of Dedham, a boy of fower yeares old, son to Annaweeken Deceased, who was late of Hassanameset, his rnother prsent.

1 Boy. To Capt. Thomas Prentis, a boy named Josoph son to Annawekin deceased, Brother to the last mnd. aged about 11 yeares. This boy was after taken from Capt. Prentice end sent with (?) Stoughton for England. Capt. Prentis is to be considered about it for he has taken much care and paynes about those indians.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1 Boy. To John Smith of Dedham, a boy aged about eight yeare; his father dead, late Marlborow, hee is brother to James Printers wife.

1 Mayd. To Mr. John Flint of Concord a mayd aged about feeten yeares; her parents dead, late of Narragauset.

1 Boy. To mr Jonathan Wade of mistick, a boy named Tom Aged about 11 yeares sonne to Willam Wunukhow of Magunkog deceased.

1 Mayd. To mr Nathaniel Wade of mistick, a maid aged about ten yeares daughter to Jame Natonint late of Packachook, her father and mother aliue.

10 in this page

22 in the other page

32

It is humbly proposed to the Honble Generall Court to set the times those children shall serue, and if not less if till they cam to 24 yeares of age, unto weh those yt had relations seemed willing. And also that ye coud lay som penalty vpon them if they runne away before y' time expire and on their parents or kindred yt shall entice or harborr and coaceale ym if they should runne away.

Cambridge 8ber 1676  
signed by the Comittee  
aboue named  
Daniel Gookin senr  
Edward Oakes



"...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

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



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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"**

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October 12, Thursday (Old Style): Two Native Americans were executed on Boston Common.

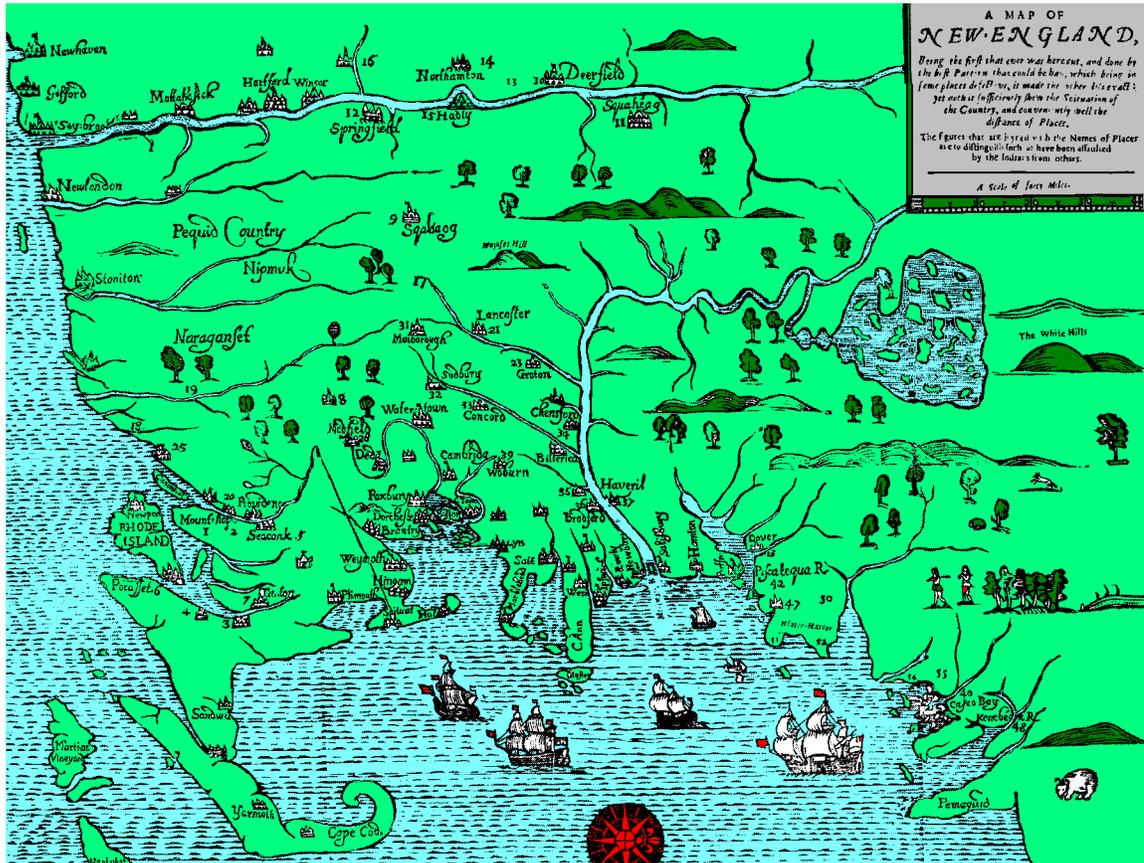


Later, some of the surviving local tribespeople would be returning to Concord to serve as indentured servants, and see white farmers in control of what had been their fields. —And any runaways from this period of indenture, if recaptured, could under the laws of the time be sold by their employers into lifelong foreign

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slavery.<sup>32</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>33</sup>

32. 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.

33. 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.)

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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>34</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.

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”

34. Quoted in the Reverend Cotton Mather’s *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA* (Hartford CT: Silas Andrus & Son, 1855), Volume I, page 16.

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Year end: At the end of this year, according to the Reverend [William Hubbard](#)'s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*..., fewer than 70 [Narragansett](#) tribespeople remained of an estimated 4,000-5,000 scattered around the bay of [Rhode Island](#) at the start of the race war. Most had been killed, had starved, or had been sold into slavery at a foreign port.

[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](#).]





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**1682**

After the Great Swamp Fight and death of Canonchet, about 3,000 [Narragansett](#) women, children, and old people remained from the pre-war population of about 5,000. At this point, in signing a peace treaty with the English, only 500 remained. Since the Eastern Niantic had remained neutral throughout the war, these surviving Narragansett were permitted to join them on their small reservation near Charleston, [Rhode Island](#). This combined tribe has since then been referred to as the Narragansett.



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**1688**

Samuel Mosely was one of a commission who treated with the [Narragansett](#), a late-life service in connection with which this former [pirate](#) (reprieved) and race murderer (celebrated) would come to be referred to, in our historic timeframe, uniformly throughout his life, as if he had been “Captain.”



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**1695**

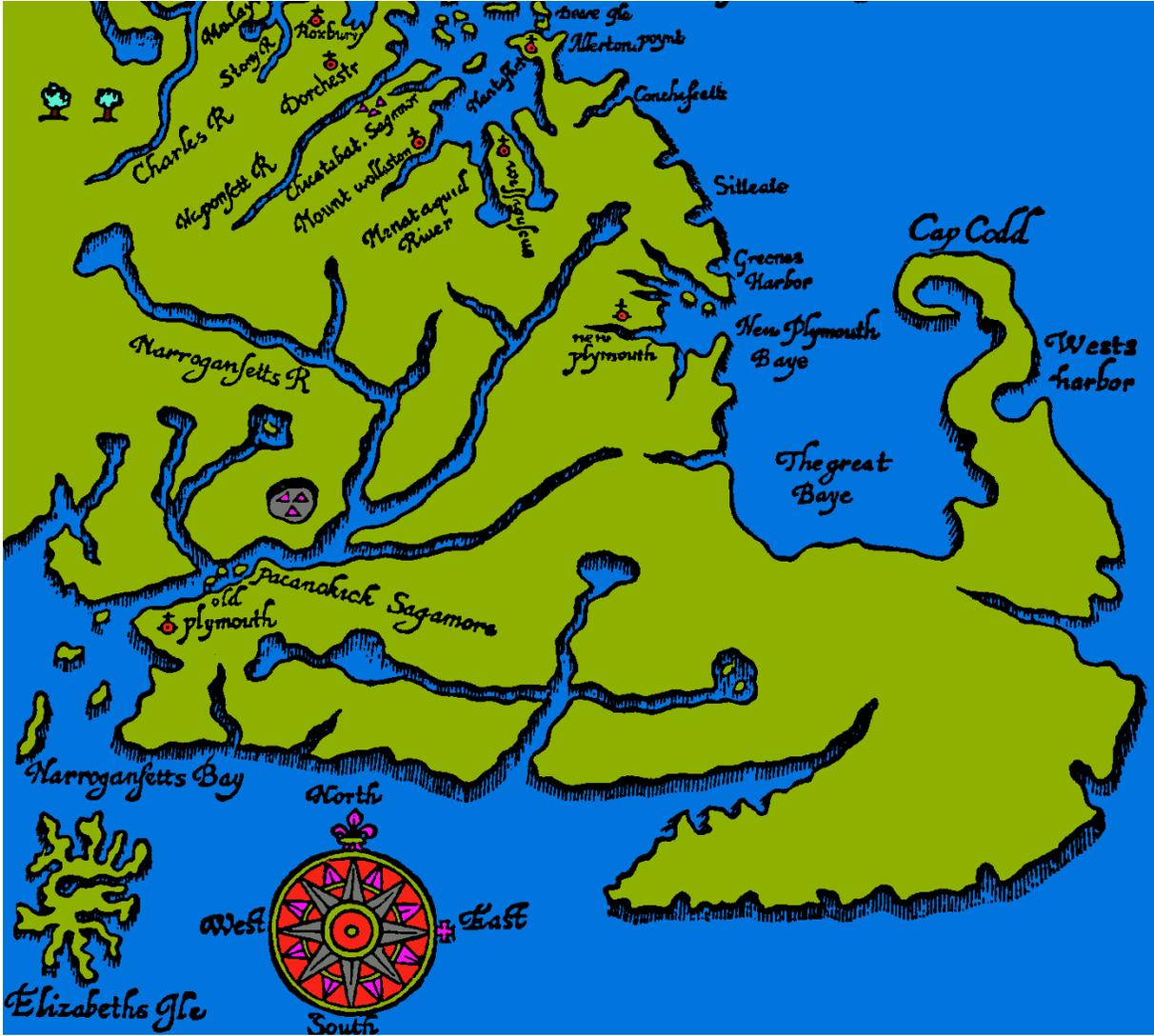
[Judge Samuel Sewall](#) donated 500 acres of land from the Pettaquamscutt Purchase in [Narragansett](#) Country, for the support of a schoolmaster at [Kingston, Rhode Island](#).

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1696

Considering free roaming Native Americans and other darkies to be at least as much a social nuisance as the gypsies of Europe or the geckos of Lisbon, and alleging that there had been "divers thefts and robberies," the Rhode Island General Assembly restricted black slaves and native Americans, including those of the local Narragansett tribe, to their homes after 9PM.



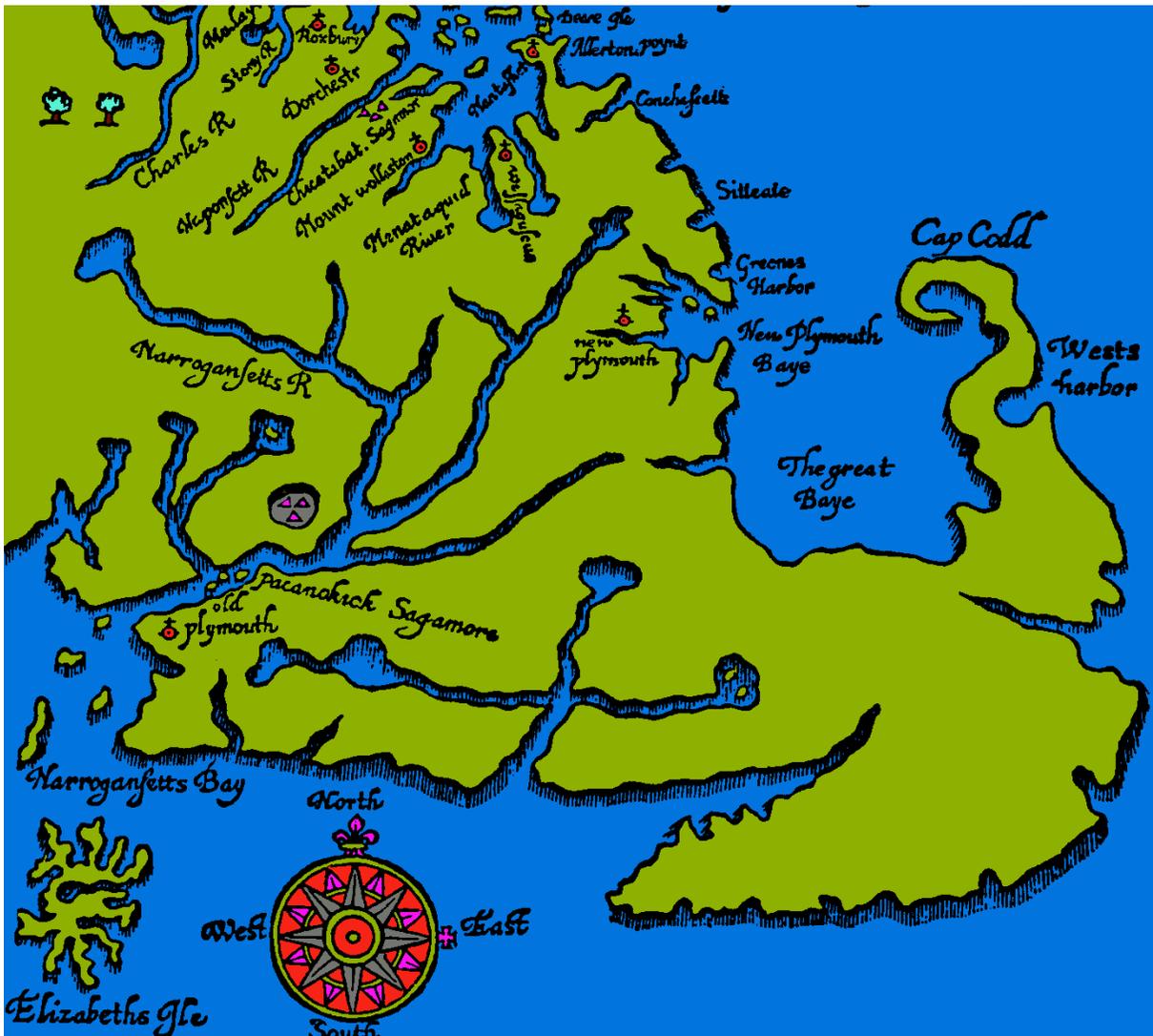
## WAMPANOAGS

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1702

The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) (son of Increase and grandson of Richard) wrote in *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA; OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND* that:

...we can hardly tell where any of 'em [the [Narragansett](#)?] are left alive upon the face of the earth.



**MATHER'S MAGNALIA, I**

**MATHER'S MAGNALIA, II**

The Reverend's opus presented [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#)'s captivity and escape narrative from the Reverend Rowlandson's perspective, as how his wife's captivity had tested his faith, and how her return to him had demonstrated that his faith had been superior to the evil she had been forced to endure. This is in sharp contrast

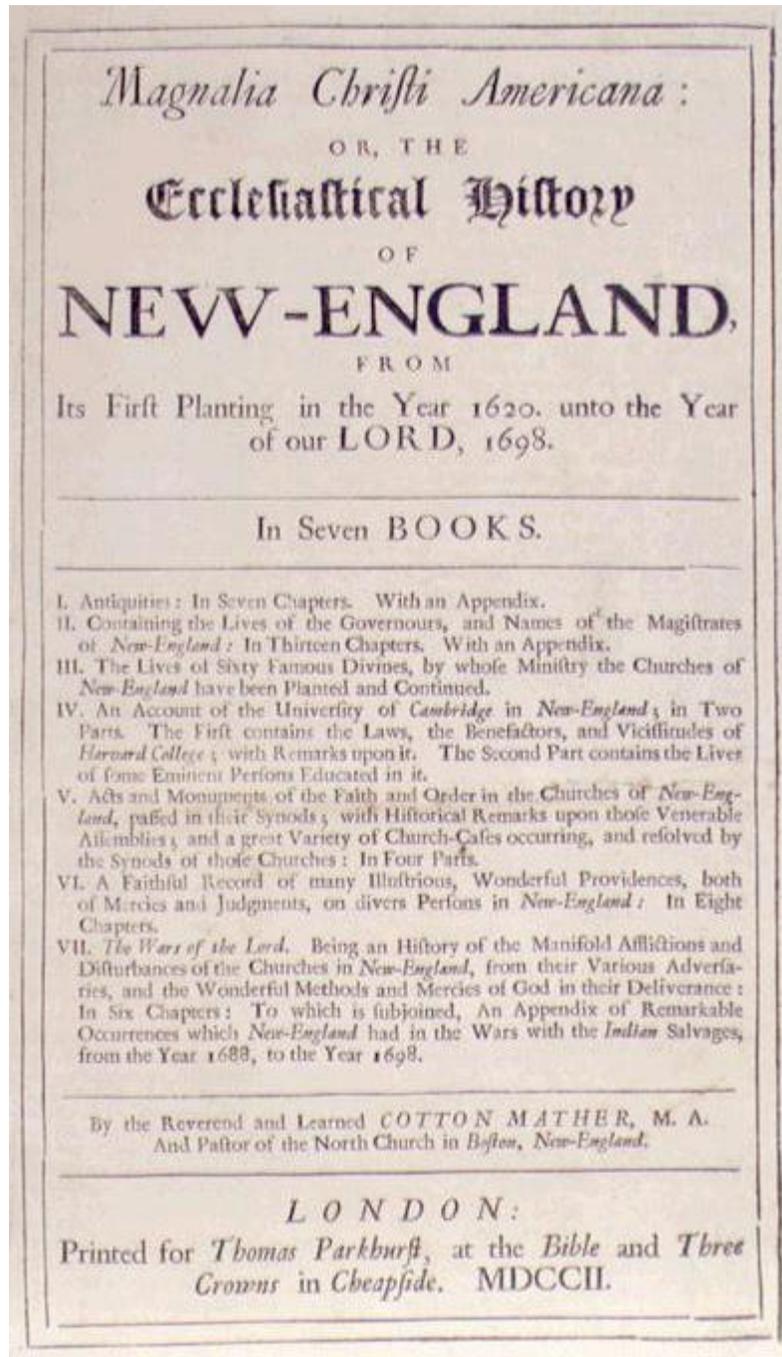
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with Mrs. Rowlandson’s own story, which she frames within her separation from and her reunion with her daughter “upon free cost,” that is to say, without the need for the paying of a money ransom. This Right Reverend also wrote in 1702 of the Salem [witch trials](#):

The devils which had been so played withal, and, it may be, by some few criminals more explicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the country, after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some scores of people, first about Salem, the centre and first-born of all the towns in the colony, and afterwards in several other places, were arrested with many preternatural vexations upon their bodies, and a variety of cruel torments, which were evidently inflicted from the dæmons of the invisible world... Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country where they have as much mother-wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadducism can question them.



This Right Reverend, a white man who wouldn’t quit, wrote:

*Barbaris pro libertate erepta fidem Jesu Christi, et vitam hominibus dignam reddamus.*

which translates literally if approximately as:

So what if we are reducing these savages to slavery? -In exchange for their liberty on this continent, our white rule bestows upon them not only the religion of Jesus Christ but also a decent manner of existence!



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“A GENERAL INTRODUCTION,”

IN THE REVEREND COTTON MATHER’S 1702

*MAGNALIA CHRISTII AMERICANA;*

OR, THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND

Dicam hoc propter utilitatem eorum qui Lecturi sunt hoc opus.  
— Theodoret.

1. I WRITE the **Wonders** of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, flying from the Depravations of **Europe**, to the **American Strand**. And, assisted by the Holy Author of that **Religion**, I do, with all Conscience of **Truth**, required therein by Him, who is the **Truth** itself, Report the **Wonderful Displays** of His Infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith His Divine Providence hath **Irradiated** an **Indian Wilderness**. I Relate the **Considerable Matters**, that produced and attended the First Settlement of COLONIES, which have been Renowned for the Degree of REFORMATION, Professed and Attained by **Evangelical Churches**, erected in those **Ends of the Earth**: And a **field** being thus prepared, I proceed unto a Relation of the **Considerable Matters** which have been acted thereupon.

I first introduce the **Actors**, that have, in a more exemplary manner served those **Colonies**; and give **Remarkable Occurrences**, in the exemplary LIVES of many **Magistrates**, and more **Ministers**, who so **Lived**, as to leave unto Posterity, **Examples** worthy of **Everlasting Remembrance**.

I add hereunto, the **Notables** of the only **Protestant University**, that ever **shone** in that Hemisphere of the **New World**; with particular Instances of **Criolians**, in our **Biography**, provoking the **whole World**, with vertuous Objects of Emulation.

I introduce then, the Actions of a more Eminent Importance, that have signalized those **Colonies**; Whether the **Establishments**, directed by their **Synods**; with a Rich Variety of **Synodical** and **Ecclesiastical** Determinations; or, the **Disturbances**, with which they have been from all sorts of **Temptations** and **Enemies** Tempestuated; and the **Methods** by which they have still weathered out each **Horrible Tempest**.

And into the midst of these **Actions**, I interpose an entire **Book**, wherein there is, with all possible Veracity, a **Collection** made, of **Memorable Occurrences**, and amazing **Judgments** and **Mercies**, befalling many **particular Persons** among the People of **New-England**.

Let my Readers expect all that I have promised them, in this **Bill of Fare**; and it may be they will find themselves entertained with yet many other Passages, above and beyond their Expectation, deserving likewise a room in **History**: In all which, there will be nothing, but the **Author’s** too mean way of preparing so great Entertainments, to Reproach the Invitation...

3. It is the History of these PROTESTANTS, that is here attempted: PROTESTANTS that highly honoured and affected **The Church of ENGLAND**, and humbly Petition to be a **Part** of it: But by the Mistake of a few powerful **Brethren**, driven to seek a place for the Exercise of the **Protestant Religion**, according to the Light of their Consciences, in the Desarts of **America**. And in this Attempt I have proposed, not only to preserve and secure the Interest of **Religion**, in the Churches of that little Country NEW-ENGLAND, so far as the Lord Jesus Christ may please to Bless it for that End, but also to offer unto the Churches of the **Reformation**, abroad in the World, some small **Memorials**, that may be serviceable unto the Designs of **Reformation**, whereto, I believe, they are quickly to be awakened... Tho’ the **Reformed Churches** in the **American Regions**, have, by very Injurious Representations of their Brethren (all which they desire to Forget and Forgive!) been many times thrown into a **Dung-Cart**; yet, as they have been a **precious Odour to God in Christ**, so, I hope, they will be a **precious Odour** unto **His People**; and not only **Precious**, but **Useful** also, when the History of them shall come to be considered. A **Reformation of the Church** is coming on, and I cannot but thereupon say, with the dying **Cyrus**



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to his Children in **Xenophon**... **Learn from the things that have been done already, for this is the best way of Learning**, The Reader hath here an Account of **The Things that have been done already**... Thus I do not say, That the Churches of **New-England** are the most **Regular** that can be; yet I do say, and am sure, That they are very like unto those that were in the **First Ages** of Christianity. And if I assert, That in the **Reformation** of the Church, the State of it in those **First Ages**, is to be not a little considered, the Great **Peter Ramus**, among others, has emboldened me... In short, **The First Age** was the **Golden Age**: To return unto **That**, will make a Man a **Protestant**, and I may add, a **Puritan**. 'Tis possible, That our Lord Jesus Christ carried some Thousands of **Reformers** into the Retirements of an **American Desart**, on purpose, that, with an opportunity granted unto many of his Faithful Servants, to enjoy the precious **Liberty** of their **Ministry**, tho' in the midst of many **Temptations** all their days, He might there, **To** them first, and then **By** them, give a **Specimen** of many Good Things, which He would have His Churches elsewhere aspire and arise unto: And **This** being done, He knows whether there be not **all done**, that **New-England** was planted for; and whether the Plantation may not, soon after this, **Come to Nothing**. Upon that Expression in the Sacred Scripture, **Cast the unprofitable Servant into Outer Darkness**, it hath been imagined by some, That the **Regiones Extere** of **America**, are the **Tenebr' Exteriores**, which the **Unprofitable** are there condemned unto. No doubt, the Authors of those Ecclesiastical Impositions and Severities, which drove the English Christians into the **Dark Regions** of **America**, esteemed those **Christians** to be a very **unprofitable** sort of Creatures. But behold, ye **European** Churches, There are **Golden Candlesticks** [more than **twice Seven Times Seven!**] in the midst of this **Outer Darkness**: unto the **upright** Children of **Abraham**, here hath arisen **Light in Darkness**. And let us humbly speak it, it shall be **Profitable** for you to consider the **Light**, which from the midst of this **Outer Darkness**, is now to be Darted over unto the other side of the **Atlantick Ocean**. But we must therewithal ask your Prayers, that these **Golden Candlesticks** may not **quickly be Removed out of their place!**

4. But whether **New England** may **Live** any where else or no, it must **Live** in our **History!**...



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## GALEACIUS SECUNDUS:

### THE LIFE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD, ESQ.,

### GOVERNOR OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

Somnos illius vigilantia defendit; omnium otium, illius  
Labor; omnium Delitias, illius Industria; omnium vacationem, illius occupatio.

1. It has been a matter of some observation, that although Yorkshire be one of the largest shires in England; yet, for all the **fires** of martyrdom which were kindled in the days of Queen Mary, it afforded no more **fuel** than one poor **Leaf**; namely, John Leaf, an apprentice, who suffered for the doctrine of the Reformation at the same time and stake with the famous John Bradford. But when the reign of Queen Elizabeth would not admit the Reformation of worship to proceed unto those degrees, which were proposed and pursued by no small number of the faithful in those days, Yorkshire was not the least of the shires in England that afforded suffering **witnesses** thereunto. The Churches there gathered were quickly molested with such a raging persecution, that if the spirit of separation in them did carry them unto a further **extream** than it should have done, one blameable cause thereof will be found in the **extremity** of that persecution. Their troubles made that **cold** country too **hot** for them, so that they were under a necessity to **seek** a retreat in the Low Countries; and yet the watchful malice and fury of their adversaries rendered it almost impossible for them to **find** what they sought. For them to leave their native soil, their lands and their friends, and go into a strange place, where they must hear foreign language, and live meanly and hardly, and in other employments than that of husbandry, wherein they had been educated, **these** must needs have been such discouragements as could have been conquered by none, save those who “sought first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof.” But that which would have made these discouragements the more unconquerable unto an ordinary faith, was the terrible zeal of their enemies to guard all ports, and search all ships, that none of them should be carried off. I will not relate the sad things of this kind then **seen** and **felt** by this people of God; but only exemplifie those trials with one short story. Divers of this people having hired a Dutchman, then lying at Hull, to carry them over to Holland, he promised faithfully to take them in between Grimsly and Hill; but they coming to the place a day or two too soon, the appearance of such a multitude alarmed the officers of the town adjoining, who came with a great body of soldiers to seize upon them. Now it happened that one boat full of men had been carried aboard, while the women were yet in a bark that lay aground in a creek at low water. The Dutchman perceiving the storm that was thus beginning ashore, swore by the sacrament that he would stay no longer for any of them; and so taking the advantage of a fair wind then blowing, he put out to sea for Zealand. The women thus left near Grimsly-common, bereaved of their husbands, who had been hurried from them, and forsaken of their neighbors, of whom none durst in this fright stay with them, were a very rueful spectacle; some crying for **fear**, some shaking for **cold**, all dragged by troops of armed and angry men from one Justice to another, till not knowing what to do with them, they even dismissed them to shift as well as they could for themselves. But by their singular **afflictions**, and by their Christian **behaviours**, the **cause** for which they exposed themselves did gain considerably. In the mean time, the men at sea found reason to be glad that their families were not with them, for they were surprized with an horrible tempest, which held them for fourteen days together, in seven whereof they saw not sun, moon or star, but were driven upon the coast of Norway. The mariners often despaired of life, and once with doleful shrieks gave over all, as thinking the vessel was foundred: but the vessel rose again, and when the mariners with sunk hearts often cried out, “We sink! we sink!” the passengers, without such distraction of mind, even while the water was running into their mouths and ears, would cheerfully shout, “Yet, Lord, thou canst save! Yet, Lord, thou canst save!” And the Lord accordingly brought them at last safe unto their desired haven: and not long after helped their distressed relations thither after them, where indeed they found upon almost all accounts a **new world**, but a world in which they found that they must live like strangers and pilgrims.

2. Among those devout people was our William Bradford, who was born **Anno 1588**, in an obscure village called



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Ansterfield, where the people were as unacquainted with the Bible, as the Jews do seem to have been a **part** of it in the days of Josiah; a most ignorant and licentious **people**, and **like unto their priest**. Here, and in some other places, he had a comfortable inheritance left him of his honest parents, who died while he was yet a child, and cast him on the education, first of his grand parents, and then of his uncles, who devoted him, like his ancestors, unto the affairs of husbandry. Soon a long sickness kept him, as he would afterwards thankfully say, from the **vanities of youth**, and had made him the fitter for what he was afterwards to undergo. When he was about a dozen years old, the reading of the Scriptures began to cause great impressions upon him; and those impressions were much assisted and improved, when he came to enjoy Mr. Richard Clifton's illuminating ministry, not far from his abode; he was then also further befriended, by being brought into the company and fellowship of such as were then called professors; though the young man that brought him into it did after become a prophane and wicked **apostate**. Nor could the wrath of his uncles, nor the scoff of his neighbours, now turned upon him, as one of the **Puritans**, divert him from his pious inclinations.

3. At last, beholding how fearfully the evangelical and apostolical **church-form** whereinto the churches of the primitive times were cast by the good spirit of God, had been **deformed** by the apostasy of the succeeding times; and what little progress the Reformation had yet made in many parts of Christendom towards its recovery, he set himself by reading, by discourse, by prayer, to learn whether it was not his duty to withdraw from the communion of the parish-assemblies and engage with some society of the faithful, that should keep close unto the **written word** of God, as the **rule** of their worship. And after many distresses of mind concerning it, he took up a very deliberate and understanding resolution, of doing so; which resolution he cheerfully prosecuted, although the provoked rage of his friends tried all the ways imaginable to reclaim him from it, unto all whom his answer was:

"Were I like to endanger my life, or consume my estate by any ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very seasonable; but you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your company; to part from which will be as great a cross as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a way as God as prescribed in his Word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life it self. Wherefore, since 'tis for a good cause that I am like to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me, or sorry for me; yea, I am not only willing to part with every thing that is dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am also thankful that God has given me an heart to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him."

Some lamented him, some derided him, **all** dissuaded him: nevertheless, the more they did it, the more fixed he was in his purpose to seek the ordinances of the gospel, where they should be dispensed with most of the **commanded purity**; and the sudden deaths of the chief relations which thus lay at him, quickly after convinced him what a folly it had been to have quitted his profession, in expectation of any satisfaction from them. So to Holland he attempted a removal.

4. Having with a great company of Christians hired a ship to transport them for Holland, the master perfidiously betrayed them into the hands of those persecutors, who rifled and ransacked their goods, and clapped their persons into prison at Boston, where they lay for a month together. But Mr. Bradford being a young man of about eighteen, was dismissed sooner than the rest, so that within a while he had opportunity with some others to get over to Zealand, through **perils**, both by **land**, and **sea** not inconsiderable; where he was not long ashore ere a viper seized on his hand—that is, an officer—who carried him unto the magistrates, unto whom an envious passenger had accused him as having **fled** out of England. When the magistrates understood the true cause of his coming thither, they were well satisfied with him; and so he repaired joyfully unto his brethren at Amsterdam, where the difficulties to which he afterwards stooped in learning and serving of a Frenchman at the working of silks, were abundantly compensated by the delight wherewith he sat under the shadow of our Lord, in his purely dispensed ordinances. At the end of two years, he did, being of age to do it, convert his estate in England into money; but setting up for himself, he found some of his designs by the **providence** of God frowned upon, which he judged a **correction** bestowed by God upon him for certain decays of **internal piety**, whereunto he had fallen; the consumption of his **estate** he thought came to prevent a consumption in his **virtue**. But after he had resided in Holland about half a score years, he was one of those who bore a part in the hazardous and generous enterprise



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of removing into New-England, with part of the English church at Leyden, where, at their first landing, his dearest consort accidentally falling overboard was drowned in the harbour; and the rest of his days were spent in the service, and the temptations, of that American wilderness.

5. Here was Mr. Bradford, in the year 1621, unanimously chosen the governour of the plantation: the difficulties whereof were such, that if he had not been a person of more than ordinary piety, wisdom and courage, he must have sunk under them. He had, with a laudable industry, been laying up a treasure of experiences, and he had now occasion to use it: indeed, nothing but an **experienced** man could have been suitable to the necessities of the people. The potent nations of the Indians, into whose country they were come, would have cut them off, if the blessing of God upon **his** conduct had not quelled them; and if his prudence, justice, and moderation had not overruled them, they had been ruined by their own distempers. One specimen of his demeanour is to this day particularly spoken of. A company of young fellows that were newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the governour's order for working abroad on the publick account; and therefore on Christmas-day, when he had called upon them, they excused themselves, with a pretence that it was against their conscience to **work** on such a day. The governour gave them no answer, only that he would spare them till they were better informed; but by and by he found them all at **play** in the street, sporting themselves with various diversions; whereupon commanding the instruments of their games to be taken away from them, he effectually gave them to understand. *"That it was against his conscience that they should play whilst other were at work: and that if they had any devotion to the day, they should show it at home in the exercises of religion, and not in the streets with pasttime and frolicks,"* and this gentle reproof put a final stop to all such disorders for the future.

6. For two years together after the beginning of the colony, whereof he was now governour, the poor people had a great experiment of "man's not living by bread alone;" for when they were left all together without one morsel of bread for many months one after another, still the good providence of God relieved them, and supplied them, and this for the most part out of the **sea**. In this low condition of affairs, there was no little exercise for the prudence and patience of the governour, who chearfully bore his part in all: and, that industry might not flag, he quickly set himself to settle **propriety** among the new-planters; foreseeing that while the whole country laboured upon a common stock, the husbandry and business of the plantation could not flourish, as Plato and others long since dreamed that it would, if a **community** were established. Certainly, if the spirit which dwelt in the old puritans, had not inspired these new-planters, they had sunk under the burden of these difficulties; but our Bradford had a double portion of that spirit.

7. The plantation was quickly thrown into a storm that almost overwhelmed it, by the unhappy actions of a minister sent over from England by the adventurers concerned for the plantation; but by the blessing of Heaven on the conduct of the governour, they weathered out that storm. Only the adventurers hereupon breaking to pieces, threw up all their concealments with the infant colony; whereof they gave this as one reason, "That the planters dissembled with his Majesty and their friends in their petition, wherein they declared for a church-discipline, agreeing with the French and others of the reforming churches in Europe." Whereas 'twas now urged, that they had admitted into their communion a person who at his admission utterly renounced the Churches of England, (which person, by the way, was **that** very man who had made the complaints against them,) and therefore, though they denied the **name** of Brownists, yet they were the thing. In answer hereunto, the very words written by the governour were these:

"Whereas you tax us with dissembling about the **French discipline**, you do us wrong, for we both hold and practice the **discipline** of the French and other Reformed Churches (as they have published the same in the Harmony of Confessions) according to our means, in effect and substance. But whereas you would tie us up to the French **discipline** in every circumstance, you derogate from the **liberty** we have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paul would have none to **follow him** in any thing, but wherein he **follows** Christ; much less ought any Christian or church in the world to do it. The French may err, we may err, and other churches may err, and doubtless do in many **circumstances**. That honour therefore belongs only to the **infallible Word of God**, and **pure Testament of Christ**, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogancy for any man or church



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

to think that he or they have so sounded the Word of God unto the bottom, as precisely to set down the church's discipline without error in substance or circumstances, that no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from the same. And it is not difficult to shew that the Reformed Churches differ in many **circumstances** among themselves."

By which words it appears how far he was free from that rigid spirit of separation, which broke to pieces the Separatists themselves in the Low Countries, unto the great scandal of the reforming churches. He was indeed a person of a well-tempered spirit, or else it had been scarce possible for him to have kept the affairs of Plymouth in so good a temper for thirty-seven years together; in every one of which he was chosen their governour, except the three years wherein Mr. Winslow, and the two years wherein Mr. Prince, at the choice of the people, took a turn with him.

8. The leader of a people in a wilderness had need be a Moses; and if a Moses had not led the people of Plymouth Colony, when this worthy person was their governour, the people had never with so much unanimity and importunity still called him to lead them. Among many instances thereof, let this one piece of self-denial be told for a memorial of him, wheresoever this History shall be considered: The Patent of the Colony was taken in his name, running in these terms: "To William Bradford his heirs, associates, and assigns." But when the number of freemen was much increased, and many new townships erected, the General Court there desired of Mr. Bradford, that he would make a surrender of the same into their hands, which he willingly and presently assented unto, and confirmed it according to their desire by his hand and seal, reserving no more for himself than was his proportion, with others, by agreement. But as he found the providence of Heaven many ways recompensing his many acts of self-denial, so he gave this testimony to the faithfulness of the divine promises: "That he has forsaken friends, houses and lands for the sake of the gospel, and the Lord gave them him again." Here he prospered in his estate; and besides a worthy son which he had by a former wife, he had also two sons and a daughter by another, whom he married in this land.

9. He was a person for study as well as action; and hence, notwithstanding the difficulties through which he had passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages: The Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, "Because," he said, "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty." He was also well skilled in History, in Antiquity, and in Philosophy; and for Theology he became so versed in it, that he was an irrefragable disputant against the **errors**, especially those of Anabaptism, which with trouble he saw rising in his colony; wherefore he wrote some significant things for the confutation of those errors. But the **crown** of all was his holy, prayerful, watchful, and fruitful walk with God, wherein he was very exemplary.

10. At length he fell into an indisposition of body, which rendered him unhealthy for a whole winter; and as the spring advanced, his health yet more declined; yet he felt himself not what he counted sick, till one day; in the night after which, the God of heaven so filled his mind with ineffable consolations, that he seemed little short of Paul, rapt up unto the unutterable entertainments of Paradise. The next morning he told his friends, "That the good Spirit of God had given him a pledge of his happiness in another world, and the first-fruits of his eternal glory;" and on the day following he died, May 9, 1657, in the 69th year of his age — lamented by all the colonies of New-England, as a common blessing and father to them all.

O mihi si Similis Contingat Clausula Vitae!

Plato's brief description of a governour, is all that I will now leave as his character in an

### Epitaph

MEN are but FLOCKS: BRADFORD beheld their need,  
And long did them at once both rule and feed.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1708**

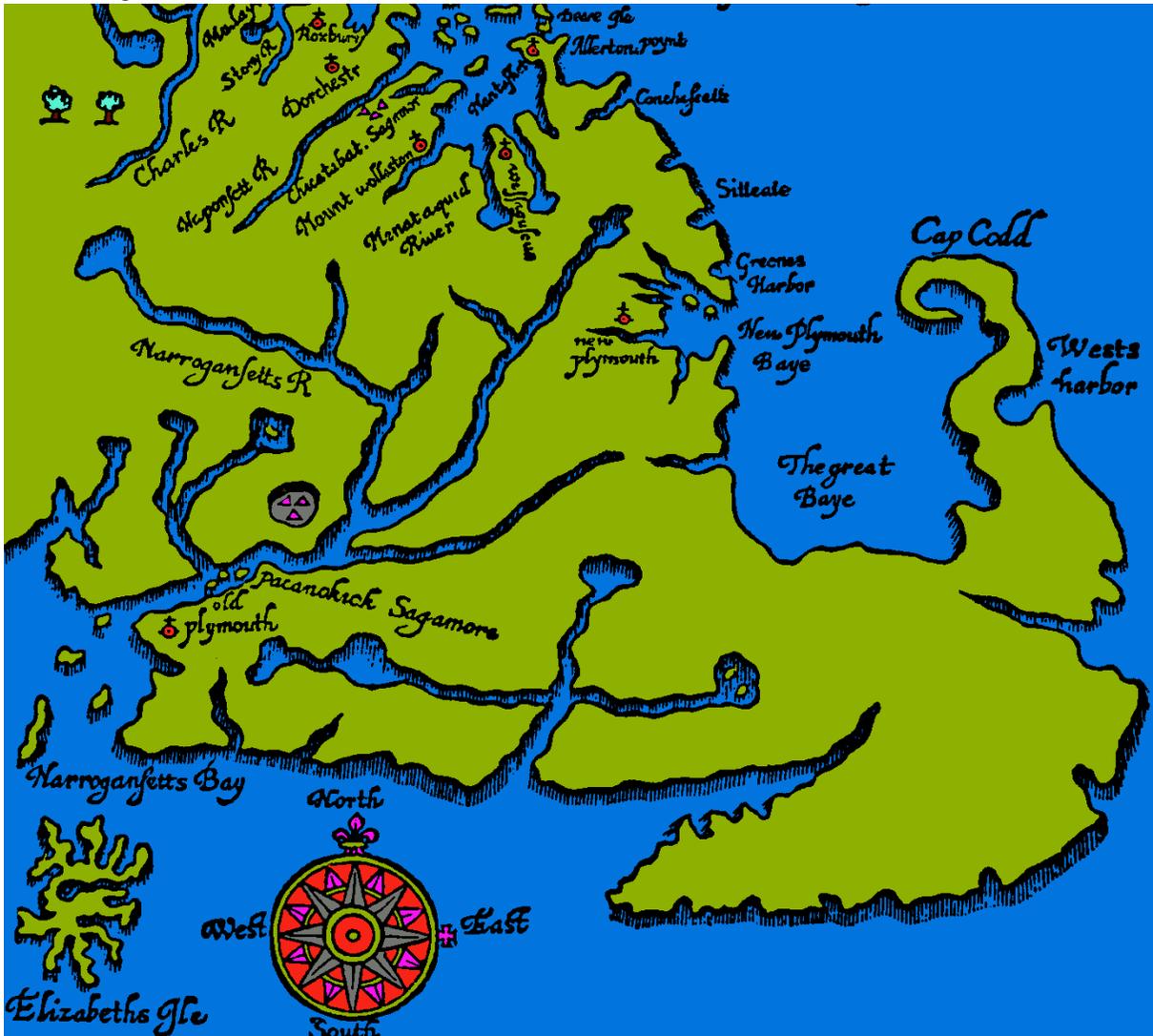
The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) met to determine with the [Narragansett](#) sachem and the Council of Five “what may be a sufficient competence of land for him and his people to live upon.”

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1709

The sachem of the [Narragansett](#) quit-claimed to the white colony all former Niantic land except a 64 square mile tract in what is now Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#). From the time of the creation of this reservation the Colony's legislature would exercise complete control over this tribe, although the hereditary sachem and council would continue to regulate many internal affairs until late in the 18th Century, when the last of that lineage died.



Narragansett settler Francis Brinley wrote to Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been instrumental in the foundation of Trinity Church in Newport, about his disdain for the [Friends](#) who were influential in [Rhode Island](#):

I could exceedingly rejoice if your honor could unite us under a government whereof you were supreme next under Her Majesty.... It is all the hopes I have by your honor's means to have a release of our slavery and ill treatment.... It is a Quaker mob government, the meanest sort role their betters. I much question whether two persons in the ruling part of their government can



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

write true English or frame a writing in any methodical way. I know them all well and know their abilities. Some of our highest rank in authority cannot write, and some in authority cannot read. We have now in our town of Newport three justices of three several trades, a shoemaker, a cooper and a carpenter, and each of them is a captain of a company, and the cooper is our general treasurer. We lie under great grievances and pressures and it is very hard upon us that we can have no remedy.

**READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1713

The Colony of [Rhode Island](#) passed an act forbidding [Narragansett](#) tribal leaders to sell reservation land. This is the act which became of concern in 1993 in Rhode Island, that in fact made the national news — because in spite of its express language some reservation land had been subsequently appropriated by whites. A contemporary Native American, learning that the original land sales had been perfectly unlawful, obtained a court order making it difficult for these white homeowners to sell their homes for full value until the issue of original title had been adjudicated, and then the existence of this court order for a time had the chilling effect that it was suddenly impossible for the white people of Rhode Island to go on ignoring the red people of Rhode Island.<sup>35</sup>

A white missionary, the Reverend Experience Mayhew of [Martha's Vineyard](#), visiting the reservation of the [Narragansett](#), recorded in his journal this exchange with the ruling *sachem*:

*On November the 3d ... I returned to the Narragansett Country; and on the next day having obtained two Interpreters, one English man, the other an Indian that had lived with an English master, I treated with Ninnicraft the Sachim there, about the affairs I went upon.... He demanded of me why I did not make the English good in the first place: for he said many of them were still bad: He also told me that he had seen [Martha's Vineyard](#) Indians at [Rhode Island](#), that would steal, and these he said I should first reform before I came to them. He further objected that the English there at Narragansett were divided, some keeping Saturday, others Sunday, and others not keeping any day; so that ye Indians could not tell what religion to be of, if they had a mind to be Christians.*

35. I understand that this difficulty is now all cleared away, and it is again safe for the white people of [Rhode Island](#) to refuse to respond in any manner to, and overlook to acknowledge the existence of, the red people of Rhode Island.



**WAMPANOAGS**

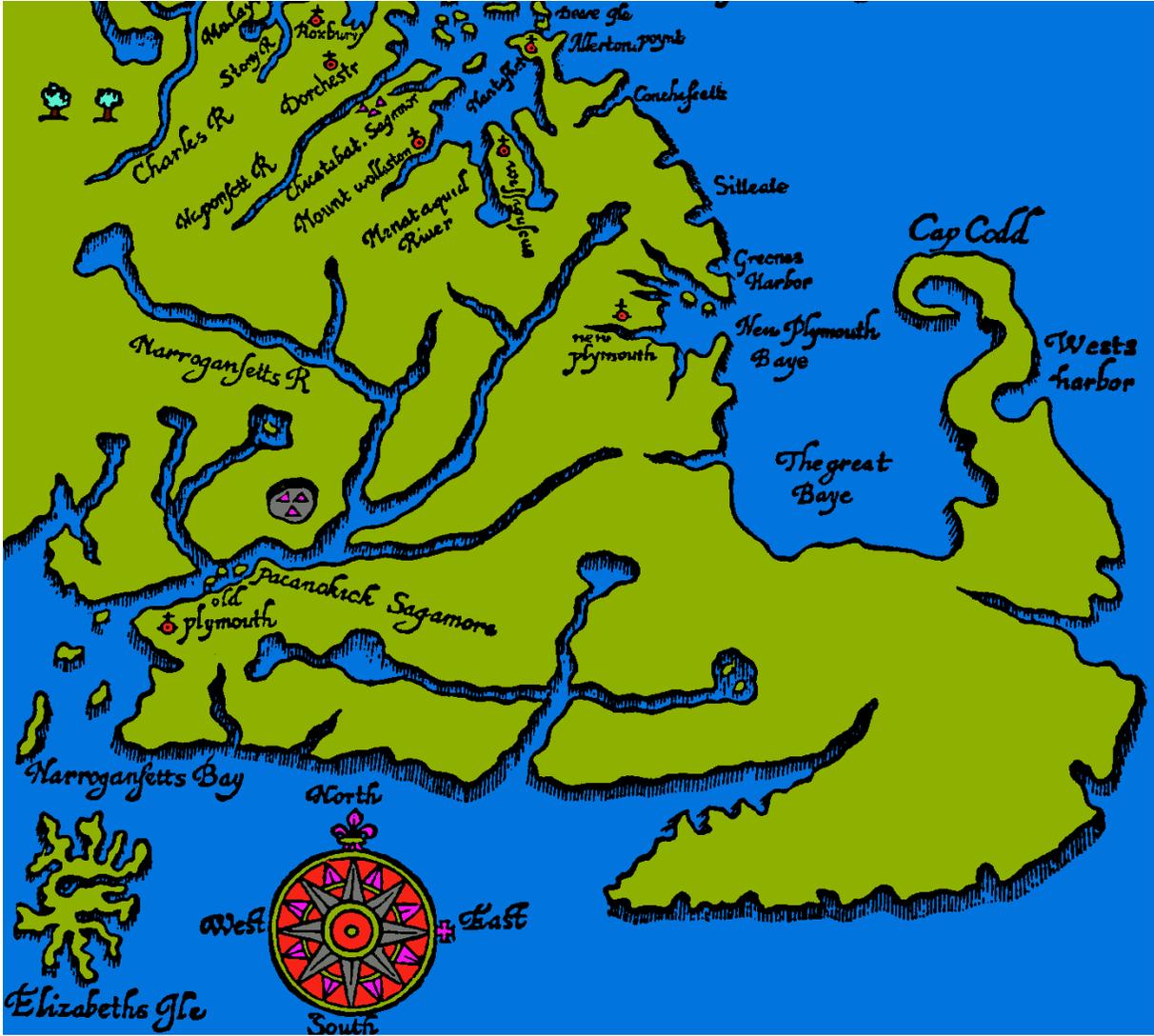
**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1718**

The [Narragansett](#) reservation community was so beleaguered by poverty, exploitation, and liquor that the Colony of [Rhode Island](#) had to step in and protect it from being sued for debt.

1733

The Commissioners of the New England Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent their Reverend Joseph Park, a Congregationalist, to the Narragansett country. The reservation community population at this time numbered about 350. The Reverend Park would preach without impact for nine years — until that remarkable surge of religious enthusiasm known as the Great Awakening would sweep across the English colonies.





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1738

The Reverend John Callender of [Newport, Rhode Island](#), a classy white man, placed on display standard racial, cultural and class presumptions in regard to the [Narragansett](#) tribespeople, in his AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE, ON THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND:

*After the war, they [the [Narragansett](#) tribespeople] were soon reduced to the condition of the laboring poor, without property, hewers of wood and drawers of water; and there is no more reason to expect religion should, by human means, thrive among such people, than among the lazy and abandoned poor in London. The few that have lived much together, on Ninigret's lands, have had several offers of the gospel, as the Narragansetts had before; and at present the Congregational minister at [Westerly](#) [the Reverend Joseph Park] is a missionary to them, and encouraged by an exhibition from the Scotch Society for propagating Christian knowledge... The strange destruction of this people now since the wars ceased, and within memory, is very remarkable. Their insuperable aversion to English industry, and way of life, the alteration from the Indian method of living, their laziness, and their universal love of strong drink, have swept them away in a wonderful manner. So that there are now above twenty English to one Indian in the Colony.*



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1742

For the [Narragansett](#), Pequot, Mohegan, and Montauk tribespeople, most of whom had been persisting in their traditional religions, the religious Great Awakening was initiating a major cultural transformation. In a series of letters, the white missionary Joseph Park recorded some details of Narragansett conversion from their traditional tribal religion to Congregationalism:

*... the Power of GOD began to be most remarkable among the Body of them upon Feb 6, 1742, 3. When upon the Lord's Day, a number of Christian Indians from Stonington came to visit the Indians here: I went in the Evening after the publick Worship of God to meet them, and preach a Lecture to them. The LORD gave me to plead with him that his Kingdom might be seen coming with Power among the Indians. The LORD I trust began to answer even in the Time of Prayer. After which we sung an Hymn. The Glory of the LORD was manifested more and more. The Enlightened among them had a great Sense of spiritual and eternal Things: A SPIRIT of Prayer and Supplication was poured out upon them; and a SPIRIT of Conviction upon the Enemies of GOD. I attempted to preach from 2 Cor. 6.2, but was unable to continue my Discourse by reason of the Outcry. I therefore gave it up: And as I had Opportunity offered a Word of Exhortation. as the Lord enabled me. I spent the Evening until late with them... They [the [Narragansett](#)] have forsaken their Dances and drunken Frolicks, appear sober and serious, very diligently attend the preaching of the Word of God and Prayer. [Thomas Prince. THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY ... FOR THE YEAR 1743. Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1744, pages 208-9.]*





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1743

The bulk of the [Narragansett](#) of Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#) converted to Christianity. At first they would attend the sermons of the Reverend Joseph Park of [Westerly](#) (this was a New Light congregation) but later they would have their own native church on their reservation, under the Reverend Samuel Niles (Niles, although illiterate, spoke the native language).

A [Quaker](#) “preparative meeting” was set up in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#) on a hill next to the Boston Post Road (the location would also be referred to as “Dunn’s Corners”; it is now on Route 1). This Quaker meeting would in 1777 be reduced to the status of a “worship group,” and would continue as such until being laid down in 1800. Only the old Quaker cemetery now marks this site.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1744

With their conversion to Christianity, the [Narragansett](#) were apparently able to cope better with the heretofore devastating reality of European domination:

*Their Faith and Hope in GOD encourageth and quickeneth them in Duty to obtain the Promises of the good Things of this Life, and of that which is to come. So that there is among them a Change for good respecting the outward as well as the inward Man. They grow more decent and cleanly in their outward Dress, provide better for their Households, and get clearer of debt. Especially they have been kept perfectly free, for ought that has appeared to me, from the Sin of Drunkenness, the Sin which so easily besets them. Many of them say that they have no Desire after strong Drink.... They manifest great Sorrow of Heart, for their Brethren and Kins-Men ..., when they hear of their drinking and quarrelling.... Ever since the Lord has been graciously among the Indians manifesting his Power and Glory; they have been desirous of a School among them, that their Children and all such as can, might learn to read.*

DRUNKENNESS



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1745**

[Narragansett](#) Christians were forced to withdraw from the Reverend Park's English congregation, apparently because the white people disapproved of their style of exhorting.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1746**

The [Narragansett](#) Christians of the bay of [Rhode Island](#) ordained a native minister over themselves and shortly thereafter created a distinctive Narragansett Church “of the Freewill [Baptist](#) order, with a leaning toward Adventist views,” a church which under a succession of Native American ministers continues into the present. The Church hosted a great annual gathering on the second Sunday of each August. The Reverend Roger Williams had noticed that Narragansett harvest ritual dating to pre-conquest times also involved dancing, feasting, and games and was attended by large numbers of people. The 18th-Century August Meeting seems a continuation of that event, for it was and continues to be an occasion for dancing, games, feasting, and reunions with friends and relatives, and for meeting persons from other northeastern tribes.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1755

In [Rhode Island](#), a new census was taken: population 40,414. In its [Narragansett](#) district, fully a quarter of the population was categorized by the white census takers as black.<sup>36</sup>

36. Bear in mind that these 18th-Century white census takers undoubtedly were deploying their racist concept, “monig,” in order to classify some people who considered themselves to be [Narragansett](#) as being actually instead black (“monig” –there’s no PC way to avoid conveying this information– is a much-used local abbreviation standing for “more nigger than Indian”) ... and today some people are so offended that the official name of the state is “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,” that they are demanding a change to eliminate this racially offensive term “plantation” — and the opponents of this PC move are insisting that the term, in its local historical use, does not imply human slavery but implies merely the existence of small freehold farms! Go figure.

SLAVERY



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1757**

In the latter half of the Reverend Joseph Fish's career as a minister, lacking support from white parishioners, the Reverend turned to the Pequot of Stonington, Connecticut and the [Narragansett](#) of Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#). He became a representative for the New England Company for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was a commissioner for the Society in [Scotland](#) for Propagating Christian Knowledge.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1759**

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly repealed its laws against the sale of reservation land so that the Sachem Thomas Ninigret might sell some of the remaining reservation land to white people, the money from this sale to go toward the payment of the sachem's personal debts. Some of Ninigret's principal creditors were in the Rhode Island General Assembly, voting for the passage of this act. So many members of the tribe protested this –primarily members of the [Narragansett](#) church– that the General Assembly was forced then to temporarily halt such sales.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1762**

The Reverend Joseph Fish complained that his Pequot parishioners in Stonington, Connecticut preferred the New Light style of preaching to his own. They would rather attend the worship of the separatist [Narragansett](#) in Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#). The reverend was “tall and very well proportioned; his complexion rather light; his eye expressive and benignant; his gait dignified and graceful; and his whole bearing impressive and agreeable,” and his congregation didn’t really much like him. Oh, the depth of their confusion and ingratitude! –Let us pray for their immortal souls.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1765**

Fall: The Reverend Joseph Fish visited the [Narragansett](#) of Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#), of whom at the time there were about 350. He recommended Edward Deake to them as a teacher. The New England Company for the Propagation of the Gospel agreed to pay both Fish's and Deake's salaries. The tribe agreed to contribute a parcel of land near Cocumpaig, or Schoolhouse Pond.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1768**

The [South Kingstown](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends petitioned the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly for a law against the sort of “Disorderly People Black Tawnies & others” who had been disrupting the annual gatherings of [Quakers](#) there. By “Tawnies,” presumably, these white people meant the local reservation [Narragansett](#). The legislature obligingly provided them with such a there-oughta-be-a-law.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1771**

An account written by the Reverend Joseph Fish of Stonington, Connecticut of his journey to the [Narragansett](#) country of the bay of [Rhode Island](#) indicates that although by this point the zeal, asceticism, and aspirations of the Great Awakening had dissipated, the native Christians remained committed to their minister, the Reverend Samuel Niles:

*I felt my self in a very low Frame much discouraged about this Indian Mission, at seeing the Indians so generally despise their privileges — Set no store at all by the blessed Institution of a preached Gospel. The Care that Christ takes of them in Sending Messages of Grace to them, and ordering the holy Scriptures to be read, is Slighted by almost all of them. They had rather follow That Ignorant, proud, conceited, obstinate Teacher, poor Sam Niles, than attend regular preaching of Sound Gospel Doctrine. Rather follow some their work, and then their pleasures, Idleness, Drunkenness or any way of Serving the Devil and their Lusts, than to Spend an hour or two in hearing the precious Truths of the Gospel.*



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1774

In the years preceding the American Revolution a charismatic movement had begun among [Narragansett](#), Mohegan, and other Great Awakening native converts. It weren't just the white folks, white folks! Largely through the inspiration of a Mohegan minister, the Reverend Samson Occum, plans were made to move west from the [Cape Cod](#) and [Narragansett Bay](#) area of New England onto the less densely settled lands of the Oneida Iroquois in northern [New York](#), where there would be founded a Christian New England town on the Connecticut town government model. The new community was to be named Brothertown. By this move they planned to unite the serious red Christians into one community, discard the hereditary form of government which had functioned often at the expense of the tribe, remove themselves from the influences of immoral whites and backsliding reds and "monigs,"<sup>37</sup> escape the relentless efforts of whites to obtain their tribal resources, and obtain better land than the leftover parcels which they then possessed. The Oneida granted a large tract for this purpose in 1774 but we can notice that they added a racial-purity clause:

*With this particular clause or reservation that the same shall not be possessed by any persons deemed of the said Tribes who are descended from or have intermixed with negroes and mulattoes.*

37. Note well that this local term "monig" is not a pleasant one. Whether employed by a red person or by a white person, it is not only racist but also derogatory and offensive (it is a truncation of the description "more nigger than Indian"). It is a term used here in [Rhode Island](#) by racist Native Americans to describe other Native Americans with whom they do not wish to be associated, and by racist whites to describe people whom they consider to be "putting on as Indians when they ain't nothin' but a bunch of niggers with attitude." It might be useful for you, in considering the later trajectory of the Mashpee reservation on [Cape Cod](#), to bear in mind that these were tribal rejects who had been left behind for racist reasons.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1775

The more devout and more racially unmixed of the [Narragansett](#) of [Rhode Island](#) went to the West in two moves, the first in 1775 to found Brothertown, New York and the second between 1783 and 1785 to join those already there, leaving their “monigs”<sup>38</sup> behind to survive as best they might. (They would move again in the 1830s for similar reasons, and that community of Christian New Englanders would finally come to abide at Brothertown, Wisconsin.)<sup>39</sup> The Reverent [Timothy Dwight](#) felt that “we” ought to “do good to this miserable people,” the Native Americans, and he held up the Stockbridge Indians of Massachusetts and the Brothertown Indians of the vicinity of Paris in New York State as emblems for imitation. He believed that the complexions of Indians and Negroes would “turn white” as their dispositions improved. However, he felt it was also quite important that dark people never be treated **too** well.<sup>40</sup>

The black population wherever it prevails instead of increasing the strength of this country only increases its weakness. Every black man in time of war would need a white man to watch him.

In the Reverend Samuel Peters’s A GENERAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT there appeared the following material dealing with an earlier shift in social convention, which at this point had come to its completion with the general abandonment of the practice that had been known as “bundling”:

The Indians, who had this method of courtship when the English arrived among them, are the most chaste set of people in the world.... Bundling takes place only in the cold seasons of the year – the sofa in summer is more dangerous than the bed in winter. About 1756, Boston, Salem, [Newport](#), and New York, resolving to be more polite than their ancestors, forbade their daughters bundling on the bed with any young men whatever, and introduced a sofa to render courtship more palatable and Turkish. In 1776 a clergyman from one of the polite towns went into the country, and preached against the unchristian custom of young men and maidens lying together on a bed.... [and received as response from the country people that] “experience has told us that city folks send more children into the country without fathers or mothers than are born among us. Therefore you see a sofa is more dangerous than a bed.”

38. Note well that this local term “monig” is not a pleasant one. Whether employed by a red person or by a white person, it is not only racist but also derogatory and offensive (it is a truncation of the description “more nigger than Indian”). It is a term used here in [Rhode Island](#) by racist Native Americans to describe other Native Americans with whom they do not wish to be associated, and by racist whites to describe people whom they consider to be “putting on as Indians when they ain’t nothin’ but a bunch of niggers with attitude.” The only appropriate use for such a term is as here, in the graphic depiction of the nastiness of the nasty attitude of anyone nasty enough to employ it.

39. The saga of those Christian pureblood [Narragansett](#) who moved toward the West is well beyond the scope of this database, but you could consult Thomas Commuck’s SKETCH OF THE BROTHERTOWN INDIANS in the COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN IV:291-298.

40. Hey, Rev, wait ’till it gets so dark you can’t see ’em ’less they are grinning at you! Scary, huh?



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1780**

By about this year the last hereditary sachem of the [Narragansett](#) had died, and in keeping with post-Revolutionary democratic values, the tribe had begun annual election of a Governor or President and council officers. Native American/Black intermarriage required a formal definition of boundaries for voting membership in the tribe.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1783

The Reverend Samson Occum had hoped the Iroquois could be bettered by the presence of a Christian community as a living example in their midst, and the more devout and more racially unmixed of the [Narragansett](#) had gone to the West in 1775. From this year into 1785, a second group from New England would be joining them.<sup>41</sup>

41. They would move again in the 1830s for similar reasons, and that community of Christian New Englanders would finally come to abide at Brothertown WI. However, the saga of those Christian pureblood [Narragansett](#) who moved toward the West is well beyond the scope of this database: you should consult Thomas Commuck's SKETCH OF THE BROTHERTOWN INDIANS in the COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN IV:291-298.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1788**

Many [Narragansett](#) left their [Rhode Island](#) reservation and the Mohegan villages in eastern Connecticut to join the “Brothertown Indians” on the Oneida reservation in upstate New York. The Brothertown band would between 1822 and 1834 relocate with the Oneida and Stockbridge (Mahican) to northern Wisconsin, and during 1856, the Stockbridge and the Brothertown who wished to retain tribal ownership of their land would merge and relocate to a separate reservation west of Green Bay. The other Brothertown Indians would at that time accept citizenship and allotment, and many of their descendants still live on the east side of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1789**

The US Secretary of War (Henry Knox) decreed that the native American tribes of New England had been extinguished:



It is ... painful to consider, that all the Indian tribes, once existing in those States now the best cultivated and most populous, have become extinct. If the same causes continue, the same effects will happen; and in a short period, the idea of an Indian on this side of the Mississippi will only be found in the pages of the historian.



## WAMPANOAGS

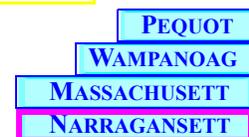
## NARRAGANSETTS

The Massachusetts Legislature decided that teaching red Americans to read and write would be a capital offense, that is, one of those crimes so serious that they may be punished by the death penalty. Better not let these people find out they are being written down as extinct!

When the English settlements first commenced in New England, that part of its territory, which lies south of New Hampshire, was inhabited by five principal nations of Indians: the Pequots, who lived in Connecticut; the Narragansets, in [Rhode Island](#); the Pawkunnawkuts, or Womponoags, east of the Narragansets and to the north as far as Charles River;<sup>1</sup> the Massachusetts, north of Charles river and west of Massachusetts Bay; and the Pawtuckets, north of the Massachusetts. The boundaries and rights of these nations appear not to have been sufficiently definite to be now clearly known. They had within their jurisdiction many subordinate tribes, governed by sachems, or sagamores, subject, in some respects, to the principal sachem. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, they were able to bring into the field more than 18,000 warriors; but about the year 1612, they were visited with a pestilential disease, whose horrible ravages reduced their number to about 1800.<sup>2</sup> Some of their villages were entirely depopulated. This great mortality was viewed by the first Pilgrims, as the accomplishment of one of the purposes of Divine Providence, by making room for the settlement of civilized man, and by preparing a peaceful asylum for the persecuted Christians of the old world. In what light soever the event may be viewed, it no doubt greatly facilitated the settlements, and rendered them less hazardous.

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2. MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTION, volume I.





**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1792**

“An Act Regulating the Affairs of the [Narragansett](#) Tribe of Indians” prescribed that “every male person of twenty-one years, born of an Indian woman belonging to said tribe, or begotten by an Indian man belonging thereto, of any other than a negro woman, shall be entitled to vote.” –Shall be entitled to vote, that is, in **tribal** elections.

**RHODE ISLAND**



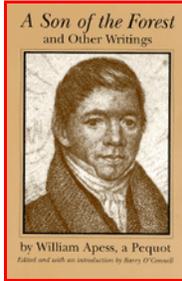
## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1802



At the age of six, William Apess was being so badly physically abused by his caretaking grandmother that the Town of Colchester, Connecticut interceded, binding him to service to a childless white neighbor family, Mr. and Mrs. Furman. From this point until the age of twelve, in 1809, he would be allowed to attend public school during the winter term.



[continued on following screens]



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

Economic marginality generated cultural marginality. If all Indians were “dogs,” and many appeared to whites to live little better than animals, or if they had to disappear –at least by the reductive and arbitrary racial categories assumed by whites– “upward” into a white racial order that would eventually erase the marks of their “Indianness” or “degenerate” into communities of black Americans, their keeping alive a sense of their personal and cultural identity as Pequot or Mohegans, [Narragansetts](#) or Wampanoag, would have required extraordinary gifts – gifts which some must have possessed or we would know nothing about these people; and there would be no descendants.



The making of baskets and brooms, an apparently old and traditional “Indian” craft, could be seen as one such form of cultural pride and persistence. The process of gathering the materials for the baskets could be the means for one generation to pass on to another not only skills but a body of traditional values about the presence of the Spirit in all of nature. The shapes and the designs might themselves both represent continuities in the cultures and function as adaptations to the pressures on native communities in New England. For many native peoples in New England basket weaving and broom making became, in the nineteenth century, a necessary means of economic survival. Making these traditional items for market required difficult changes, among them standardization in production. Making them to be valued and used apart from the values and ends of their makers involved some of the most complex alterations in native cultures. Yet, as this account from a twentieth-century Schaghticoke woman makes evident, the whole process could function as a form of survival and resistance:



I spoke to a Mohawk basket-maker not long ago and asked her how she felt about weaving sweet grass into her baskets. Sweet grass is used by her people in their ceremonies and like tobacco is believed to have a great power. It was used long ago in ceremonial baskets.... She told me ... that was why she always talked to the sweet grass and to her baskets as she made them. She said that she asked forgiveness for having to sell the baskets, but that she needed the money to survive. Using the sweet grass would keep the baskets strong and alive, and she hoped that the people who bought them would appreciate their significance. The basket weaver explained that she never picked the grass without making a tobacco offering. Her people believed that you have to give something for everything you take.... That is the old way, our way. It helps me to remember another thing my grandmother used to say: “Sometimes it is better to bend like a willow than to be strong and break like the oak.”

Basket and broom making, like other aspects of Native American history and expression, could also become the occasion for recurrent and terrible humiliations because of Euro-Americans’ responses. Recall the example Thoreau chooses to exemplify how the market works in a capitalist society:



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

**WALDEN:** Not long since, a strolling Indian went to sell baskets at the house of a well-known lawyer in my neighborhood. "Do you wish to buy any baskets?" he asked. "No, we do not want any," was the reply. "What!" exclaimed the Indian as he went out the gate, "do you mean to starve us?" Having seen his industrious white neighbors so well off, -that the lawyer had only to weave arguments, and by some magic wealth and standing followed, he had said to himself; I will go into business; I will weave baskets; it is a thing which I can do. Thinking that when he had made the baskets he would have done his part, and then it would be the white man's to buy them. He had not discovered that it was necessary for him to make it worth the other's while to buy them, or at least make him think that it was so, or to make something else which it would be worth his while to buy. I too had woven a kind of basket of a delicate texture, but I had not made it worth any one's while to buy them. Yet not the less, in my case, did I think it worth my while to weave them, and instead of studying how to make it worth men's while to buy my baskets, I studied rather how to avoid the necessity of selling them. The life which men praise and regard as successful is but one kind. Why should we exaggerate any one kind at the expense of the others?



In such a society a person is only as valuable as the worth of his or her product on the market. Although the presence in many New England households and museums of Indian baskets from this period manifests that they had some value, Thoreau's anecdote reminds the historian both of the persistence of Indians living in the region and of the precarious dignity of anyone who had to make a living by going from door to door persuading people of the economic value of her product, one which embodies sacred traditions and values.

Apess knew, directly and painfully, about basket making and peddling and their degradation of native peoples' dignity and their material decency. His grandmother supported the family, at least in part, by peddling brooms and baskets. As he remembered it:



Sometimes we had something to eat, and at other times nothing. Many are the times we have gone to bed supperless, to rest our little weary limbs, stretched upon a bundle of straw, and how thankful we were for this comfort; and in the morning we were thankful to get a cold potato for our breakfasts. We thought it good fare. There was a white man who lived about a mile off, and he would, at times, bring us some frozen milk, which for a time supplied the calls of nature. We suffered thus from the cold; the calls of nature, as with almost nakedness; and calumny heaped upon us by the whites to an intense degree.

This was not the worst of it. The mixture of apparently kind acts from some white people and abusiveness from others must have borne down on his grandmother to a degree we can only dimly grasp by seeing what it drove her to:



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS



[M]y grandmother had been out among the whites, with her baskets and brooms, and had fomented herself with the fiery waters of the earth, so that she had lost her reason and judgment and, in this fit of intoxication, raged most bitterly and in the meanwhile fell to beating me most cruelly; calling for whips, at the same time, of unnatural size, to beat me with; and asking me, at the same time, question after question, if I hated her. And I would say yes at every question; and the reason why was because I knew no other form of words. Thus I was beaten, until my poor little body was mangled and my little arm broken in three pieces, and in this horrible situation left for a while. And had it not been for an uncle of mine, who lived in the other part of the old hut, I think that she would have finished my days; but through the goodness of God, I was snatched from an untimely grave.



“Question after question, if I hated her”: The phrase offers a route back into the finally unimaginable inner life of Apess’s grandmother. Is it possible at this distance in time and in our own states of being to acknowledge how much hatred and humiliation this woman must have suffered day after day, trying to survive and having to make herself and her goods pleasing to whites – for a pittance? Anne Wampy, another Pequot basket maker, and one of Apess’s converts to Christianity, was remembered years later by John Avery in his *History of the Town of Ledyard*, leaving her house each spring covered from head to foot by all the baskets she had made over the winter. She returned, always, as he recalled, having sold all her baskets and having spent all the money to drink herself into a stupor. Through Apess we can almost hear her words: “When Christian come to talk with me, me no like ‘em; me no want to see ‘em; me love nobody; I want no religion ... by me, by me come trouble very much, me very much troubled. Me no like Christians, me hate ‘em; hate every body.”



After October 31, 1850: ... A squaw came to our door today, with two papposes –and said –“Me want a pie.” Theirs is not common begging– You are merely the rich Indian who shares his goods with the poor. They merely offer you an opportunity to be generous and hospitable. Equally simple was the observation which an Indian made at Mr Hoar’s door the other day –who went there to sell his baskets. “No, we dont want any,” said the one who went to the door– “What? do you mean to starve us?” asked the Indian in astonishment as he was going out the gate. The Indian seems to have said –I too will do like the white man I will go into business. He sees his white neighbors well off around him –and he thinks that if he only enters on the profession of basket-making riches will flow in unto him as a matter of course. Just as the Lawyer weaves arguments and by some magical means wealth & standing follow. He thinks that when he has made the baskets he has done his part –now it is yours to buy them. He has not discovered that it is necessary for him to make it worth your while to buy them –or make some which it will be worth your while to buy. With great simplicity he says to himself I too will be a man of business –I will go into trade– It is n’t enough simply to make baskets You have got to sell them.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1822

 [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) found a seer stone (a stone with a hole in it, of the proper size for peeking through) while digging a well for a neighbor in upstate [New York](#). He would employ this stone for a number of years in search for buried treasure. Later he would use it to translate the BOOK OF MORMON and to receive his early revelations.

Many [Narragansett](#) had in 1778 joined the “Brothertown Indians” on the Oneida reservation in upstate [New York](#). The Brothertown band at this point began to relocate with the Oneida and Stockbridge (Mahican) to northern Wisconsin. This move would be complete by 1834. During 1856, the Stockbridge and the Brothertown who wished to retain tribal ownership of their land would merge and relocate to a separate reservation west of Green Bay. The other Brothertown Indians would at that time accept citizenship and allotment, and many of their descendants still live on the east side of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1825**



In about this timeframe in [Rhode Island](#) the [Narragansett](#) language was dropping out of use. By the middle of the 19th Century all surviving members of the tribe would be inheritors of a Negroid and Caucasoid ancestry as well as of a Native American ancestry.



WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

1830



The Reverend Samson Occum had hoped the Iroquois could be bettered by the presence of a Christian community as a living example in their midst, and the more devout and more racially unmixed of the [Narragansett](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had gone to the West in 1775, founding Brothertown in upstate New York, and had been joined there by a second group from New England in 1783-1785. At this point this community of Christian New Englanders moved on to the West again, for similar reasons, and during this decade they would finally come to abide at Brothertown, Wisconsin.<sup>42</sup>

42. The saga of those Christian pureblood [Narragansett](#) who moved toward the West is well beyond the scope of this database, but you could consult Thomas Commuck's SKETCH OF THE BROTHERTOWN INDIANS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN IV:291-298.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1834**



Since 1822 the “Brothertown Indians” on the Oneida reservation in upstate New York, a group which included many [Narragansett](#), had been relocating with the Oneida and Stockbridge (Mahican) to northern Wisconsin. At this point the move was completed. During 1856, the Stockbridge and the Brothertown who wished to retain tribal ownership of their land would merge and relocate to a separate reservation west of Green Bay. The other Brothertown Indians would at that time accept citizenship and allotment, and many of their descendants still live on the east side of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1835**

 October 3, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day Morning to our comfort & support Benj Marshall arrived which took from us much weight & responsibility -Arrangement was made for the funeral which was agreed to be from our house tomorrow at 10 O'clock & to be inter'd in friends ground according to his request both verbal & written - we came home in the afternoon to arrange for the funeral & in the evening the Corps was brought to Town & deposited in our South keeping room. -*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and other dignitaries were approached, one by one, by the committee preparing for Concord's bicentennial event, to provide oratory for the occasion, and had struck out in each and every case. Finally they decided they would need to settle for some oratory from a local citizen, and approached [Waldo Emerson](#). In preparation for his delivery of the keynote address for [Concord](#)'s bicentennial, he borrowed proof sheets for the new local history book by [Lemuel Shattuck](#). He also placed a notice of the publication of Shattuck's book in the [Yeoman's Gazette](#).<sup>43</sup>

43. [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.)



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

### A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...

When the English settlements first commenced in New England, that part of its territory, which lies south of New Hampshire, was inhabited by five principal nations of Indians: the Pequots, who lived in Connecticut; the Narragansets, in [Rhode Island](#); the Pawkunnawkuts, or Womponoags, east of the Narragansets and to the north as far as Charles River;<sup>1</sup> the Massachusetts, north of Charles river and west of Massachusetts Bay; and the Pawtuckets, north of the Massachusetts. The boundaries and rights of these nations appear not to have been sufficiently definite to be now clearly known. They had within their jurisdiction many subordinate tribes, governed by sachems, or sagamores, subject, in some respects, to the principal sachem. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, they were able to bring into the field more than 18,000 warriors; but about the year 1612, they were visited with a pestilential disease, whose horrible ravages reduced their number to about 1800.<sup>2</sup> Some of their villages were entirely depopulated. This great mortality was viewed by the first Pilgrims, as the accomplishment of one of the purposes of Divine Providence, by making room for the settlement of civilized man, and by preparing a peaceful asylum for the persecuted Christians of the old world. In what light soever the event may be viewed, it no doubt greatly facilitated the settlements, and rendered them less hazardous.

1612

1621

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2. MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTION, volume I.



Shattuck, a resident in [Concord](#) from 1823 to 1834, noted that there had been a "third soldier buried and a house built over the spot" and that "one of the wounded died and was buried where Mr. Keyes' house stands."<sup>44</sup> He evidently was referring to a house just to the northeast of the replacement Courthouse the town had erected in 1784, that in 1815 had been leased by [John Shepard Keyes](#) (the father, who worked at that courthouse).

44. Of the three stricken soldiers of the 4th Regiment Light Infantry Company, Thomas Smith, Patrick Gray, and James Hall, two had died and were buried at the North Bridge itself, while the third was carried toward town before succumbing to his wounds.



WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
TOWN OF CONCORD ;

MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS,  
FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO 1832 ;  
AND OF THE ADJOINING TOWNS,  
BEDFORD, ACTON, LINCOLN, AND CARLISLE ;  
CONTAINING  
VARIOUS NOTICES OF COUNTY AND STATE HISTORY  
NOT BEFORE PUBLISHED.

---

BY LEMUEL SHATTUCK,  
MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

---

Nobler records of patriotism exist nowhere. — Nowhere can there be found higher proofs of a spirit that was ready to hazard all, to pledge all, to sacrifice all in the cause of their country, than in the New England towns. WEBSTER.

The local historian is sure of obtaining the gratitude of posterity if he perform his task with faithful diligence. — His work would have a great and increasing value within the narrow sphere of its subject, even if confined to that sphere ; but must be very imperfectly executed, if it does not contain some matter of illustration for the national annals, for the history of manners, for literature, philology, natural history, and various other departments of knowledge.

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

BOSTON :  
RUSSELL, ODIORNE, AND COMPANY.

CONCORD :  
JOHN STACY.

1835.



WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

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>45</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 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, thee, or four fires at a distance one from another, for the better accommodation of the people belonging

45. 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.

HDT

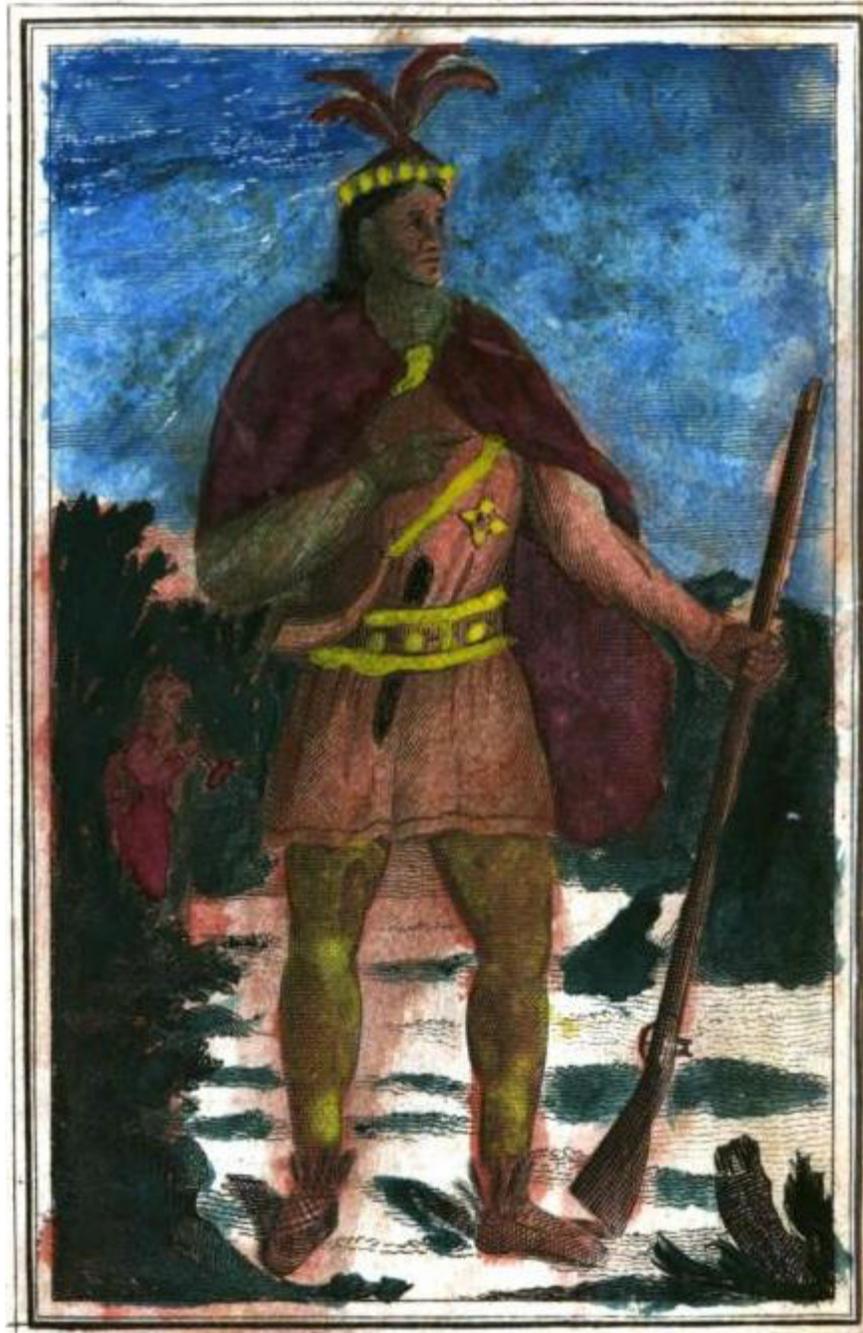
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NARRAGANSETTS

**KING PHILIP.**



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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."



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

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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

**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

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

## 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.

1856

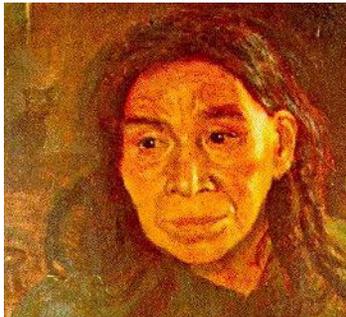
The Brothertown Indians (a group which included many of the surviving [Narragansett](#)) accepted citizenship and allotment (many of their descendants still live on the east side of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin). Those who wished to retain tribal ownership of their land merged with Stockbridge Indians who likewise wished to retain tribal ownership of their land and relocated to a separate reservation west of Green Bay.

June 26, Thursday: [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) to his journal, in [New Bedford](#) with [Henry Thoreau](#):



*Cloudy morning and light rain. Cleared off by noon very fine and warm. Made an excursion to the end of Sconticut Neck with my friend Thoreau, in search of marine plants, &c. On our return called to see an old Indian woman by the name of Martha Simonds living alone in a little dwelling of but one room. It was very interesting to see her, as she is not only a pure blooded Indian, but the last of her tribe, probably the Nemaskets. Her complexion was tawny, and her straight black hair was mixed with gray; we undoubtedly saw a genuine Indian woman. Arrived home from our excursion to Sconticut about 5.*

Martha Simonds or Simon or Simons was the last of the native Americans in Fairhaven. Despite the title of Albert Bierstadt's painting "The Last of the Narragansetts" which he would present to the railroad magnate



Henry Huttleston Rogers in hope of currying favor in regard to an invention for railway cars, she was not a [Narragansett](#) but a Wampanoag. As might be expected, except for Thoreau's and Ricketson's visit and notes, not a whole lot is known about her.

In the process of meeting this native woman, Thoreau encountered a [Quaker](#) minister, her neighbor, who exuded a version of racist condescension:



LOUDON

June 26. Thursday. In Loudon's "Encyclopædia of Agriculture" *far* (of the Romans) is translated Indian corn or *zea*!

According to Audubon's and Wilson's plates, the *Fringilla passerina* has a for the most part clear yellowish-white breast (*vide* May 28th), but the Savannah sparrow no conspicuous yellow on shoulder, a yellow brow, and white crown line. Rode to Sconticut Neck or Point in Fair Haven, five or six miles, and saw, apparently, the *F. savanna* near their nests (my seringo note), restlessly flitting about me from rock to rock within a rod. Distinctly yellow-browed and spotted breast, not like plate of *passerina*. Audubon says that the eggs of the Savannah sparrow "are of a pale bluish color, softly mottled with purplish brown," and those of the yellow-winged sparrow are "of a dingy white, sprinkled with brown spots." The former is apparently my seringo's egg of May 28th. Is not Nuttall mistaken when he describes the notes of the Savannah sparrow in March in Georgia as "very

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## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

long, piping, and elevated” and says that they sometimes have a note like a cricket? Audubon refers to the last note only.

Saw a farmer on the Neck with one of Palmer’s patent wooden legs. He went but little lame and said that he did his own mowing and most of his ordinary farm work, though plowing in the present state of his limb, which had not yet healed, wrenched him some. He had lost a leg just below the knee, and was supported mainly on his thigh above the stump.

The older houses about New Bedford, as on this neck (and one a hundred years old is an old one), have commonly stone chimneys, which are agreeable to my eye and built with more taste than brick ordinarily, i.e. more elaborately. Yet they are now pulled down and brick substituted, or else concealed with a coat of mortar! This neck, like the New Bedford country generally, is very flat to my eye, even as far inland as Middleborough. When R. decided to take another road home from the latter place, because it was less hilly, I said I had not observed a hill in all our ride. I found on the rocky and rather desolate extremity of this point the common *Oxalis stricta* on the seashore, abundant, going to seed; apparently carrots (?) naturalized; atriplex not yet out; beach pea, still out and going to seed. An abundance of the small iris in the field near by. It was thick weather, after a drizzling forenoon, and we could just see across Buzzard’s Bay from the point to Falmouth. Mattapoisett was the point next above on this side. I had been expecting to find the aletris about New Bedford, and when taking our luncheon on this neck what should I see rising above the luncheon-box, between me and R., but what I knew must be the *Aletris farinosa*; not yet out, but one near by would open apparently in two or three days.

I was struck by the number of quails thereabouts, and elsewhere in this vicinity. They keep up an incessant whistling these days, as also about R.’s house, within a stone’s throw of it; and I several times saw them in the middle of the road in front of his house, in coveys, and on the road fence there. Also saw cowbirds in flocks on the road there. Around R.’s shanty was heard an incessant whistling of quails, and, morning and evening, the strain of the bay-wing [Vesper Sparrow  *Pooecetes gramineus*], and some rather feeble purple finches, young males without the purple, dark-colored.

Talked with a farmer by name of Slocum, hoeing on the Neck, a rather dull and countrified fellow for our neighborhood, I should have said. Asked him, by chance, about getting to Cuttyhunk, if it was safe to cross the bay in a whale-boat. Yes, or “Ye-e-s,” his boat was only some twelve feet long and went over two or three times a year. His relations lived there. Perhaps he understood navigating here. Well, he’d been round the world considerably. “Have you been master of a whaler?” Yes, he’d been to most all parts of the world.

Heard of and sought out, the hut of Martha Simons, the only pure-blooded Indian left about New Bedford. She lives alone on the narrowest point of the Neck, near the shore in sight of New Bedford. Her hut stands some twenty-five rods from the road on a small tract of Indian land, now wholly hers. It was formerly exchanged by a white man for some better land, then occupied by Indians, at Westport, which he wanted. So said a Quaker minister, her neighbor. The squaw was not at home when we first called. It was a little hut not so big as mine. *Vide* sketch by R., with the bay not far behind it. No garden; only some lettuce amid the thin grass in front, and a great white pile of clam and quahog shells on one side. She ere long came in from the seaside, and we called again. We knocked and walked in, and she asked us to sit down. She had half an acre of the real tawny Indian face, broad with high cheek-bones, black eyes, and straight hair, originally black but now a little gray, parted in the middle. Her hands were several shades darker than her face. She had a peculiarly vacant expression, perhaps characteristic of the Indian, and answered our questions listlessly, without being interested or implicated, mostly in monosyllables, as if hardly present there. To judge from her physiognomy, she might have been King Philip’s own daughter. Yet she could not speak a word of Indian, and knew nothing of her race. Said she had lived with the whites, gone out to service when seven years old. Had lived part of her life at Squaw Betty’s Neck, Assawampsett Pond. Did she know Sampson’s? She’d ought to; she’d done work enough there. She said she was sixty years old, but was probably nearer seventy. She sat with her elbows on her knees and her face in her hands and that peculiar vacant stare, perhaps looking out the window between us, not repelling us in the least, but perfectly indifferent to our presence.

She was born on that spot. Her grandfather also lived on the same spot, though not in the same house. He was the last of her race who could speak Indian. She had heard him pray in Indian, but could only understand “Jesus Christ.” Her only companion was a miserable tortoise-shell kitten which took no notice of us [notice the cat behind Martha Simons in Albert Bierstadt’s painting above, very dim at the center of the left margin]. She had a stone chimney, a small cooking-stove with fore legs, set up on bricks within it, and a bed covered with dirty bed-clothes. Said she hired out her field as pasture; better for her than to cultivate. There were two young heifers in it. The question she answered with most interest was, “What do you call that plant?” and I reached her the aletris from my hat. She took it, looked at it a moment, and said, “That’s husk-root. It’s good to put into bitters for a weak stomach.” The last year’s light-colored and withered leaves surround the present green star like a husk. This must be the origin of the name. Its root is described as intensely bitter. I ought to have had my hat full of plants. A conceited old Quaker minister, her neighbor, told me with a sanctified air, “I think that the Indians were human beings; dost thee not think so?” he only convinced me of his doubt and narrowness.

CAT



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1858

The [Rhode Island](#) Commissioner characterized [Narragansett](#) conditions as follows:

The general condition of the tribe at present, compared to what it was ... has ... improved ... now, they are provided with comfortable dwellings, are well clad, and have proper supplies of food. If they have not, as a community, become more industrious, they make better use of their earnings than formerly, when three fourths were spent for intoxicating liquors. The young men generally work out, by the month, on farms, ... some few go to sea. There are but few members of the tribe who follow farming exclusively... Quite a number are masons, stone cutters, and wallers, and command good wages for their work.

[Rhode Island](#) began a long-term efforts to destroy the [Narragansett](#) as a legal and political entity — with the tribe of course attempting to resist these efforts:

A majority of the Indians, including the governing class, were evidently opposed to changing the existing relations to the State. They wished to be let alone in governing themselves. They objected to being taxed, to being subject to the draft, and especially to being made liable to be sued. They professed to be indifferent to the privileges of citizenship and to set a low value thereon.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1859**

The [Narragansett](#) Church in Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#) was rebuilt.



**WAMPANOAGS**

**NARRAGANSETTS**

**1879**

The Smiley administration ended and the Augustine Jones administration began at the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Here is how this new administration would be described in Friend Eric Kristensen's "An Outline of Moses Brown School's History," prepared for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Permanent Board on Financing Moses Brown School Renovations:

1879-1904: Music and art invade the school in great profusion. Student life flourishes with clubs, athletic associations and teams, and various society forms. Girls and boys mix in classes and in many extracurricular events. Elizabeth Fry fund established by Ella J. Wheeler with a gift of \$30,000 for scholarships; Stephen T. Olney bequeaths \$43,000 for the permanent fund of the school; other gifts and bequests by Sarah Slade, Timothy Earle, Philip Tripp, Eleanor Cattell and others bring the gift total to more than \$90,000 most of which was added to the permanent endowment. (page 7)

Here is how Friend Eric Kristensen had described the previous "Smiley Administration" which was ending:

1860-1879: Smiley administration. Albert K. (from Oak Grove in Vassalboro) was principal, his twin brother Alfred H. was Associate Principal for much of this time. A sister, Rebecca H. was head of the girls' department from 1863-1879. The strict regulations of the early days were further relaxed; attendance increased, the debt decreased, and a number of new buildings were built. After the Civil War, attendance often reached 200; in 1875 a record 222 students enrolled. The averages for the period were 103 boys and 69 girls for a total of 172. The contract system remained from the Cartland days, whereby the Principal received a salary; after his and all other salaries and operating expenses were paid he received one half of the annual profit. This allowed the Principal to realize a considerable amount in some years, and the School Committee was assured of sound business practices which eliminated accumulated debt, reduced the deficit and provided a balance for improving the school plant. The School was commonly called the "Quaker Jail" by students of this period. After Moses Brown, the brothers opened the famous Mohonk Mountain House outside of New Palz NY. (page 6)

Is it not curious, to see a religious institution that has been exempted from taxation being run for profit, with half the profit disappearing annually into the Headmaster's own pocket? –This sort of situation shines an interesting light on the category "nonprofit," for in fact even today a tax-exempt foundation is allowed to offer "incentive compensation" to its CEO and other key executives without its "nonprofit" standing being considered in any way to be compromised.<sup>46</sup>



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

At one of the State of [Rhode Island](#)'s "detrribalization" hearings, members of the [Narragansett](#) tribe expressed their reasons for continuing tribal relations on the reservation. In their statements a number indicated a preference to live as a protected community on their ancestral property, alleged that they resented being considered as drunks, liars, paupers, and thieves, and protested that "detrribalization" was merely the final phase of an agenda of dispossession by white colonists. The speakers referred to themselves, and were referred to, alternately as "Indians" and "colored," and foresaw no advantage to being considered citizens or to being considered colored. That the racial mixing which had been going on for generations had rendered them less of a Native American tribal community was denied by Daniel Sekater, a council member:

*We have now here a little mite of property that belongs to the Narragansett Indians, conveyed to them by their foreparents, and it belongs to them; and it does seem to me that they ought to have the handling of it as they see fit... Some argue that they ought to come out as citizens because they are mixed up with others. There are [Negroes], it is true -- perhaps more [Negro] than anything else. But other classes are mixed up with other nations just as well There is hardly one that can say, "I am a clear-blooded Yankee."*

The council did however agree to quitclaim to the State all common, tribal, and vacant lands, except the site of the church, with its graveyard and August Meeting ground.

46. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transited from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

<sup>24</sup> No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

— MATTHEW

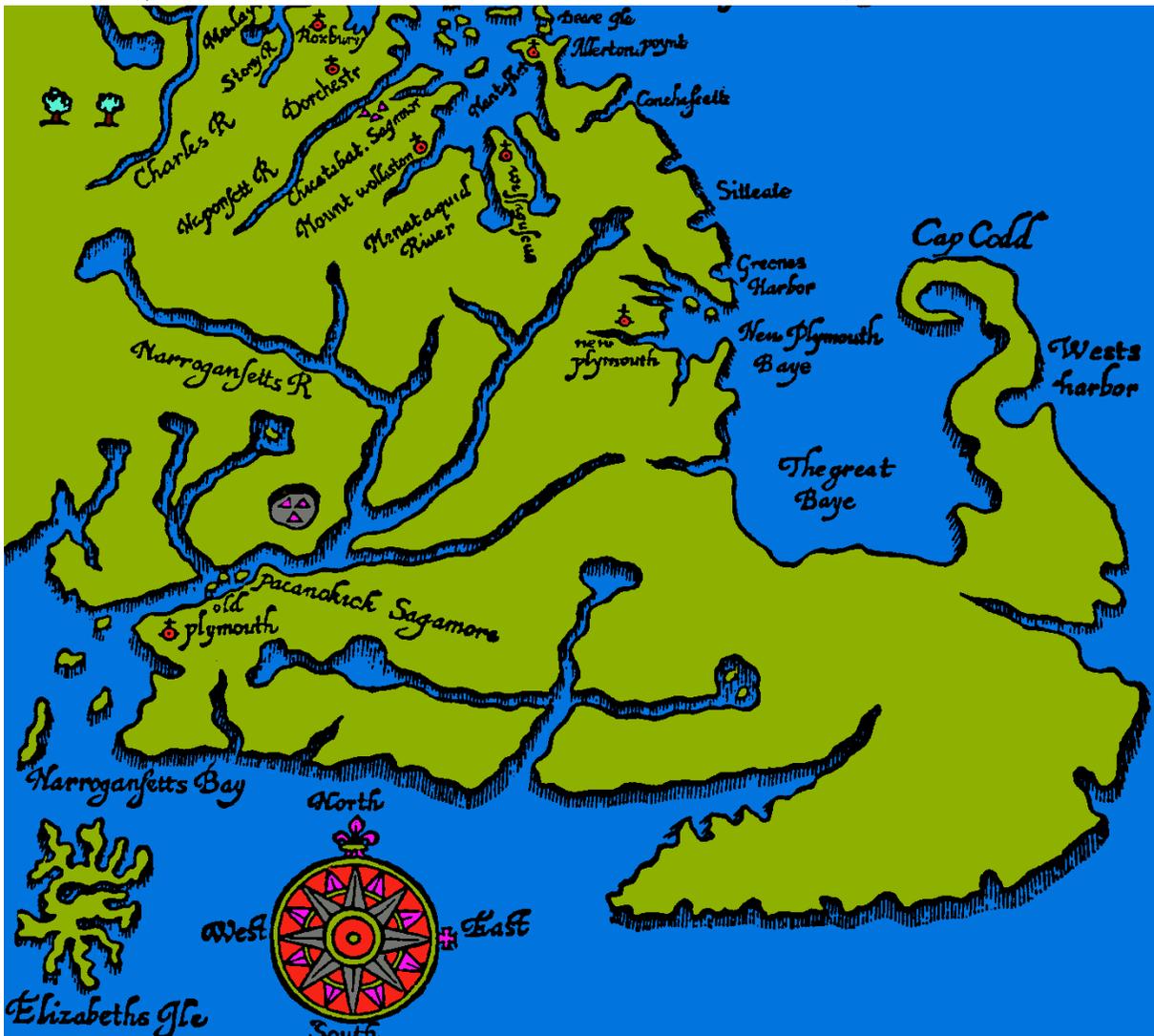
6:24 [MATTHEW 6:24](#)

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1880

Despite the numbers of [Narragansett](#) who had chosen to reside with other tribes in other locales, the main body of this tribe still remained in [Rhode Island](#). At this point the white state government unilaterally terminated their tribal status, taking 3,200 acres of their reservation and leaving them with two acres: “An Act to Abolish the Tribal Authority and Tribal Relations of the [Narragansett](#) Tribe of Indians.” The tribe as a legal body was dissolved and the residential community dispersed. The detribalization commission determined that 302 men, women, and children were entitled to a share of the sale of reservation lands.



[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

Attempts at legal redress would be denied by the Rhode Island Supreme Court in 1898, and although this was a clear violation of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1790, the federal government would decline to intervene — because the [Narragansett](#) had never signed a treaty with the United States. The tribe would be unable to regain its reserve until the settlement of a lengthy lawsuit in 1978 (their reservation near Charlestown currently has about 2,500 acres).

## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

September 27, Monday: The two halves of the glacial erratic known as “Forefathers Rock” or “[Plymouth Rock](#)“ that had been pried apart in 1774 by the “Liberty Boys” were finally cemented back together and –lest anyone miss the message of [Plymouth](#) primacy– the Arabic numerals 1620, which had been painted onto the boulder, were deeply incised.<sup>47</sup>



In England on this date an illumination was occurring — someone officiously threw a switch and the Royal Albert Docks were suddenly lighted by 26 electric lamps.

47. This is evidently a code in which the cardinal number “1620” is being used as a designator for the ordinal number “1st,” as in the idiomatic locution “All men are created equal and white people take priority merely because they happen to stand for unparalleled excellence, or because they stand for private property and happen to own the joint, or something like that.” –For this did little to cement together the local [Narragansett](#) tribe that was under the benevolent purview of these detribalizing white overlords.



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1883

September 21, Friday: There had been a proposal to establish a memorial to the [Narragansett](#) headman [Canonicus](#) who had been such a good friend to the Reverend [Roger Williams](#). One proposal had been to carve a “head of an Indian” into a boulder atop Neutakonut Hill, but then during road work on South Main in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (the street that used to be “Town Road” when it had been just about the only road in the town), an oblong boulder was dug up which someone fancied to have once lain at the shoreline. This had been erected in the North Burial Ground, in a place now referred to as “Sachem’s Glenn.” The boulder is now inscribed “Canonicus” over what is supposed to be the sachem’s mark, but the carving does not greatly resemble the mark he placed on the original papers — whoever carved this stone did not grasp that an arrow strung to the bow would indicate an intent to cause harm: Canonicus’s arrow had rested beside the bow, indicating his intent of peaceful racial coexistence and mutual benefit.

**DEDICATION CEREMONY**

HDT

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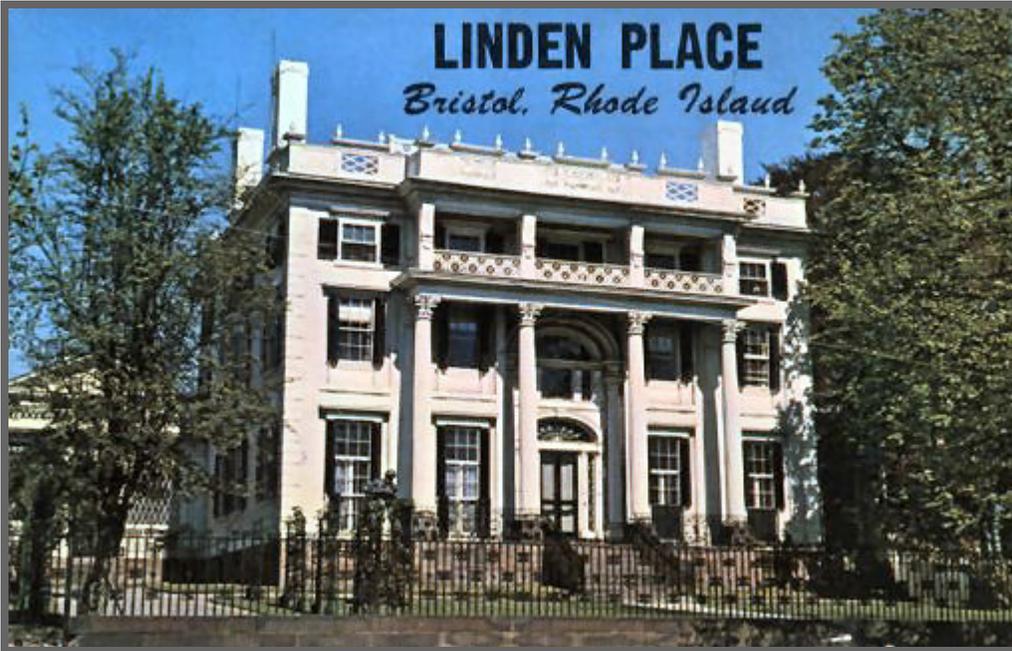
NARRAGANSETTS



There are no authentic depictions of any of these persons (including Rev. Williams)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**WAMPANOAGS****NARRAGANSETTS****1885**

President Chester A. Arthur was entertained at the “Linden Place” DeWolf mansion in downtown [Bristol](#).

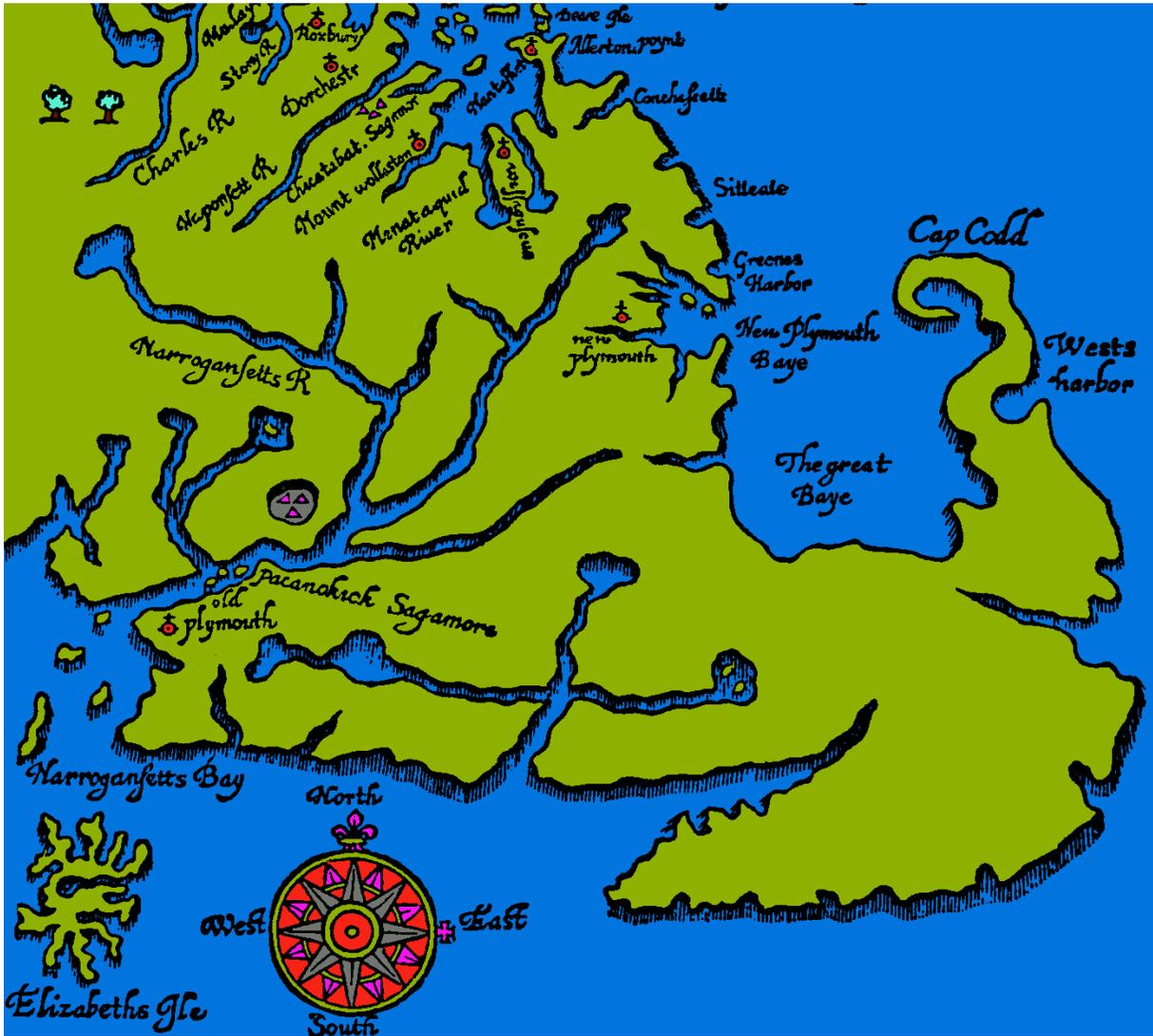


That the [Narragansett](#) tribe had ceased to exist in white minds is evidenced in the records of the [Rhode Island](#) census, which listed 199 “Indians” in the state but not one of them in Charlestown. What had happened was that a local white official had accused the residents of the former reservation community of not being “real Indians,” they being merely a bunch of “monigs,”<sup>48</sup> and had refused to record them as Native Americans. Of course, that guy was quite correct: these **were**n’t real Indians — they’d not so much as **glimpsed** the subcontinent of India. :-)

48. Note well that this local term “monig” is not a pleasant one. Whether employed by a red person or by a white person, it is not only racist but also derogatory and offensive (it is a truncation of the description “more nigger than Indian”). It is a term used here in Rhode Island by racist Native Americans to describe other Native Americans with whom they do not wish to be associated, and by racist whites to describe people whom they consider to be “putting on as Indians when they ain’t nothin’ but a bunch of niggers with attitude.”

WAMPANOAGS

NARRAGANSETTS

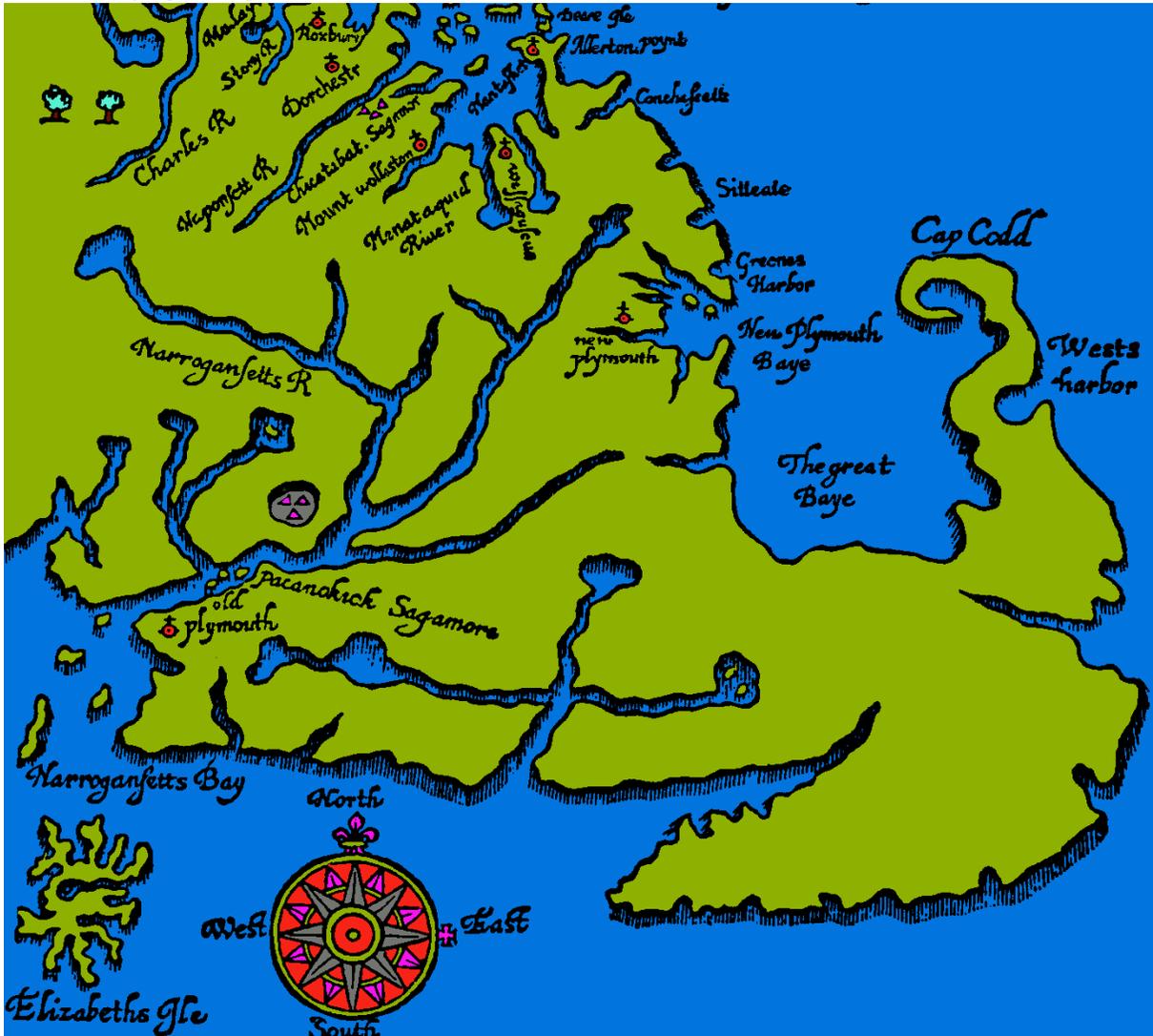


## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1887

The legal genocide against the *Narragansett* and *Wampanoag* tribes of *Rhode Island* culminated in the passage of the General Allotment Act, the thrust of which was to grant quite meaningless individual “citizenship” while destroying tribal government.



[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

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 Swanzy [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.

## WAMPANOAGS



"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.



## NARRAGANSETTS



"Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it."

– Russell Shorto





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1898

In 1880 the white [Rhode Island](#) government had unilaterally terminated the tribal status of the [Narragansett](#), unlawfully lawfully taking 3,200 acres of their reservation and leaving them with two acres. At this point attempts at legal redress were denied by the Rhode Island Supreme Court, and despite the fact that this was a clear violation of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1790, the US federal government declined to intervene — on grounds that since the Narragansett had never signed a treaty with the US, it really wasn't any of their concern. The Narragansett would be unable to regain their reserve until the settlement of a lengthy lawsuit in 1978 (their reservation near Charlestown currently has about 2,500 acres).

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)



## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1906

October: After 120 soldiers had boarded the *Chuny 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





## WAMPANOAGS

## NARRAGANSETTS

1978

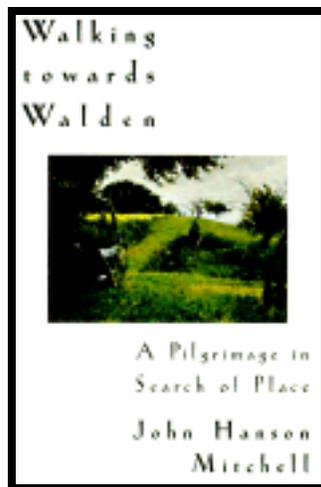
In 1880 the white [Rhode Island](#) government had unilaterally terminated the tribal status of the [Narragansett](#), taking 3,200 acres of their reservation and leaving them with two acres. Attempts at legal redress had been denied in 1898 by the Rhode Island Supreme Court, and despite the fact that this was a clear violation of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1790, the federal government had declined to intervene — on the grounds that the Narragansett had never signed a treaty with the United States. At this point, however, with the settlement of a lengthy lawsuit much of the reserve was recovered (their reservation near Charlestown currently has about 2,500 acres).

1996

August 28, Wednesday: On an island of Boston Harbor near Deer Island (which, due to the heaviest sort of construction, was no longer an appropriate site for such a meeting), representatives of the Boston government and adjutants from various foreign embassies met with a group of native American survivors of the [Narragansett](#), Penobscot, Stockbridge, and Wampanoag groups. A proclamation was read and speeches were delivered. On page 205 of John Hanson Mitchell's TRESPASSING: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1998), it is suggested that the history of this genocide has been somewhat exaggerated:



Thousands did not die on Deer Island, as was claimed. There were hardly a thousand Christian Indians in the whole of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and only five hundred were imprisoned there.

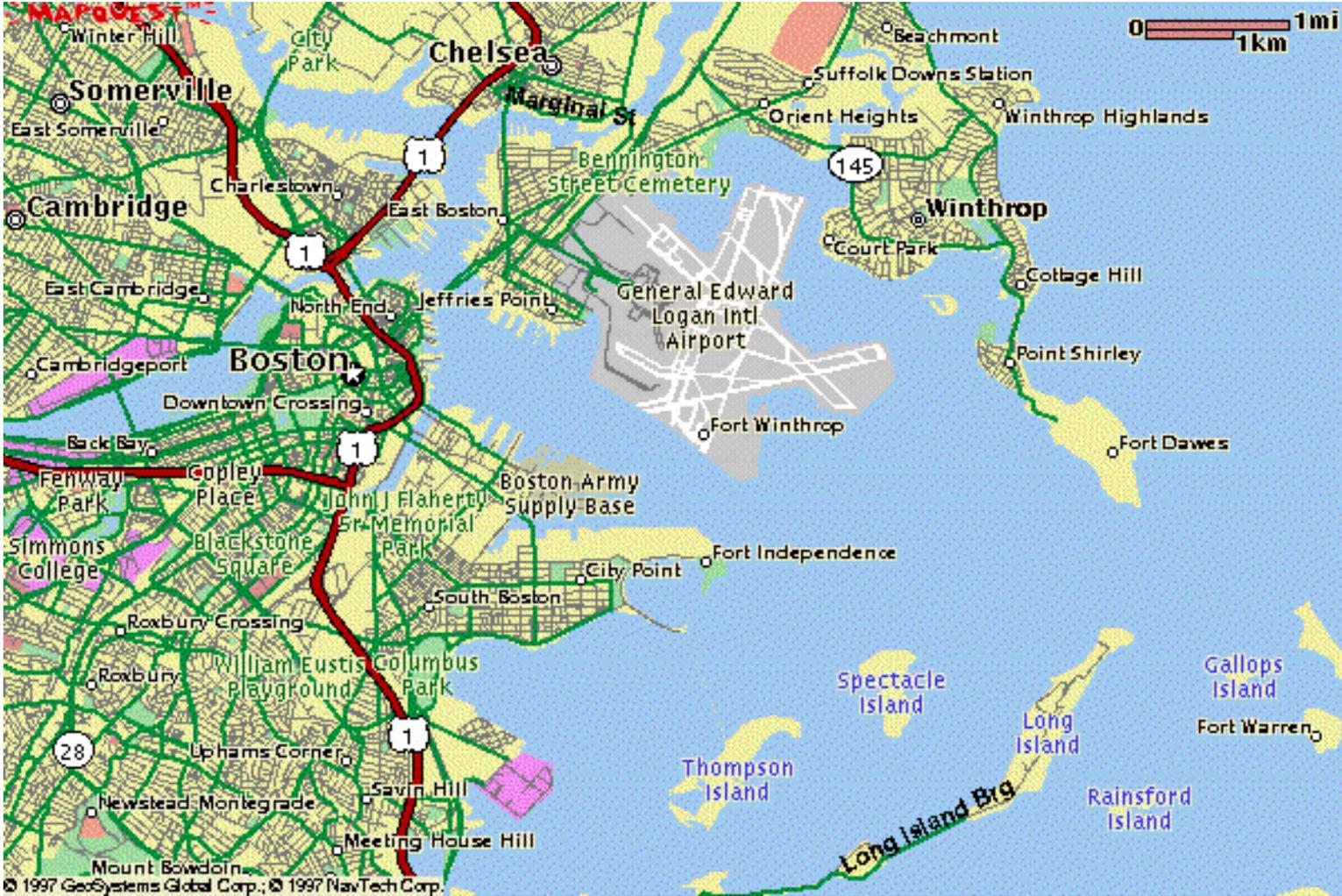


Mitchell very characteristically fails to indicate who precisely it has been who has been guilty of such a completely unnecessary exaggeration, and I might mention that although I have had my ear to the ground for quite some time, I have never myself heard of anyone at all who was making an exaggerated suggestion

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of this sort, that “thousands” had died on Deer Island during that terrible winter of exposure and deprivation.



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"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 canceled 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



In similar vein it has been argued by I-don't-know-who that the number of Jews killed at Auschwitz, some seven million, has been exaggerated — that actually there hadn't been that many Jews in all of Europe!



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1998

February 15, Sunday: Sketches for a symphony by Edward Elgar and elaborated by Payne are performed for the initial time as Elgar's Symphony no.3 in Royal Festival Hall, London, 65 years after they were made by the composer.

Equale for four trombones by Leslie Bassett was performed for the initial time, at Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina.

An extraordinarily different article appeared in the local [Providence, Rhode Island](#) newspaper, the "ProJo":

### **History of slavery in R.I. not a story in black and white, but shades of gray**

**By JODY McPHILLIPS, Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer**

Steven Spielberg shot his slave-revolt film [La Amistad](#) in [Rhode Island](#) because the state has great Colonial architecture.

It made sense for other reasons.

Rhode Island played a bigger role than any other state in the [Atlantic slave trade](#) and had the only slave plantations in New England. At the same time, it was an early leader in the efforts to abolish slavery.

"Throughout the 18th century, Rhode Island merchants controlled between 60 and 90 percent of the American trade in African slaves," writes historian Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1700-1807*.

To be fair, the American slave trade amounted to just a small fraction of the European trade, which brought more than 11 million Africans to the New World over nearly 400 years.

Only half a million of them went directly to North American colonies; the rest went to the plantations and slave markets of Central and South America, from which some would be resold later to the southern colonies.

By comparison Rhode Island, which came the closest of any colony to having a slave trade of its own, made more than 900 slaving voyages during the 18th century, transporting about 106,000 slaves.

Few actually settled in Rhode Island, which was poorly suited for large-scale agriculture with its small rocky farms and icy winters. But they were bought from the slave fortresses of Africa's Gold Coast with Rhode Island-made rum; transported on Rhode Island-built ships to the slave markets of the Caribbean; and later dressed in Rhode Island-made slave cloth.

Why did Rhode Island get so involved?

Money, mostly. The state had good ports and skilled seamen but not much good farmland. Once the fertile areas of South County were settled, the only place to make real money was at sea.



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And no trade was as profitable as slaving. Slave traders like the Browns of [Providence](#) amassed great fortunes, enough to build those mansions along Benefit Street and to found Brown University. Later, [Rhode Island](#) textile manufacturers produced the coarse cotton cloth slaves wore throughout the New World, much like prison garb today. There were also coincidental connections. Two groups who eventually settled here -the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans- played huge roles in the early slave trade. In the 1400s, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to buy or steal humans from the west coast of Africa; they turned the empty, volcanic Cape Verde islands into a major depot for the worldwide slave trade and created a mixed-race population that flourishes today throughout southeastern New England. And yet, from the earliest days, some Rhode Islanders were repelled by this human commerce. The conflict tore families apart. [John Brown](#), of [Providence](#), was an avid slaver, his brother [Moses Brown](#) an abolitionist who fought him at every turn. [Bristol](#) slaver James DeWolf's son Levi made one slaving voyage and abandoned the trade in disgust; Levi's brother Charles once defended his extensive slaving activities by telling a preacher, "Parson, I've always wanted to roll in gold." In 1774, the General Assembly outlawed importing slaves into [Rhode Island](#); a decade later, it was one of the first states to free children born of slave mothers. It's a complicated story, with many moral shadings. Or, as Keith Stokes of [Newport](#) says, "It's not black and white so much as gray."

\*\*\*

Humanity is divided into two: the masters and the slaves.

- Aristotle, POLITICS.

How could it happen? How could supposedly civilized people enslave other human beings?

Historian Hugh Thomas, in *THE SLAVE TRADE*, says slavery is as old as recorded history, known in virtually all cultures. Typically, slaves were people who lost wars, owed debts, broke laws or were sold into servitude by impoverished parents.

Throughout the Middle Ages, enslavement was increasingly linked to religious conflict. Moslems would enslave Christians, or vice versa: the dominant culture felt they were doing the "less enlightened" people a favor, by liberating them from error and exposing them to the true faith.

By the 1400s, the seafaring Portuguese had begun trading with the small fiefdoms of northwest Africa. They went looking for gold, but didn't find enough; increasingly, they brought home slaves, with the blessing of the Pope. Better a slave in an advanced Christian nation than a free subject of a "cannibal" king, the reasoning went. African slaves quickly became highly prized as strong,



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hardy workers able to withstand punishing tropical heat. As European colonists flooded into the New World, demand for workers grew exponentially, especially in the Caribbean islands and the plantations of Central and South America.

At first, the Europeans tried to enslave the native Indians too. The first slaves transported across the Atlantic, in fact, went west to east: Taino Indians brought to Spain from the Caribbean by Christopher Columbus.

But the New World Indians proved too susceptible to European diseases, and not strong enough to cultivate the new cash crops of sugar, tobacco, rice, cotton and indigo in the tropics.

It was the Africans' bad luck that they were physically well suited to hard work in hot climates – and that African kings and chieftains were so willing to sell their enemies and rivals into slavery.

Over the next centuries, the combined lure of gold and slaves drew successive waves of Europeans to Africa: the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and finally the English, in the mid-1600s.

They made no bones about why.

"A ship full of blacks brings more to the Treasury than galleons and fleets put together," wrote Pedro Zapata de Mendoza, governor of Cartagena de Indias (in present-day Colombia), in 1648.

The British entered the trade two centuries after the Portuguese, but quickly made up for lost time. One maritime city after another sent huge ships to Africa, capable of carrying as many as 450 slaves at once.

They made money hand over fist.

"Liverpool was in no way shy about the benefits brought her by the slave trade," Thomas writes about the city. "The facade of the Exchange carried reliefs of Africans' heads, with elephants, in a frieze, and one street was commonly known as 'Negro Row.'"

By the end of the 17th century, British traders had exported nearly 100,000 slaves from Africa; by 1725, 75,000 had been sold to British North America.

It was about that time that slaving voyages start showing up in [Rhode Island](#) records.

\*\*\*

The early eighteenth century marked the end of North America's novitiate in the traffic of slaves. In the seventeenth century, too poor or too concerned with primitive agriculture, colonists there had been slow to participate in any substantial way.

A few slaves acting as servants had always been seen in all the colonies; but it was not until the owners of plantations in the Carolinas ... realized they could make considerable profits from rice and indigo that anything like a regular trade in slaves began.

– Hugh Thomas

The only land in Rhode Island good enough for plantation-style farming was the [Narragansett](#) Country

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(South County today), where a handful of white landowners did get rich off the labor of black slaves in the years before the Revolution.

But the rest of the settlers had to come up with other ways to make money. The colony's most successful industry was distilling rum, which at first was sold mainly to other colonies. The strong, good-quality rum soon found a market with slave-trading Africans of the Gold Coast who preferred it to Caribbean rums, which could be weak, salty or packed in leaky barrels.

[Rhode Island](#) distillers in [Newport](#) (and later [Bristol](#) and [Providence](#)) were soon making double- and triple-distilled rums for the African trade, taking care to pack it in sturdy hogsheads. [Rhode Island](#) rum became so popular in Africa that, like gold, it served as money. The rum-for-slaves trade began slowly, with occasional voyages as far back as 1709. The triangle trade that evolved was simple: take rum to Africa, and trade it for slaves; take the slaves to the Caribbean, and trade them for molasses; take the molasses back to [Rhode Island](#), and make more rum.

Everybody made out — except the slaves.

At first, the trade was concentrated in [Newport](#). By 1725, one or two voyages a year were being recorded; by 1735, it was up to a dozen a year, a pace maintained until 1740, when fighting between England, Spain and then France disrupted all colonial commerce.

A pattern developed: when hostilities broke out, trade faltered; when peace resumed, slaving boomed. In 1750, 15 [Rhode Island](#) trips were recorded; by 1772, that number had doubled.

\*\*\*

[Rhode Island](#) and, particularly, Newport, was, in the 1750s and 1760s, still the North American colonies' most important slaving zone. Newport, which always welcomed enterprising people without asking whence they came, also used more slaves in small businesses, farms, or homes than any other Northern colony.

— Hugh Thomas

One Rhode Islander in nine was black, the highest percentage north of the Mason-Dixon line. Most were slaves on the [Narragansett](#) Country plantations, but others clustered in Newport, where an artisan class of skilled workers developed.

Slavery in New England —and particularly liberal Newport— was probably never absolute. From the early days, a small percentage of Newport blacks were free men, having bought or otherwise obtained their freedom. Keith Stokes, in an essay on the slave trade, writes, "An early 1770s census lists nearly one-third of (Newport's) 9,000 inhabitants as being Negro, both slave and free."

Ship captains were always looking for able mariners; by 1800, "black seamen made up 21 percent of all Newport crews engaged in the West Indian, European and African trades," writes Coughtry.



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Yet at the same time, slavers were working out of [Providence](#), [Bristol](#) and [Warren](#) as well as Newport. (Bristol, in fact, surpassed [Newport](#) as the state's primary slaving port as the century closed). Merchants in Greenwich, [Tiverton](#), Little Compton and [North Kingstown](#) played a lesser role.

The slavers were some of the colony's leading citizens, their names still familiar today: Newport's John Bannister (Bannister's Wharf) and Abraham Redwood ([Redwood Library](#)); [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#) (Brown University); the DeWolfs of [Bristol](#), who built Linden Place.

One of the most active was [Aaron Lopez](#) of Newport, a founder of [Touro Synagogue](#), who entered the slave trade in 1762 and by 1775 was the largest taxpayer in Newport, with more than 30 ships.

Some were more reprehensible than others. In 1764, Simeon Potter of [Bristol](#) wrote to his captain on the slaver *King George*: "Water your rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short measure as you can."

Or the captain of James DeWolf's slaver *Polly*, who lashed a slave infected with smallpox to a chair, threw her overboard, and "lamented only the lost chair."

Merchants not rich enough to build their own ships pooled resources and invested in voyages. Later on, the ships were more often owned by individuals or family groups.

Rhode Islanders made a go of slaving for a number of reasons. Their small, sturdy ships held from 75 to 150 slaves, far fewer than the massive British or French slavers, but their survival rates were better. Shorter loading times in Africa exposed the crews to fewer new diseases, and less crowding of slaves meant fewer died on the voyage, which took from five to 12 weeks.

[La Amistad](#)-style rebellions did occur -17 revolts were recorded on [Rhode Island](#) slavers between 1730 and 1807- but were about half as common as on British and French slavers, perhaps because conditions were somewhat better on the smaller boats.

The British destruction of [Newport](#) during the Revolution brought a temporary halt to the trade. When it resumed after the war, much of the action shifted up the bay to [Bristol](#), home of the DeWolf clan.

\*\*\*

Without a doubt, then, the DeWolfs had the largest interest in the African slave trade of any American family before or after the Revolution; theirs was one of the few fortunes that truly rested on rum and slaves.

— Jay Coughtry

It was a family operation, all right — along the lines of *la cosa nostra*.

The first DeWolf slaver was Mark Anthony DeWolf, who began as captain for his brother-in-law, Simeon Potter. By 1774, Mark Anthony and Charles, one of his five sons, had completed seven voyages and may have been financing their own ships, Coughtry writes.



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Between 1784 and 1807, seven DeWolfs completed 88 slaving voyages, or one-quarter of all [Rhode Island](#) trips made in those years; they were involved in 60 percent of the slaving voyages from [Bristol](#).

They didn't just sail the ships – they branched out into all aspects of the operation. James DeWolf, another of Mark Anthony's sons, married the daughter of William Bradford, who owned [Bristol](#)'s rum distillery; he went on to make another fortune in cotton manufacturing, and served in the U.S. Senate.

Other sons sold slaves at slave markets in Charleston and Havana; the family also bought a Cuban sugar plantation, so they had a piece of the action at all stages of the cycle.

They were resourceful. As the public grew more repulsed by slavery and anti-slavery laws began to be passed, the DeWolfs dug in, and used their clout and connections to keep the money flowing.

By the turn of the century, William Ellery, the customs collector in [Newport](#), was cracking down on illegal slaving. The DeWolfs got the General Assembly to create a separate customs office in [Bristol](#), and in 1804 snared the collector's job for Charles Collins, a DeWolf in-law and a slaver himself.

It was clear sailing out of [Bristol](#) after that.

Although slavery was outlawed nationally as of 1808, James DeWolf continued slaving until 1820, "the period of the [[Rhode Island](#)] trade's greatest profits," writes Arline Ruth Kiven, in a history of the state's abolitionist movement called *THEN WHY THE NEGROES?*

"This was also the time of his greatest affluence," although, she notes, there are no records for the [Bristol](#) port during this period because Collins burned them all when he was finally ousted in 1820.

Slavers were pretty crafty about staying ahead of the anti-slaving laws. A 1794 law banning U.S. citizens from carrying slaves to other nations, for example, had only one real enforcement provision: much like modern-day drug laws, the government could confiscate slaving vessels and sell them at auction.

Slavers promptly rigged the auctions so they (or straw buyers) could buy back the ships for pocket change. The government countered by getting the ships assessed, and then sending an agent to the auction to enter that price as an opening bid.

Samuel Bosworth, the surveyor for [Bristol](#), was the unfortunate soul sent to bid on the *Lucy*, a slaver confiscated from Charles DeWolf. He undertook the job "with considerable fear and trembling," writes Coughtry.

The night before the sale, Bosworth got a visit from DeWolf, his brother James, and [John Brown](#), who advised him to refuse the assignment. He stood his ground.

The next morning the DeWolfs dropped by again, telling Bosworth that while they certainly wouldn't harm a hair of his head, if he showed up at the sale he would probably be "insulted if not thrown off the wharf" by sailors.



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Bosworth never made it to the auction. "His would-be baptizers, in nominal Indian dress and with faces blackened, seized him as he approached the wharf, and hustled him aboard a small sailboat" which took him for a pleasant two-mile ride down the bay, Coughtry writes. By the time he made it back to [Bristol](#), the *Lucy* had been bought by a captain who worked for the DeWolfs. The DeWolfs - or their agents - at times went in for outright thuggery. In 1800 the Treasury Department sent Capt. John Leonard to [Rhode Island](#) as a kind of special prosecutor targeting slave traders. He promptly sued James DeWolf for \$20,000 over violations by DeWolf's slave ship *Fanny*. The jury found for DeWolf. But some months after the trial, "apparently fearful that Leonard's strategy against DeWolf would become a dangerous and costly precedent, a group of civic-minded Bristolians traveled to Washington to make their own appeal at the Federal Courthouse," Coughtry writes. When they spotted Leonard coming down the courthouse steps, "several unidentified assailants assaulted him."

\*\*\*

Whereas, there is a common course practiced by Englishmen to buy negers so that they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered that no blacke mankind or white, being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than 10 years or until they come to bee 24 years of age....  
- [Rhode Island](#)'s first anti-slavery law, 1652

The 1652 law was supposed to ban slavery of any kind from [Providence](#) and Warwick, or indentured servitude for more than 10 years. It was enforced for whites but largely ignored for blacks; like so many cultures before them, the British colonies were deeply conflicted over slavery.

In 1636, Roger Williams, who founded the colony in [Providence](#), questioned the justice of enslaving the Pequots. Yet in 1676, the same man denounced one of the early calls for freeing black slaves as "nothing but a bundle of ignorance and boisterousness."

Kiven writes that the northern part of the state was always less enamored of slavery than the seafaring and farming south.

Slaving was not confined to a particular religion or sect. Christians and Jews made fortunes in the trade, though by the early 18th century [Quakers](#) began to question the ethics of what they were doing.

Abolitionist sentiment got a boost in 1738, when an article in the [English Weekly Miscellany](#) "declared that, if Africans were to seize people from the coast of England, one could easily imagine the screams of 'unjust' which would be heard," writes Thomas.

In [Newport](#) in 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of the First Congregational Church preached his first sermon against slavery, and was surprised when his congregation -many



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of whom owned slaves- did not walk out en masse. Three years later, Hopkins got the idea of sending two educated blacks to Africa as missionaries. To that end, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma were sent to Princeton College to prepare. The Revolution intervened, however, and Quamine died aboard a [privateer](#), while Yamma apparently dropped out of school to go to work and disappeared into history. According to Kiven, the Quakers were the biggest and best-organized religious group in [Rhode Island](#), and once they began to oppose slavery, its days were numbered. One by one, slave owners changed their minds. "College Tom" Hazard, heir to [Narragansett](#) Country landowner Robert Hazard, refused his father's offer of slaves on his marriage (Robert was said to own 1,000 slaves in 1730). In 1773, the younger Hazard convinced the Quaker Yearly Meeting to ban Quaker participation in slavery. That same year [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#) quit the family slaving business, and began a decades-long assault on his brother, [John Brown](#), for continuing to buy and sell humans; the next year he became a [Quaker](#). The approach of the Revolution brought a temporary end to slaving, but also disrupted abolitionist momentum. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law banning residents from importing slaves to [Rhode Island](#), though it said nothing about visitors, or slaveowners who might want to move here. (That was partly because [Newport](#) had a prosperous relationship with rich Southern plantation owners, who summered in [Rhode Island](#) before the Civil War, to escape the ferocious southern heat). Brown, working with Hopkins, set about lobbying the state legislature as well as the Continental Congress; Hopkins wrote a persuasive tract, DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, which was used well into the 19th century as an argument for abolition. The war also gave blacks a chance to earn their own freedom. In 1778, a law was passed freeing any slave who would enlist in the Continental Army; several hundred formed the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment, which performed well in battle, although the soldiers later had trouble getting paid. "Their courage in battle and the subsequent gratitude of the people of the state to them is credited for the law, passed in 1784, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the state," writes Kiven. The new law, which freed children born of slaves, passed only after a provision banning the trade entirely was removed. According to [Moses Brown](#), the act was eviscerated by the Speaker of the House, William Bradford of [Bristol](#). Yes, the same Bradford who ran the big Bristol rum distillery, and whose daughter was married to slave-trader James DeWolf. State House insiders were apparently getting pretty sick of lectures from the reform-minded [Quakers](#). Wrote



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Brown, "We were much flung at by several."  
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Is it not extraordinary that [[Rhode Island](#)], which has exceeded the rest of the states in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade?

— Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Nov. 27, 1787

Other states were wrestling with the slavery issue. It proved so contentious that in 1787, when the Continental Congress adopted a constitution, it deferred any national action on slavery until 1808.

New England, however, wasn't waiting around. [Rhode Island](#) banned the trade entirely in 1787; Connecticut and Massachusetts followed suit the following year.

True, the slave trade would continue for 70 years, by one means or another. Some slavers shifted operations to ports like New York, which had not yet passed any slaving laws; others simply broke the law.

But in 1789, Hopkins and [Moses Brown](#) helped found the Providence Abolition Society, which worked for anti-slaving laws and sued those who broke them.

One such was [John Brown](#), Moses' brother. The society sued him in 1796 on charges of illegal slave-trading; though he offered to abandon the trade and pay all court costs, they seemed to want to make an example of him. They should have taken the deal. He was acquitted.

"The verdict was a definite defeat for the Society, many of whose members became convinced that a [Rhode Island](#) jury would not give judgment against the prominent type of men engaged in the slave-trade," writes Kiven.

Over the next few decades a pattern evolved. Abolitionists would pressure the government to pass anti-slavery legislation, and the slaving interests would do what they could to water it down.

Once a law was passed, business would temporarily falter while the slavers watched to see how strictly the law would be enforced; usually, enforcement was sporadic, and business actually increased.

The American and British governments finally banned slaving as of 1808. But the trade hardly stopped. Some American ships flew Spanish flags; Gen. George DeWolf of [Bristol](#) simply shifted his operations to Cuba.

The American law only banned the international slave trade. American slavers could still trade slaves internally, or move them up and down the coast. And they did, because demand was huge.

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the demand for agricultural workers exploded in the south, Thomas writes. In 1792, the United States exported 138,328 pounds of cotton; by 1800, it was 17,790,000 pounds and by 1820, 35,000,000 pounds.

The planters weren't going to pick it themselves.

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[Rhode Island](#) participation in the slave trade after Jan. 1, 1808, is a maddening puzzle, for most of the pieces

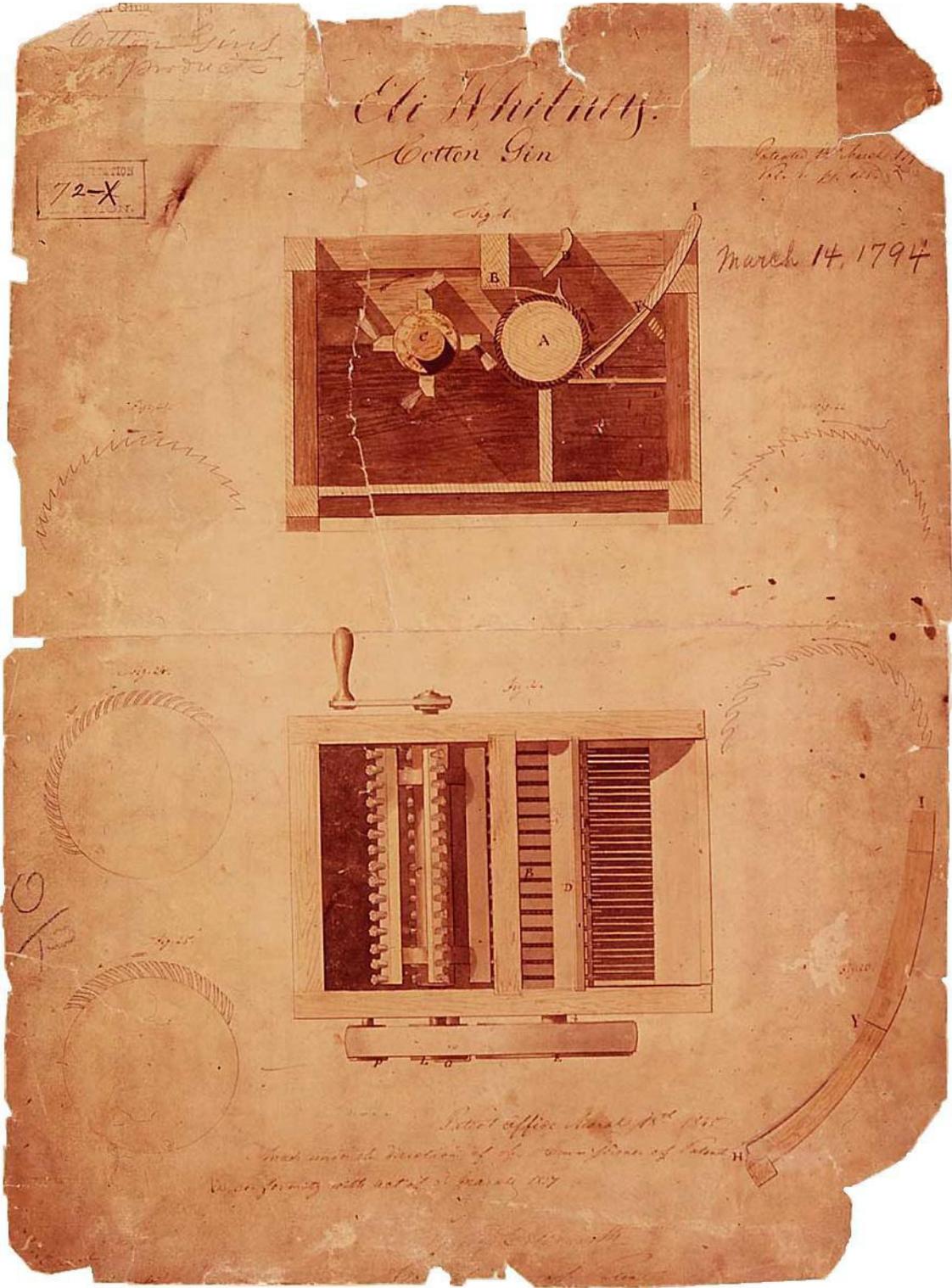
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are missing.

– Jay Coughtry

It looks like [Rhode Island](#) slavers began to pull out of the business after the federal ban, although it's hard to be sure since it was easy to cheat, particularly at first.

Some, like the DeWolfs, continued to slave illegally. But Coughtry concludes that "it does not appear that [Rhode Island](#) ports or individual [Rhode Island](#) merchants participated in the illegal heyday of the modern American slave trade" between 1820 and 1860.

They abandoned the business sporadically, much as they had started. [John Brown](#) died in 1803. James DeWolf quit the trade in 1808, though his brother George continued until 1820, when the sympathetic Collins was fired in [Bristol](#); after a series of business failures, George fled the state in 1825 for his Cuban plantation.

[Rhode Island](#) merchants gradually turned away from the maritime trade and invested their money in cotton mills – by 1830, the state had 130 of them. They managed to squeeze yet more profit from slavery: many specialized in coarse slave or negro cloth, worn by slaves throughout the New World.

Abolitionists kept up the pressure. The Providence Abolition Society was joined by other groups; three buildings still standing today served as stations on the Underground Railroad – the Isaac Rice homestead in [Newport](#), the Elizabeth Buffum Chace house in [Central Falls](#), and the Charles Perry home in [Westerly](#).

Some decided not to wait. In 1826, a group of free Newport blacks, led by former slave Newport Gardiner, sailed for Liberia with the help of the American Colonization Society.

Gardiner, who worked for years to buy freedom for himself and his family, was freed in 1791. He helped found the nation's first black civic organizations, the African Union Society, and the African Benevolent Society.

His decision to leave came 14 months after white rioters destroyed Hard Scrabble, the black community in [Providence](#) (University Heights today).

He was 75 years old.

"I go to set an example for the youth of my race," he said. "I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here. I have tried it for 60 years.... It is in vain."

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**2006**

March 13, Monday: The ice went on [Walden Pond](#). Although the pond had frozen over in mid-January, this winter the ice had never become thick enough to support anyone's weight.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of [slavery](#) and the [international slave trade](#) continued:

### **Plantations in the North: The Narragansett Planters**

While [Newport](#) merchants profited by trafficking in slaves, colonists across [Narragansett Bay](#) found another way to grow rich. They used slaves to grow crops and raise livestock on small plantations throughout South County.

For 50 years, Newport's merchants loaded the surplus farm products onto ships bound for slave plantations in the West Indies where they were traded mostly for sugar and molasses.

By 1730, the southern part of [Rhode Island](#) was one-third black, nearly all of them slaves.

The Narragansett Planters thrived from the early 1700s to just before the American Revolution, which brought trade to a standstill.

\* \* \*

From his counting house above Newport harbor, [Aaron Lopez](#) fretted about the future.

The Portuguese immigrant had sold soap in New York, candles in Philadelphia and whale oil in Boston. But a plan to trade goods with England failed because the market was glutted. Now, heavily in debt to an English creditor, Lopez sought a new market.

He chose Capt. Benjamin Wright, a savvy New England trader, as his agent in Jamaica. From the tropics, Wright acted as a middleman between Lopez and his new buyers – slave owners too busy making sugar to grow their own food.

Don't worry, Wright told Lopez in 1768. "Yankey Doodle will do verry well here." Yankee Doodle did.

His chief suppliers were just across the Bay.

There, amid the rolling hills and fertile fields, hundreds of enslaved Africans worked for a group of wealthy farmers in [South Kingstown](#), [North Kingstown](#), Narragansett, [Westerly](#), Exeter and Charlestown.

Relying on slave labor, the so-called Narragansett Planters raised livestock and produced surplus crops and cheese for Newport's growing sea trade.

As the Newport slave merchants prospered in the early 1700s, the Narragansett Planters had success selling their crops and horses to slave plantations in the West Indies.

The slaves, brought by Newport merchants from the West Indies and later Africa, cut wheat, picked peas, milked cows, husked corn, cleaned homes and built the waist-high walls that bisected the fields and hemmed them in.

So many blacks worked along the coast that, by the mid-1700s, southern [Rhode Island](#) boasted the densest slave population in New England after Boston and Newport.

While most New England communities were organized in compact villages with small farms, southern [Rhode Island](#) evolved into a



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plantation society. "South County was unique in New England," says author Christian M. McBurney. Cheap land made it possible, he says.

The [Narragansett](#) Indians had once ruled the region, but Colonial wars and disease had greatly reduced their number, leaving huge tracts of vacant land up for grabs. A territory dispute between Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#) scared off some timid settlers. Investors, many of them from Newport and [Portsmouth](#), "scrambled to the top," says McBurney. They bought land on credit, sold the unwanted lots to generate cash and started farms.

By 1730, the most successful planters –including the Robinson, Hazard, Gardiner, Potter, Niles, Watson, Perry, Brown and Babcock families– owned thousands of acres. In [Westerly](#), Col. Joseph Stanton owned a 5,760-acre estate that stretched more than four miles long.

A typical farm had 300 sheep, 100 bulls and cows and 20 horses. "The most considerable farms are in the Narragansett Country," concluded William Douglas who, in 1753, surveyed the English settlements in North America for the Mother Country. The region's rich grazing and farm lands benefited from warm winters and "a sea vapour which fertilizeth the soil," he wrote.

The owners sometimes relied on family members and indentured Indians for help, but slaves did most of the work. The largest planters –families like the Robinsons, Updikes and Hazards– owned between 5 and 20 slaves.

Although their plantations were much smaller than those in the southern Colonies, an early historian described the area as "a bit of Virginia set down in New England."

Made rich from their exports, the planters built big homes, sent their children to private schools and carved the hillsides into apple orchards and gardens. North Kingstown planter Daniel Updike kept peacocks on his 3,000-acre farm. Framed by deep blue feathers, the exotic peafowl screeched and strutted in their New World home.

\* \* \*

Rowland Robinson, a third-generation planter and slave holder, was one of the region's most successful planters.

In 1700, his grandfather purchased 700 acres on Boston Neck, "east by the salt water." By the time he died, the elder Robinson owned 629 sheep, 131 cows and bulls, 64 horses and eight slaves. His son, William, the colony's lieutenant governor, increased the family fortune by acquiring more land. William, who owned 19 slaves, died in 1751, and Rowland, one of six sons, settled on the family estate.

Tall and handsome, with "an imperious carriage," the younger Robinson rode a black horse and owned more than 1,000 acres and a private wharf. His farm, a mile from the Bay, gave him easy access to the Newport market. During a two-year period in the 1760s, he delivered more than 6,000 pounds of cheese, 100 sheep, 72 bundles of hay, 51 bushels of oats, 30 horses and 10 barrels of skim milk to Aaron Lopez who then shipped them to the West Indies and other markets. Most planters relied on public ferries. They hauled their cheese, beef, sheep and grains along muddy Post Road to South Ferry, the public port that was a vital link between Newport and the Narragansett country, also called King's County.

In 1748, Boston Neck planter John Gardiner urged legislators to expand the busy port at South Ferry. The current boats, he



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complained, are "crowded with men, women, children" along with "horses, hogs, sheep and cattle to the intolerable inconvenience, annoyance and delay of men and business."

\* \* \*

According to one account, Rowland Robinson owned 28 slaves. Tradition says he abandoned the slave trade after a boatload of dejected Africans arrived at his dock.

But the region's planters bought slaves until the American Revolution. Even small farmers, like the Rev. James MacSparran, owned field hands and domestic servants. "My two Negroes are threshing rye," wrote MacSparran, who owned 100 acres, on July 29, 1751.

Their work had a profound effect on the economy, says historian Joanne Pope Melish.

Freed from domestic chores, white masters were able to pursue other opportunities, jobs or training. Some learned new trades, became lawyers or judges, or sought public office.

In the end, slave labor helped [Rhode Island](#) move from a household-based economy to a market-based economy, says Melish. "Slaves contributed to the expansion and diversification of the New England economy," she says.

Plantation owners, merchants, importers and retailers prospered on both sides of the Bay.

From his home on Thames Street, Aaron Lopez could walk to his private pier and a warehouse next to the town wharf. In a loft above his office, sail makers stitched sheets of canvas. His Thames Street shop supplied Newport's residents with everything from Bibles and bottled beer to looking glasses and violins. Lopez, one of the founders of [Touro Synagogue](#), and his father-in-law, Jacob Rivera, owned more than a dozen slaves between them, and sometimes rented them to other merchants.

Lopez became Newport's top taxpayer. He owned or had interest in 30 ships, which sailed to a dozen ports.

He wasn't alone. By 1772, nearly half of Newport's richest residents had an interest in the slave trade.

"The stratification of wealth was astonishing," says James Garman, a professor at Salve Regina University. "And it had everything to do with the African trade."

Although the Narragansett Planters weren't as well off as their monied counterparts across the Bay, they took their cues from Newport's merchants and the English gentry.

Their large houses—Hopewell Lodge in Kingston, Fodderring Place at Pt. Judith—often stood more than a mile apart.

John Potter's "Greate House" in Matunuck included elegant woodwork and a carved open arch. Rowland Robinson's house featured gouged flower designs, classical pilasters and built-in cupboards adorned with the heads of cherubs.

The Reverend MacSparran described a typical day of socializing: "I visited George Hazard's wife, crossed ye Narrow River, went to see Sister Robinson, called at Esq. Mumford's, got home by moon light and found Billy Gibbs here." So much company, he confessed, "fatigues me."

Their wealth "brought social pretensions and political influence ... all without parallel in rural [Rhode Island](#) and New England," says McBurney. The elegant lifestyle did not last.

During the Revolutionary War, the British burned Newport's waterfront. Many merchants fled, and trade stalled. Lopez moved to Leicester, Mass. In 1782, he drowned when his horse plunged



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into a pond.

The Narragansett Planters did not recover from the loss of the Newport market. The sons of the big planters chopped the plantations into small farms. Some freed their slaves.

But before the Revolution, they lived a carefree life.

In the spring, they traveled to Hartford to "luxuriate on bloated salmon." In the summer, they raced horses on the beach and roasted shellfish, says Wilkins Updike in a history of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett.

During corn-husking festivals, men and women gathered for "expensive entertainments" in the large halls of "spacious mansions," says Updike. The men wore silk stockings, shoes with shiny buckles and "scarlet coats and swords, with laced ruffles over their hands." Their hair was "turned back from the forehead and curled and frizzled" and "highly powdered."

The women, dressed in brocade and high-heeled shoes, "performed the formal minuet with its thirty-six different positions and changes. These festivities would sometimes continue for days ... These seasons of hilarity and festivity were as gratifying to the slaves as to their masters," Updike says.

In the 18th century, Yankee Doodle did all right.

On the farms and on the wharfs he made money – sometimes as a slave owner, sometimes as a slave trader, sometimes as both.



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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"

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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: April 3, 2016



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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.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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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.



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## **NATIVE PLACENAMES**

Amataconet: locale somewhere north of Providence, beyond Louquassuck (Louisquisset).

Apponaug: possibly “oyster,” near Cowesset.

Aquedneset: now “Dutch Island,” called this because it was the site of a Dutch trading post in the early 1600s.

Aquidneck: (“longest island”) called Rhode Island by 1637. The origin of the name “Rhode Island” has kept numerous commentators humming for three centuries. It may perhaps be from a fancied resemblance of Block Island to the Isle of Rhodes, or from a Dutch word meaning “red.”

Aquopimoquuk: now Gould Island.

Asapumsick: name of a brook or spring north of the Woonasquatucket between Merino and Manton. The area was called Venter by early English settlers, origin of that name is unknown.

Azorquoneset: now Fox Island off Wickford.

Cheapside: the area around the foot of College Hill near the old Market House. The commercial center of the early town until the mid 1800s.

Chepatchet: possibly “at the branch or fork of the river.”

Chesewanock: now Hog Island.

Chibacuesa: now Prudence Island.

Gotham, Goatam: an early English name for the area now Olneyville, in the area of the Atlantic Mills building.

Hipses Rock: rock marking the western bounds of land given to Roger Williams by Miantonomi at the western foot of Notaconkanut hill, just south of the Woonasquatucket river. The neighborhood now called Manton was called Venter by the early settlers. The origins of Venter and Hipses are unknown.

India Point: the area along the north side of Providence harbor from Fox (Foxy’s) Point to the Seekonk River. So called because of the wharves for sailing vessels operated there during the China Trade era.

Kickemuit: (numerous spellings) possibly “clear spring,” or “at the spring,” the river and area around the top reaches of Mt Hope Bay.

King Philip’s Seat: very obvious rock formation in the face of a granite cliff a short walk from the Haffenreffer Museum office at the museum in Bristol.

Louisquisset: or Loquassuck, or Loquaquiset, perhaps “meeting place” possibly the site of a native fort or disputed area west of modern Pawtucket close to the area of Louisquisset Pike from North Providence to Lincoln.

Montaup: Mount Hope in Bristol. Arguable whether the natives ever called this area Montaup, their name for it may have been Cawsumsett but it may have acquired the pseudo native name Montaup as a reverse borrowing. The Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology of Brown University is located on or near the old native village site.

Moshassuck: the river area where Roger Williams settled in Providence, (Mooshausick and over 40 variant spellings) often translated now as “moose drink” but just as probably meant “marshy meadow.” Typical of the many words which simply can’t be reliably translated.

Narragansett: (Nanohigansett, Nahiganset, Nantygansick, etc.) Often translated as “people of the point,” but the origin of the word is unknown.

Nipsachuk: or Nipsachook and other variant spellings which confuse matters, several place names in Rhode Island, a swamp and hill (Wolf Hill) northwest of Providence, and an area near Cowesset where Quaiapien’s Narragansett passed just before they were massacred by the English and Mohegan forces from Connecticut on the bloody 2nd of July, 1676.

Notaconkanet: Netaconkanut hill, at the western point of the purchase of land made by Roger Williams in 1638.



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Pascoag: perhaps “at the branch of the river” but more likely from the name of a village, subtribe and possibly a stream near the modern village, perhaps derived from “askoog” a snake (the modern “Snake Den” is a few miles away).

Pawtucket: (or apawtuck, pawtuckqut, aspotucket, etc.) probably “at the water fall.”

Pawtuxet: possibly, at the little waterfall?

Pocasset: or Pachasset, a location in Johnston, the Pocasset River. Possibly also “at the falls” or something similar?

Pockanocket: various spellings, probably “cleared land,” a term applied to several locations.

Popham: Popham light on the east shore of the Providence river estuary in northern Narragansett Bay, perhaps from Popanaumsuog — defined by Roger Williams as a winter fish which comes up the brooks. and then combined with Popham, the sachem of the Narragansett in the area of Shawomet (Warwick) “the most warlike and best soldier of the Narragansetts.”

Quequecham (Fall River): it leaps (as in water splashing down a fall).

Quisnicket: traditionally means “a rock house,” supposed to refer to the rocks located at the crest of the hill near the “Butterfly” factory site in Lincoln. According to tradition recorded by Sidney Rider the notable native leader Canonchet slept here the night before the destruction of the English force under Michael Pierce.

Secesakut: the west side of the Woonasquatucket river between Allendale and Lymanville in Johnston.

Seekonk: name of the river also called the Narragansett, the Patucket, the Neetmock, the Nipmuck, the Senechtaconet, and since the 1790s, the Blackstone.

Setamuchut: the hill near Manton village on the southwest bank of the Woonasquatucket near Killingly street. In 1665 a lime kiln was probably operated in this area.

Shaghticoke: possibly “at the branch of the river.”

Solitary Hill: now removed, was a small hill in the area of Olneyville (Providence) probably on the south side of the river and part of the bounds of the Thomas Clemence purchase.

Tockwotton: or Tuncowoden hill in Fox Point, Providence, now removed.

Towne Street: original name for the main street along the shore of the Moshassuck / Woonasquatucket at the foot of College Hill in Providence from Roger Williams spring to Mile End Cove.

Venter: see Asapumpsick.

Watchemoquot: probably the name of a native village in the area of Louisquisset.

Wawapoonseag: now Lonsdale.

Weybossett: or Waybaussett, Waubosett, etc., possibly “at the river ford” or “crossing place” referring to the shallow water where it was possible to wade across the river at low tide. The area from Providence’s modern Weybossett street south to Elmwood was called “Waubosset plain.”

Wionkhiege: or probably more correct Wyunckeke, hill west of Woonsocket.

Woonasquatucket: (Wanaquatuckqut, Wunnashowatuckqut and over 50 variant spellings) supposedly “where the tide ends,” a freshwater stream on the land purchased by Roger Williams in 1638 in Providence and probably the name generally given to the area along the river which is now called Olneyville.

Woonsocket: very numerous spellings, possibly originally Niswosaket, the name of a hill and locale west of the present city, the meaning “below the waterfall” probably wasn’t applied until about 1800. There is no basis for the sometimes heard pseudo-translation “thunder mist.”