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English/Indian Relations in Colonial New England: 1617-1676

by
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1990

"Submitted to the Committee on Undergraduate Honors of Baruch College of The City University of New York in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History with Honors."

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Introduction

Where today is the Pequot?

Where are the Narragansetts, the Mohawks,
the Pokanoket, and many other once
powerful tribes of our people?

They have vanished before the avarice and the oppression
of the White Man, as snow before a summer sun.

-- Tecumseh, Shawnee Chief, 1812

Three years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth the area had been ravaged by a plague which decimated the native population and allowed the settlers to plant their colony in territory which the historian, Francis Jennings, terms as "virgin land". (1)

The exact disease which caused such devastation has never been identified; it is not thought that it was smallpox, yellow fever or typhoid, (2) but it is commonly accepted that the disease was introduced to the area by English traders and fishermen. Although it is doubtful, but not impossible, that the plague was deliberately planted to clear the area of Indians who were becoming increasingly hostile to the presence of the English, it was clearly opportune and coincided with plans to establish a permanent colony in the New World.

The intention of this paper is not that of an iconoclast bent upon destroying the long cherished reputation of the Pilgrims and Puritans who first settled in southern New England. It is the intention of this paper to explore whether or not genocide was an intentional or accidental policy of these English settlers.

CHAPTER ONE: FIRST ATTEMPTS

Contrary to what most Americans believe, the Plymouth Colony was not the first English colony in the area then known as "the Northern Parts of Virginia". (3) After several successful extended expeditions led by Captain George Waymouth and Bartholomew Gosnold, both of whom had been involved with Raleigh's Roanoke expedition, the idea that a permanent plantation might be established began to take form. Both the English Puritans, who were growing dissatisfied with religious conditions in England, and those motivated by more worldly concerns, such as gaining access to the gold which Indian captives talked about, began to seriously consider that the New World might offer the Zion or riches each desired.

The first venture sponsored by the Plymouth Company, in 1607, seemed promising and was guided by the very experienced Sir Ferdinando Georges and was under the leadership of George Popham. Also included in the expedition was an Indian who had been abducted from his tribe several years earlier. The name of the Indian was Skidowares and he agreed to act as a liaison between the settlers and the native population, as well as lead the English to vast caches of gold. In August 1607, the ships "Mary and John and "Gift of God" arrived at the mouth of the Sagadahoc River (4), which is on the modern borders of New Hampshire and Maine.

The initial reception by the natives was amiable but cautious for by this time the Indians were growing more suspicious of the English. Almost immediately upon arrival Skidowares abandoned the settlers and returned to the tribe from which he had been abducted, leaving the settlers to fend for themselves in a strange and often hostile land. (5)

The English encountered few problems at first and constructed a church, a few dwellings and a fort which they named Saint George. They also began to lay in supplies they would need to see them through the coming winter. However, this was not Eden and several problems soon arose which threatened the survival of the plantation.

The French, who lived and traded to the immediate north of the colony, moved to cut off the settler's access to Indian markets and restrict trade (6) The Indians, who trusted the French, complied and stopped all trade with the English and refused to sell them the foodstuffs they needed. Without these supplies the English had little hope of surviving the winter. Anglo/Indian relations steadily declined over the winter. To further complicate the matter, George Popham died leaving the colony without an experienced leader. The conduct of the English towards the Indians worsened the situation. Tensions also increased between the French and the English, with the English blaming the French for their troubles. Future English settlers would remember how the French treated the colonists. The settlers realized their prospects for survival were small and they decided to abandon the settlement and returned to England less than a year after their arrival.

Father Pierre Biard, a Jesuit missionary in Canada, recorded his opinion of why the settlement failed: "... They drove the Savages away without ceremony; they beat them, maltreated and misused them outrageously.." (7) The Indians acted to protect themselves, and with French assistance were able to drive the English from their lands. This would be the first and last time this would happen.

Although another settlement would not be attempted again until 1620 the English continued to trade with several Indian groups and tried to protect their interests in the New World. When French traders and missionaries, including Father Biard, ventured into the domain of the Plymouth patent they were soon chased away by English forces sent from the Virginia colony. The English who traded in the area continued to mistreat the Indians, they stepped up their practice of kidnapping the Indians and began to sell their captives in the slave markets of Spain or North Africa. (8) In 1614, Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, abducted twenty-four Indians and sold them in the slave markets of Malaga. (9) One of the Indians among Hunt's captives was an Indian destined to become famous in American colonial history: Squanto.

We did not ask you White Men to come here. The Great Spirit gave us this country as a home. You had yours. We do not want your civilization! We would live as our fathers did, and their fathers before them.
Crazy Horse, 1877

CHAPTER TWO: PLAGUE AND PILGRIMS

Plague struck the coastal areas of southern New England in 1616-17 and especially hard hit was the area around Plymouth Bay, an area inhabited by the Patuxet tribe. The Patuxet were completely extinguished by the disease. The neighboring tribe, the Massachusetts, died in such great numbers that one Englishman reported that "the dead remained unburied. (10) There are no existing records indicating that the English were at all affected by the plague, it seems that none were; however, at least one-third of the Indian population of southern New England perished, about eight to ten thousand people.(11)

Many modern scientists, according to James Axtell, label such outbreaks as "virgin soil epidemics"

While the Pilgrims did not actually rejoice at the misery and death sustained by the Indians, they did take it as a sign that God had looked with favor upon their venture. Edward Winslow wrote to an English friend in 1621: "God had sent a wonderful plague among the savages to destroy them and to leave most of their lands free for civilized cultivation and occupation." (12)

The plague was not the only blessing sent from God to the Pilgrims, He also sent them Squanto. Governor William Bradford stated that Squanto was: "... a special instrument sent by God for their good beyond their expectations." (13) The truth is that Squanto was really sent by the Wamponoag sachem (chief), Massasoit, head of a confederation of twenty villages and father of Metacomet, later to become known as King Philip.

Massasoit's decision to send Squanto to act as a liaison between the Wampanoag's and the English was pragmatic and entirely political. Massasoit did not especially like or trust the English but he was quick to realize that their weapons would be of great use in dealing with rival Indian tribes. Massasoit was a very powerful sachem, but an Indian only kept this title as long as he (a woman could also be a sachem) could protect his tribe and hold their trust. Under the right terms, an alliance with the English could solidify his position and guarantee his tenure as well as those of his heirs. The Wampanoag had also been affected by the plague, and English weapons could strengthen their weakened position. If they had these weapons then they would not have to live in fear of their ancient rivals the Mohawks and the Narragansetts.

Few absolute facts are known about Squanto before he appeared at Plymouth. It is believed that it was in 1614 that he was kidnapped by Thomas Hunt and taken to Malaga to be sold as a slave. Some historians theorize that he was redeemed by an unknown patron and wound up in England where he quickly learned the language. Other accounts report that he escaped and after several years wound up in England. At any rate, he did eventually live in England and he became quite proficient at English. He found work with the Newfoundland Company and traveled with an expedition to that island nation and remained there about a year before returning to England. In 1619 he joined an expedition to his homeland. When he arrived he learned that he was the sole surviving member of the Patuxet tribe. While the expedition was on Martha's Vineyard it was attacked by Indians and Squanto managed to escape. He would not be heard of again until he appeared with Massasoit at Plymouth.

Squanto's position with the Indians was a strained one marked by a lack of trust concerning Squanto's true intentions. He was thought to be overly sympathetic to English attempts at colonization and favored their establishment of permanent settlements. Thus far the Indians thought that the English were only among them temporarily and would eventually return to their homeland. It was also believed that Squanto wanted to become a sachem and that he felt the English would be able to help him realize his ambition. This does seem to have been his real aim.

Until Massasoit decided that contact should be made there had been very limited interaction between the English and the Indians. The English had committed a very serious blunder only a few days after their arrival at Plymouth. While on a discovery tour of the area the Pilgrims discovered an underground corn barn and they took away all the corn they could carry. The corn belonged to the small, but fierce, Nausets tribe. The Pilgrims further offended the Nausets a few days later when they robbed an Indian grave.

It was known among English traders and fishermen that the Indians marked the graves of their nobility by constructing large earthen mounds. The traders also knew that the Indians often included a fortune of furs and other valuables in the graves. It is reasonable to assume that the Pilgrims were aware of the wealth contained inside these Indian tombs. Upon discovering such a burial mound, the Pilgrims proceeded to rob it and took away the pelts and valuables the grave contained. They did not do this only once, but actually did it several times. Once they uncovered a tomb which contained the corpse of someone with "fine blond hair" (14), this one they quickly closed and seemed to have abandoned the practice for a while.

The historians, James Axtell and Alden T. Vaughan, disagree about what motivated the Pilgrims to perform such a sacrilege and, an act which the Pilgrims recognized as being wrong. Vaughan suggests that these were only isolated incidents and were soon stopped. Axtell maintains that the Pilgrims knew that the graves were filled with valuable items which could be easily sold in European markets. The English traders who preceded the Pilgrims often supplemented their booty by robbing Indian graves and Axtell feels that the Pilgrims followed the trader's example. He does not believe that it was anthropological curiosity which prompted them to open the graves. The Pilgrims, perhaps due to guilt, did soon curtail the practice; however, it did continue. So much so that the Indians were forced to alter their burial practices to protect the honor of their dead.

In December 1620, the Nausets attempted to avenge the indignities the Pilgrims had inflicted and attacked about twenty Pilgrims and sailors.(15) A shower of arrows greeted the Pilgrims at dawn after a night of screams and yells meant to intimidate and terrify the English. (It is interesting to note that the ancient Celts employed the same method against their enemies.) Because of their muskets the English were able to chase the Nausets away. It was a close call for the Pilgrims and a reminder that not all of the area had been cleared of Indians. The Pilgrims had known since their arrival that they were constantly being watched by the Indians and that a pair of Indian eyes peered at them from behind every tree. This constant stress coupled with scurvy, malnutrition, pneumonia and general fatigue was almost more than the Pilgrims could stand and the future of the colony looked very bleak. Captain Niles Standish attempted to counter the Nauset attack and assembled several men and marched on a nearby village. When the group arrived at the village they discovered it to have been abandoned. The Indians knew of their plans and removed themselves from possible contact with the English. It is doubtful that the Nausets were afraid of the English and more likely that they would go to any length to avoid contact. (16)

A group of Pilgrims had assembled in March 1621 to discuss how they should handle the growing Indian menace when they were suddenly interrupted by the arrival of "... a certain Indian [who] came boldly among them, and spoke to them in broken English which they could well understand." (17) The name of the Indian was Samoset, a member of the Wampanoag and a trusted confidant of Massasoit. The Pilgrims lavished him with food and gifts but refused to supply him with the beer he requested. In return, Samoset offered the Pilgrims the choice of one of two arrows, one tipped, one untipped. The Pilgrims wisely chose the untipped arrow which symbolized peace. (18)

Very soon, Massasoit arrived at Plymouth, along with at least sixty armed warriors. The Pilgrims were reluctant to allow this large party into the settlement until the diplomatic, English speaking Squanto stepped forward and saved the day and probably the lives of the Pilgrims. This encounter could have easily turned violent for in spite of the fact that Massasoit wanted an alliance with the English he would have tolerated no insult to his dignity or position. Furthermore, at this point, the Indians still held the upper hand in numbers and they were better able to execute an armed battle. The English muskets awed the Indians, but their arrows and tomahawks were more effective in a spontaneous battle.

With Squanto speaking for the Indians and Edward Winslow for the Pilgrims an agreement was soon reached promising mutual aid if either were attacked and that neither would instigate an attack against the other. Also included were clauses dealing theft of property and an agreement to leave their weapons behind when visiting each others villages or settlements. (19)

Squanto began to serve as Massasoit's emissary, and as every school-child knows, taught the Pilgrims how to plant their crops in the unfamiliar terrain of New England, thereby guaranteeing the continued existence of the Plymouth Colony. However, in truth, the Pilgrims rejected many of the Indian methods of agriculture and dismissed them as being too primitive and the Pilgrim harvest was very meager and they actually faced the prospect of starvation during the coming winter. The Indian harvest was bountiful. The Wampanoag continued to assist the settlers but the alliance was showing signs of strain and the two groups were beginning to resent each other. The Pilgrims were actually becoming a burden to the Wampanoag and were asking, and demanding, entirely too much of the Indians.

At the famous first Thanksgiving feast Massasoit arrived with ninety fully armed warriors and the Pilgrims greeted the Indians with a display meant to demonstrate the power of their firearms. After mutual exercises in bravado the two groups were able to lay down their arms and the feast was a success (the Indians supplied the venison, not turkey) but the tensions between the two groups had not fully abated. (20)

Soon after the feast, Massasoit sent his aide Hobomok, whom he trusted more than Squanto, to work alongside Squanto and to serve as a spy. Hobomok was to ascertain the real intentions of both Squanto and the Pilgrims. Massasoit was probably justified in his distrust of Squanto for it seemed he grew more ambitious as his stature with the English

grew. Amazingly, the two Indians worked well together and were able to help negotiate peace between the Pilgrims and the Nausets.

1622 was a pivotal year in terms of Anglo/Indian relations in New England. As information began to arrive in Plymouth regarding the events in Jamestown the Pilgrims began to harden in their tolerance of the Indians they lived among. In trying to protect themselves from any Indian attack they actually increased the chances of one with their belligerent attitude.

Acting in violation of their agreement with Massasoit the Pilgrims began correspondence with Massasoit's ancient enemy, the Narragansetts. The Pilgrims responded to receiving a bundle of arrows from the Narragansetts by sending in turn, upon Squanto's suggestion, a bag of gunpowder and shot, articles the Pilgrims refused to give to Massasoit.

The Pilgrims meant this gesture to be understood as being a sign that they were as powerful as the Narragansett. Massasoit saw it as being an insult. He was deeply upset by the Pilgrim's behavior and he was livid over Squanto's role in the affair. He felt he could no longer tolerate Squanto's ambitions and treachery and he was determined that Squanto was to be punished.

Massasoit demanded of Plymouth that they hand over Squanto, who was subject to Massasoit, according to the terms of their agreement. The Pilgrims refused and Massasoit saw this as an intolerable assault on his dignity. He ordered that all contact between the tribes of his confederation and the English should stop.

Massasoit's boycott of the English was extremely effective and threatened the survival of the colony more than any armed assault ever could. The Pilgrims were not at all self-sufficient and they depended on the corn and other foodstuffs they were able to obtain from the Indians. The Indians also began a campaign of harassment meant to undermine any sense of safety or comfort the Pilgrims had acquired. This program worked and fear of what the Indians might, do next began to dominate Pilgrim thought and behavior. The Pilgrims also began to argue among themselves. Many sided with Governor Bradford and refused to hand over Squanto, others, like Miles Standish, maintained that Massasoit was within his rights when he demanded the return of Squanto. The Pilgrims did agree that increased fortification would be prudent and they began to build a fort hoping to avoid the fate which befell Jamestown. (21)

The colony found itself increasingly isolated from the world and a serious drought over the summer ended all hopes that they might be able to raise enough food to meet their needs. Unless peace could be restored with the Wampanoag famine seemed a certainty. Fortunately for the colony, Massasoit and Squanto settled their dispute in October and Massasoit lifted the sanctions against the colony. The details of the settlement will never be known, especially so since the Indians kept no written records. It is conjectured that Squanto gave in to pressure from the Pilgrims and made peace overtures to Massasoit. However, a few months later Squanto was dead. While on an expedition with a party of Pilgrims he began to bleed at the nose and died shortly afterwards. It is said that he died

of an "indian fever" which is caused by witchcraft and the victim bleeds to death from the nose for that is how the evil spirit exits the body. (22)

Anglo/Indian relations began to improve after Squanto's death, but other tribes, such as the Massachusetts, sought to free themselves from English encroachment and abuse, the "Indian troubles" began anew. Terror struck Plymouth when it was learned that Massasoit was near death. Winslow and Hobomok rushed to Massasoit's side and learned that he was suffering from acute constipation. The English medicine administered by Winslow worked and a grateful Massasoit agreed to mediate a peace between the English and the Massachusetts; in addition, he informed Winslow that the colony was in peril of being attacked by the Massachusetts at any moment. Massasoit agreed to allow the Pilgrims to mount an offensive, which they did right away. Miles Standish led the maneuver and the Massachusetts were subdued. Until Massasoit's death relations between the Wampanoag and the Pilgrims remained peaceful.

The period between 1623 and 1630 was one marked by general co-operation and co-existence. The only factor which troubled the Pilgrims was that the Indians were not only overcoming their fear of firearms they were becoming alarmingly proficient in their use. It was extremely disturbing for the Pilgrims to stumble across an Indian, alone or in a hunting party, armed with a musket and bagging game with considerable ease. It was forbidden by Plymouth Colony to sell firearms to the Indians, but independent traders beyond the jurisdiction of Plymouth had no qualms about including firearms in their items of barter. In 1626, the problem was brought into the very confines of Plymouth Colony.

Thomas Morton assumed control of a new colony established near what would soon become Massachusetts Colony. Morton, a bit of a rebel, saw nothing wrong with selling the Indians guns and liquor; moreover, he shamelessly flouted accepted Pilgrim laws concerning proper behavior and openly lived in a hedonistic manner which flew in the face of all that the Pilgrims held dear. The village soon became a haven for scandalous behavior, runaway indentured servants and Indians seeking guns and/or a drink. This was more than the Pilgrims were willing to tolerate and Miles Standish invaded the village and arrested Morton, who was promptly sent back to England to be tried. (23)

By the end of the decade Plymouth's role in New England began to be overshadowed by the burst of settlements being planted around the Massachusetts Bay area. By 1630, Plymouth was neither the largest settlement in New England, nor was it the largest Puritan settlement. The new dominance of the Massachusetts Bay Colony changed both the status of Plymouth and the future direction and tenor of Anglo/Indian relations in colonial New England.

Brothers! I have listened to many talks from our Great Father. When he first came over the wide waters, he was but a little man...very little. His legs were cramped by sitting long in his big boat, and he begged for a little land to light his fire on...But when the white men had warmed himself before the Indians' fire and filled himself with their hominy, he became very large.

Then he became our Great Father. He loved his red children, and he said, 'Get a little further, lest I tread on thee'

Brothers I have listened to a great many talks from our great father. But they always began and ended in this: 'Get a little further; you are too near me.'

-- Speckled Snake, a 100 year old Crow, speaking to President Andrew Jackson in 1829

CHAPTER THREE: MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

In 1630, one thousand new settlers, almost all Puritans, arrived at Massachusetts Bay to establish their "city on a hill". The increase of population created a problem of how to accommodate these new settlers. The land was there, the problem was how to wrest control of it from the native population. Other problems plagued the new colony, but none was more important than this one. The real problem for the Puritan was how they could take the land and still look like good guys. For this they turned to God and their vision of what he intended for them.

As early as 1628, with the establishment of the Salem colony, the New England Company instructed its resident agent, Captain John Endicott, to: "... not be unmindful of the mayne end of our plantation by indeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the gospel." (24) This was to be accomplished by "insisting that the colonists demeane themselves justly and curteous toward the natives."(25)

These passages seem rather ethnocentric to a modern reader, and they were. The English Puritans were convinced that they knew the Truth and that their way was the right way. Naturally, they reasoned that once the savages of New England were made aware of the correct way of thought they would accept it without hesitation. The Puritans failed to consider that the Indians might be interested in buying what they were selling. Of course, all missionaries believe that they know the right way, the Jesuits in Canada were attempting pretty much the same thing. The difference was that for the Jesuit missionaries the objective was conversion while respecting traditions, for the Puritan the objective was colonization and there was no room to allow for native populations or their traditions.

The colonists were quick to discard many of the directives of the parent company concerning conversion. The Puritans were adaptable and soon adjusted their approach. John Winthrop soon realized that the dictates of the New England Company would have to be ignored and replaced with ones which were more relevant to life among the Indians. However, the new rules created by Winthrop still reflected the Puritan belief that their way was correct and that other cultures must conform to their codes. It was beyond Puritan thought that they would, or should, adapt to other cultures, an attitude which would continue to exist throughout the English colonial experience. To the Puritan mind the Indians, like nature, could be managed; furthermore, the Indians could either seek Christianity and English civility or they would fall before the military might of the settlers. As Francis Higginson, a Puritan magistrate, stated: "We neither feare nor trust

them, for forty English musketeers could drive five hundred warriors from the field." To this another Puritan, William Wood, added: "What need we now fear them, being grown into thousands and having knowledge of martial discipline?" (26) Perhaps these two reasons are enough to explain why the English felt no need to consider the Indian Perspective.

Sixteen years would pass before the Puritans would begin serious attempts to convert the Indians to Christianity and move them to John Eliot's "Praying Towns", a lapse which the Indians did not fail to notice. For the present other methods of control would have to suffice.

In 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company was granted by Royal Charter exclusive jurisdiction over the Massachusetts colony and given "ample power to govern and rule all his Majesty's subjects that reside within the limits of our plantation". (26) Orders were issued that "... all men must be exercised in the use of arms" and "forbidding Indians entrance to the colony, except at specified times" The more imperative directive concerned Indian access to firearms. Trade in firearms was strictly forbidden: "Such of our nation as sell munition, gunns or other furniture to arme the Indians against us, or teach them the use of armes, wee would have you apprehend them and send them prisoners for England, where they will not escape severe punishment." (27) In fairness, it should also be pointed out that an order was also issued which stated: "... no injury in the least kinde must be done against the heathen and offending settlers must be punished."(28)

In his book, **New England Frontier**, Alden T. Vaughan states: "By a stroke of similar fortune to that of the Pilgrim settlers ...the Puritan communities were established in an area almost devoid of natives." The original occupants of the area, the Massachusetts had been almost entirely wiped out by the plague of 1616-1617 and their total population count was only about three hundred by the time the Puritans arrived at Massachusetts Bay. This fact was well known to the Pilgrims and with reasonable certainty it can be assumed that it was also known to the English promoters of the Puritan plantation. Thanks to Massasoit the Pilgrims, and English agents, could travel freely through Massachusetts territory.

This seems to be the proper time to correct the commonly held belief that the Pilgrims and Puritans were refugees fleeing to an unknown land full of danger and uncertainty to escape religious persecution. The Great Patent of New England issued by James I is very revealing about how much was actually known about the New World. The first point to be discussed will be how much was known about the plague of 1616.

We have been further given to know that within these late years, there hath, by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague together with many horrible slaughters and murders, committed amongst the savages and British people there heretofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction and devastation and depopulation of that whole territory. (29)

It is also clear from the Patent that they were being sent to, not running away from. They are directed by James to "...tend to the reducing and conversion of such savages as remain to civil society and christian religion...." (30) This task was open to: "... such of our good subjects as shall willingly interest themselves in the said employment....," (31)

CHAPTER FOUR: SMALLPOX

In 1633, soon after the arrival of the colonists at Massachusetts Bay, the Massachusetts tribe was struck down by a very serious outbreak of smallpox which killed all but a very few members, perhaps less than twenty survived. Thousands of other Indians in the surrounding area were also stricken, yet only two English families were afflicted. The epidemic spread to the Connecticut Valley and by 1634 at least seven hundred members of the Narragansett had died. One can't help but be struck by the convenience of the plagues which always preceded major programs of expansion and cleared the area for additional English settlements. To suggest that these outbreaks of European diseases may have been less the product of Divine intervention and were somehow brought about by the English is very risky, but in at least instance in Anglo/Indian relations it did happen. During Pontiac's Uprising in 1763, General Jeffrey Amherst knowingly allowed blankets infected with smallpox to be distributed among the Indians he was fighting. (32) There may be no connection between Amherst's action and the smallpox epidemics in New England, the Puritans may have been innocent of any complicity but one does wonder.

Francis Jennings points out in his book **Invasion Of America** that the Narragansetts blamed Captain John Oldham for spreading smallpox among the tribe. According to Jennings the reasons given by the colonial authorities for Olden's death at the hands of the Narragansetts, an act which precipitated the outbreak of the Pequot War, do not hold up to close examination. He bases his statement on the fact that prior to the smallpox epidemic Oldham had been allowed to travel freely among the tribe and that he was held in high esteem by the tribe. In fact, he was the first Englishman allowed to make an overland journey within Narragansett territory. (33) It was on a subsequent trip among the tribe that each village he visited was also visited by smallpox, but interestingly enough, neither Oldham nor any of the men in his party was affected by the disease. The Narragansett sachem, Canonicus, became convinced that the epidemic was the result of deliberate actions on the part of Oldham, and Jennings suggests that Oldham's death resembled a state execution more than it did an act of violence. (34)

In fairness, it must be stated that not all of the Puritan settlers greeted the news of the epidemic and the misfortunes of the Indians with delight, but it is true that it was seen by many as further evidence of Divine intervention. One Puritan chronicler recorded; "God ended the Controversy by sending the Small-Pox amongst the Indians." Governor Winthrop noted: "If God were not pleased with our inheriting these parts, why did He drive out the natives before us? and why dothe He still make room for us, by deminishing them as we increase?" He also said: "...without this remarkable and terrible stroke of God

upon the natives [we] would with much more difficulty have found room, and at a far greater charge have obtained and purchased land." (35)

Before leaving this discussion concerning the effect of European diseases, such as smallpox, had on the native population it should be mentioned that often death was not caused by the disease itself and was often self-inflicted. Rather than face the prospect of spending life disfigured and scarred from the ravages of smallpox, many Indians, especially the proud young braves who valued personal beauty, often chose to commit suicide. Death by shooting themselves, throwing themselves into fires or rivers, or from cliffs was preferable to a life without beauty. (36) The psychological effects of the disease was as devastating as the physical for the Indians. Sadly, the physical and psychological toll suffered by the Indians was beneficial to the English settlers for it not only reduced the number of Indians with whom they had to contend, it also undermined the position of the sachems and shamans who were powerless to halt the pain and death brought about by the new diseases of the English.

I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created us. They would make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us!

Pachgantschilhilas, a Delaware chief, 1740

CHAPTER FIVE: LAND

It is now time to turn the focus of this discussion to the area which perhaps creates the greatest amount of controversy among historians concerned with colonial New England, and that is the difference between the English and Indian idea of land ownership. More than any other of the problems which beset Anglo/Indian relations throughout American history this topic takes precedence. However, one could argue that the basic problem was really quite simple: the Indians had the land, the settlers wanted it; the settlers almost always got it.

Alden Vaughan would like to lay to rest the many "myths" concerning how the Puritans obtained land from the Indians. He maintains that the Indians were almost never the victims of unscrupulous colonists who obtained land from the Indians either by getting them drunk, resorting to some sort of trickery beyond the Indian experience, or trading for a handful of trinkets. Francis Jennings and James Axtell disagree.

Jennings acknowledges that the English, more often than not, obtained Indian land by legal means, but he does so with some qualification. "Euroamericans competing for Indian lands - whether governments, companies or individuals - legitimized their claims by recognizing or inventing whatever purported rights might be severally available to them." (37) The first of these inventions which shall be explored will be the notion of VACUUM DOMICILIUM.

When John Winthrop arrived in Massachusetts Bay one of his first decisions was to disregard the directive from the Massachusetts Bay Company that native landowners be made "reasonable compensation" for their holdings. Instead, Winthrop declared the land to be "vacuum domicilium", or waste, because it had not been properly subdued, which meant by proper and accepted English methods. Of course, much of the land Winthrop was about to take possession of lay fallow because there were not enough surviving members of the Massachusetts tribe to take care of the land. Therefore, in Winthrop's reasoning, since the Massachusetts were not able to care for the land they had forfeited any "natural rights" which they might claim; natural rights being the alternative to "civil" rights since, according to the English, the Indians had no civil government. The English did have a civil government, and it was the only one which would be recognized. Since the Indians could not claim sovereignty over any land claimed by the English throne they could not legally contest English possession or claim ownership to such lands. In other words, colonial doctrine meant that there could "there could be no property in the territorial jurisdiction of Massachusetts except what Puritan law created. Regardless of habitation by living persons, Indian lands were legally vacant. (37) This creative, ethnocentric, and self-serving reasoning also prevented private colonists from obtaining land, thus creating areas beyond the jurisdiction of the Puritan authorities. It should be remembered, when one reads later Puritan laws restricting the purchase of Indian land unless approved by the colonial magistrates, that the intention was less to protect the Indians and more an attempt to control who owned land within the colony. The important point here is that Winthrop and his colleagues disregarded the fact, that according to Indian custom, the land still belonged to the tribe in spite of the fact that it was unattended. The sachem was still the guardian of the land.

An example of the complicated and baffling legal means employed by the English to separate the Indians from their land can be found in an incident involving the Narragansetts, Charles II, the colonies of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and the Atherton Company.

In 1659, the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut along with a prominent English trader, Richard Smiths, instigated and quickly concluded two deals with the sachems of the Narragansetts which allowed them to gain title to almost all of the eastern segment of the Narragansett territory, and the Atherton Company was named controller of the area. The colony of Rhode Island resented this encroachment on its territory and saw this as another attempt by Massachusetts to gain hegemony over all of the plantations of New England.

The Narragansetts soon realized that they had signed away their ancestral lands due to English trickery and they staged a series of raids and attacks within the Connecticut colony. The attacks were soon brought to a halt and it was ordered by the commissioners of the United Colonies that the Narragansetts should pay a fine of 595 fathoms of wampum (a type of shell currency) and also ordered that unless the fine was paid within four months all of the Lands owned by the tribe would be forfeited. The land holdings of the Narragansetts were immense, all of the coastal areas of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and between the Pequot War in 1637 and the outbreak of King Philip's War

in 1674 attempts to gain control of these territories dominated Anglo/Indian relations, as well as relations between the English colonies.

It was impossible for the Indians to raise such a large sum, and in spite of their anger and resentment, it was necessary for them to contact the Atherton Company and arrange terms which would grant them a two month extension. The extension was not enough and when the Narragansetts could not raise the money they owed Atherton, the company became the new lord of the entire Narragansett nation. However, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island had both been awarded contradictory royal charters which granted each exclusive jurisdiction over the lands of the Narragansetts. (38) When Charles II heard of these developments he sent a team of investigators to the area in 1665; however, this means that for a period of six years the Narragansetts were reduced to a nation without a homeland. Furthermore, for six years the colonists were given a chance to establish themselves on land which belonged to someone else.

Eventually, full jurisdiction over the disputed territory was awarded to Rhode Island until Charles could reach a final decision. He did void the claim of the Atherton Company and ordered that they vacate the area as quickly as possible, but not before the Narragansetts paid them 300 fathoms of wampum to compensate the company for their losses. It was also ordered that the Narragansetts could reclaim their land by paying 735 fathoms of wampum to any one of the claimants. (39) This meant that before they could reclaim their property they would have to pay a total of 1035 fathoms of wampum instead of the original fine of 595 fathoms. Once again a once powerful tribe of Indians had been bested by the English legal system and were reduced to the status of being homeless in their own homeland.

In the Indian mind all land which was not under cultivation was available for hunting, as hunting was crucial to the Indian diet much time was spent in this pursuit and much land traversed, some of which was now owned by the English. This caused great concern for the settlers saw no distinction between Indian hunting parties and Indian war parties, and, in fact, the Indians did practice and refine many of their war skills while hunting. The settlers were not prepared to allow right of passage to any armed Indian and all Indians were forbidden access to any land within a colony without invitation.

There was real fear among the English that the Indians might one day hatch a well-planned uprising involving several, or all, of the tribes in the area. (It is interesting to note that no such fear existed among the French in Canada or the English in New York.) One way the English sought to prevent such an uprising was to stage "war games" once a month within sight of an Indian village. Although it was forbidden for armed Indians to congregate within the area of a colony, no such ordinance prevented the colonists from doing so with the Indians.

Alden Vaughan is correct in stating that the notion that the native American held no concept of ownership of land, or land boundaries, before the arrival of the English is false and deserves repudiation. The very survival of the tribe depended on each member knowing exactly which lands belonged to the tribe and could be used for crops and

hunting. Trespass into territory belonging to another tribe could, and often did, mean certain death. Edward Winslow, who was well informed on the subject, stated: "Every sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limit of his own country extendeth; and that is his proper inheritance. Out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use and sets their bounds...". (40) The lesson to be learned from this quote is that land was owned by the tribe and not by individual members, but each member could be granted exclusive tracts of land for their own use and the land remained within the family of the grantee for as long as needed.

Anthropologists and historians agree that the tribes of southern New England recognized tribal ownership of land and that the Indians also sold or traded land amongst themselves. It should also be noted that some Indians would sell land to the colonists which they had no right to sell. It was not that unusual for a settler to buy a tract of land from one Indian and later find out that the land belonged to an Indian from another tribe. Roger Williams noted: "The natives are very exact and punctuall in the bounds of their lands, belonging to this or that Prince or People(even to a river or a brook). And I have known them to make bargaine and sale amongst themselves for a small piece or quantity of Ground." (41)

In his book **Puritan Justice an the Indian**, Yasuhide Kawashima points out the real problem which overshadowed Anglo/Indian land transactions: "But we must realize that in the early land transactions from Indian to White, representatives of two entirely different civilizations were bargaining with things that had very different values to each of them."(42) He also brings attention to another factor which is often overlooked by those who study this period of American history, and that is the weakened cultural, financial and psychological position of the Indians when many of these transactions were taking place.

The effects of two major plagues must not be ignored when trying to understand the Indians. The tribes of southern New England had suffered greatly and their numbers had been significantly reduced and this had an effect on the morale of the tribes. In addition, the area around Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay had ceased to be a major center of trade for pelts and the Indians found that what had become their primary source of revenue was no more. This situation was due to over hunting and also to the fact that the French had been successful in attempting to prevent the English from obtaining pelts from northern New England and Canada.

The Indians found themselves in a weakened financial position for they had allowed themselves to become dependent on English traders for their livelihood. Moreover, many of the tribes had neglected traditional practices in favor of the more lucrative trade, or cash crop, economy and as a result discovered that they had lost the ability to be self-sustaining.

The tables had now turned. Where once the English had been dependent on the Indians for their survival, the Indians now found themselves dependent on the English. Within a generation the Indians had begun to lose their independence. The practice of creating a

"cash crop" economy upon which the native population soon became dependent would become a hallmark of English colonial practices. It was first employed in Ireland, and had now been perfected in America.

The Indians soon discovered that they were in no position to withstand or resist English expansionism and they were often faced with the choice of accepting the terms offered or see their land declared "vacuum domicilium" and confiscated. Many Indians later learned that the only way they could hold on to their cultural identity was to convert to the Christian faith and move to one of the "Praying Towns" where they would be left alone. It was becoming obvious that it was impossible for these distinctly different cultures to co-exist. One would have to give.

Up to this point, direct land transactions between the colonists and the Indians has been discussed, but now we will examine a situation in which rival colonies desire the same territory and the Indians are only indirect victims of the controversy, but victims nonetheless. In this instance both Massachusetts and Plymouth colony are challenging each other for territory which will come to be known as Connecticut. The Indians caught in the middle of this power play are the fierce and strong Pequot. Francis Jennings describes the situation this way: "The Pequots were in the middle between disputing English colonists, geographically and figuratively." (43) He also notes that this dispute between the colonists was the cause for the first Anglo/Indian war to be fought in New England.

The great man wanted only a little, little land on which to raise greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's hide would cover. Here we first might have observed their deceitful spirit.

-- Delaware view, passed down through the oral tradition, of the first arrival of the Dutch at Manhattan Island, about 1609

CHAPTER SIX: THE STRUGGLE FOR CONNECTICUT

The Pequot first arrived in the Connecticut Valley roughly at the same time the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. They were a fierce and aggressive tribe, an off-shoot of the Mohegans, and they quickly overran the smaller tribes in the area and just as quickly made enemies of the also powerful Narragansetts. The name pequot, in the Algonquin language, roughly translates as man-eater or destroyer(not that the Pequot were cannibals, that was the Abenaki in Maine). Initially there was no contact between the colonists and the Pequot, but by the mid-1630's the English need for more land brought the two groups into association and conflict.

Both England and the Netherlands claimed jurisdiction over the Connecticut Valley by means of "right of discovery", and the Pequots claimed authority over the area based on their claim of "right of conquest" To further complicate the issue, the Narragansetts also claimed certain parts of the valley. The European rivals were quick to realize that they

could convert "right of discovery" into "right of conquest", by creating division between the Indian rivals. The Dutch made the first move.

The Dutch West India Company purchased a small parcel of land from the grand sachem of the Pequot in 1632 and planned to construct a trading post on the site (near present day Saybrook). The Narragansetts were aware of the transaction and approved of it. Sensing a threat, the Plymouth colony, with the knowledge of the Massachusetts authorities, rapidly moved to establish a small colony several miles upriver from the proposed site of the Dutch post, thereby, hoping to intercept any furs coming from Canada. The Plymouth tried to justify their actions to the Dutch by producing a deed which showed that they had purchased the land from a sachem who had been forced from the area by the Pequot. During these negotiations between the Europeans, the Pequot, for unknown reasons, decided to attack the Dutch fort and killed several Indians who had come there to trade. The Indian victims were Narragansetts and that tribe began to mobilize against the Pequot to avenge their slain tribesmen. The Dutch moved first and killed the grand sachem of the Pequot. It was during this fracas that John Stone arrived in the area.

Stone did not arrive as a messiah intent on establishing peace in the area; rather, he had just been thrown out of Massachusetts Colony for excessive drinking and adultery, and for refusing to admit to his sins. He was probably on his way back to the Virginia colony and stopped in the area to explore his chances for trade. Both Jennings and Vaughan agree that Stone was a thoroughly disreputable character who deserved what he got, but it was the Indians who ultimately suffered. It was not Stone's life which earned him a place in history, it was his death, and the controversy his death created.

Stone was not successful in trading in Connecticut and found few items suitable for trade except for the natives who could always be traded as slaves in the West Indies. So, he and his crew decided that they would kidnap a few Indians so that the stop would not be a total waste. This was a big mistake for although he might have pulled it off with some of the smaller tribes, the Pequot were not afraid of the English, and furthermore, would not allow such acts against fellow tribesmen to go unpunished. The tribe acted quickly, before Stone had a chance to get away, and killed Stone and his crew.

That the Massachusetts Bay Colony would turn Stone's death into a cause celebre is interesting for three reasons: first, the colony had nearly executed Stone only a short time before for crimes already mentioned; secondly, Stone was neither a member of the Massachusetts or Plymouth colonies; thirdly, the event took place entirely within Indian territory outside of the jurisdiction of the English colonies or government. Moreover, the Colony refused to take into account that the Pequot were entirely justified in taking action against Stone. It seems that it was enough that Stone was English. The Massachusetts magistrates decreed that the Indians who were responsible for Stone's death must stand trial.

In November 1634, a group of Pequot went to Massachusetts Bay, not to stand trial, to negotiate a trade agreement and ask the colonists help in mediating a peace treaty between them and the Narragansetts. This request pleased the magistrates for they had

recently discovered that the Montauks of Long Island controlled manufacture of the best wampum in the colonial territories. Also, they regularly delivered large tributes of their product to the Pequot. The Pequots wanted to soothe the unrest caused by Stone's death and they needed help for they were battling both the Dutch and the Narragansetts.

The Bay government agreed to the requests and to serve as a peace liaison for the Pequot; however, not before they demanded exorbitant concessions and fines from the tribe. The large amounts of wampum the Pequot had brought were accepted but the Bay magistrates demanded that the two surviving Indians responsible for Stone's death be handed over, as well as forty beaver and thirty otter pelts. (45) These demands take on added interest when it is learned that the Pequot are believed to have also brought along a deed which awarded the entire Connecticut Valley to the Massachusetts Colony.

The Pequot balked at these demands and attempts at subordination. They refused to agree to the terms demanded by the English. After all, they reasoned that they had not been at war with the English and had come to the colonists expecting to be treated as peers, something the English could never do.

Of all of the demands, the one asking for Stone's killers was the one they could never agree to. The Indians in question were members of the Western Niantic tribe and were under the protectorate of the Pequot. Indian tradition forbade that a superior tribe take action which would bring harm to any member of a subservient tribe. (46) In spite of their anger it is said that the Pequot left the deed to the Connecticut Valley with the Puritans, but it should be noted that the deed did not deny the Pequot the right to retain full autonomy and they did not place themselves under the protectorate of the colony or the Crown. (47)

This is a subject which gives Jennings a great deal of trouble. It seems that he was unable to uncover any records which concern this very important document. He finds it strange that the Massachusetts chroniclers, who were so careful with documents, would be careless with this one. It seems that there are no traces of the document to be found. The implication is that such a deed never existed.

The Pequot would not agree to the demands, but breaking with tradition, allowed that the Puritans could pursue Stone's killers themselves, guaranteed of no interference from the Pequot.

Massachusetts, objective was to control all colonization in New England and prevent dissenters from establishing colonies beyond the Bay's supervision. The power of the Bay Colony was unchallenged and they had lost all fear of the Indians, but there was trouble within the colony.

The Reverend Thomas Hooker, and his followers, were becoming uncomfortable living under the restraints of the Massachusetts colony. "Some of them [Hooker's group] were ready to question the authority of the magistrates." (48) An unheard of idea in colonial New England.

Connecticut's chief attraction for Hooker was that it was beyond the jurisdiction of the Bay magistrates, a fact that the magistrates were not ignorant of and was the reason they refused to grant Hooker permission to establish a colony. In 1635 the magistrates finally relented and granted permission for Hooker to begin his colony, but much to Hooker's chagrin, they appointed John Winthrop Jr. as governor. There were two obvious reasons for Winthrop's appointment: first, he was the head of the Saybrook Company which owned much of the land on which Hooker's colony would be established; secondly, Winthrop could be counted on to keep a sharp eye on the activities of the new plantation and report to the Bay magistrates any which might deserve reprimand.

By 1636 the colony was well established, but divided into two groups with Winthrop heading one and Hooker the other. Both groups shared the common practice of bullying the Indians, interfering with the traders of New Netherland and Plymouth and generally becoming involved in a power struggle which would have serious consequences for the future of intercolonial relations and for the Indians of the Connecticut Valley. It should also be mentioned that the growing restlessness of the local Indians contributed to this struggle for hegemony by providing reason for increased interference from the Massachusetts Colony. The colonies of Plymouth, Rhode Island, New Netherland and of Thomas Hooker all feared and resented any increase of power for Massachusetts.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TROUBLE WITH THE PEQUOT

Connecticut's charter limited it to defensive actions but the new colony soon felt that it must take offensive action in order to thwart an Indian uprising before it had the chance to materialize. However, Massachusetts realized that if Connecticut were allowed to take such actions the colony would gain too much independence and could conceivably receive a separate charter from the Crown. Most of the trouble from the Indians emanated from the Pequot tribe, and Massachusetts sent word to Winthrop that he should arrange a meeting with the Pequot sachems and deliver the colony's ultimatum which was that the tribe was to honor all the terms of a still unratified treaty between the tribe and the colony, or prepare for war. (49) Only Puritan records exist which can describe what happened at that meeting, and these records place the blame for the breakdown in negotiations squarely on the Shoulders of the Pequot. The tribe was told that unless Puritan demands were met the colony was prepared to "revenge the blood of our countrimen". (50) All the earlier peace offerings of the Pequot were returned - - all except the deed to the Connecticut Valley.

The Pequot were offended but did not speak of going to war, at least not openly, against the English. The Pequot knew that Massachusetts was not really interested in punishing Stone's killers and they refused to be had by the English and tricked into playing a part in this charade.

John Oldham was a trusted friend of both Massachusetts Bay and of the Indians, especially the Narragansetts who once offered him title to an island within their territory

so that he could live among them, and his death was a very serious matter. The real reasons for Oldham's will probably remain one of the secrets of history. There are many theories, one of which has been discussed in this paper, but few facts; the only fact which is known is that his death led to war. Massachusetts was quick to take action.

In spite of the fact that the Pequot were innocent of any participation in the death of Oldham the magistrates of Massachusetts decided to punish them along with the Narragansetts of Block Island, which is where Oldham's death occurred. Both tribes were to pay dearly for Oldham's death. John Winthrop recorded the orders which were given to John Endicott, the leader of the expedition against the Indians,; "... put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and to bring them away, and to take possession of the island, and from thence to go to the Pequots to demand the murderers of Captain Stone and the other English[Stone's crew], one thousand fathoms of wampum for damages, and some of their children as hostages, which if they should resist were to be obtained by force." (51)

It seems that Massachusetts wanted to extract a profit from the Indians as well as justice. If they were successful, the colony would increase its territory. Also the volunteer troops could be paid in plunder saving the colony expense. The women and children who were taken captive could be sold as slaves in the West Indies. It was at this time that the selling of Indian slaves first became official policy. (52) However, as this paper has pointed out, it had long been unofficial policy.

Endicott was not successful on Block Island. He mainly managed to frighten the Indians with the noise from English firearms but was unable to force the Indians from their hiding places deep within the dense forests which then covered the island. (The English refused to enter the forests themselves.) The troops destroyed all that they could, and the only loss of life was that of the Indian's dogs which the English killed in frustration. Endicott and his men left the island and proceeded to Fort Saybrook.

John Winthrop decided that things were too dangerous in Connecticut and he went to the safer environs of Boston, leaving Lieutenant Lion Gardiner in charge. Gardiner was reluctant to arouse the animosity of the feared Pequot and protested that after Endicott's mission stirred the Indians to action Endicott would return to Boston leaving the small colony at Saybrook to face the wrath of the Indians. (53)

The Pequot still did not believe that the English were actually serious. At one point, during a meeting between the two groups, the Pequot soon tired of the silliness of the English position and one by one slipped off into the forest, leaving the English to negotiate with themselves under the blazing summer sun. Again, Endicott's troops had to vent their anger by killing Indian dogs.

Although they thought the English to be fools, the Pequot realized that the English did intend to declare war and they began to prepare. The tribe began to mount a series of small raids against Fort Saybrook and to molest travelers. Several Englishmen were killed, and Gardiner almost fell victim to a Pequot raid. After their demonstration of

bravado, the Pequot were ready to meet with the English to learn whether or not these skirmishes need continue or if a full-scale war was to take place. Gardiner's response made the Indians realize that war was the only choice left them. The Indians then made a very interesting query when they asked Gardiner if the English intended to kill women and children.

Prior to the Pequot War, it was not the practice of warring Indians to harm women and children more, often they were abducted and either adopted into the tribe of the victors or held for ransom. According to Francis Jennings, the Pequot knew that the English would not adhere to the rules of war familiar to the Indians and they wanted to set the new rules. Traditionally, Indian wars were not very bloody and the death count was low, but the Pequot seemed to realize that it would now be different. The defiant Pequot told Gardiner; "...we will go to Conectocott and kill men, women, and children...". (54) Perhaps it should be noted that this declaration was recorded by an Englishman and was not a direct quote from a primary source. The reason that this point has been brought to the reader's attention is that statements such as this one were often drafted in Boston or Plymouth to justify English actions against the Indians. Very few verifiable Indian documents from this period exist since the Indians had no written language and few were able to write in English.

The Pequot tried to enlist the help of the Narragansetts by pointing out that the English were their common foe, especially after the recent events on Block Island, but they refused to side with the Pequot. If they had, it is likely that the entire English attempt at colonization might have failed. At this point, the Indians, despite the loss of population from plague, outnumbered the colonists; furthermore, the English were grossly unprepared to wage a successful war against the Indians.

A large part of the reason the Narragansetts refused to help the Pequot was the fact that the trusted Roger Williams was able to dissuade the Narragansetts from such a pact. Another reason can be traced back to the animosity most of the tribes of New England felt for the Pequot. It is interesting to note that Williams' role has been downplayed by Puritan historians, and also, that in spite of his efforts his banishment from the Puritan and Pilgrim colonies remained in effect.

The situation remained static for some time with all sides playing each against the other. However, on April 23, 1637, events in the colony of Wethersfield opened the way for total war.

An elderly Pequot sachem was thrown off the lands, which had been given him by the colonial authorities by several Wethersfield men and the Pequot decided to retaliate. They raided the settlement killing six men and three women, destroyed property and took two young female hostages whom they thought could teach them to make gunpowder. The hostages were released when it became obvious that they did not know how. The women had been treated kindly, and had not been sexually abused. Indians, contrary to myth, did not molest the female hostages they took, it seems that they did not find the English women attractive.

Rivalry between the Connecticut and Massachusetts prevented the English from taking immediate action. Each of the colonies knew that the real war was between them and that the Pequot were incidental pawns in their power struggle. Massachusetts waited a little too long and Connecticut was the first to take action against the Pequot. The race to decide which colony would rule the Connecticut Valley was on. The colony which was the first to subdue the Pequot and their lands would emerge the victor: Connecticut's Captain Mason got there first.

Gardiner doubted the military worth of Mason's small troop of ninety, but they proved Gardiner wrong. Mason ignored Massachusetts' request that he wait for the arrival of troops from that colony. Accompanied by a large group of Narragansett warriors, who had agreed to act as guide, began their march toward the lesser Pequot Village at Mystic River. Aware of the small size and lack of experience of his troop, Mason decided that a direct frontal assault would be foolish. He decided to use other methods. These methods were certainly not brave and cannot be imagined to earn an enviable place in American military history, but it seems that Mason felt the end justified the means. As Jennings notes: "Battle, as such, was not his purpose. Battle is only one of the ways to destroy an enemy's will to fight. Massacre can accomplish the same ends with less risk, and Mason determined that massacre would be his objective." (55)

The Narragansett guides led Mason's group to a secret fort the Pequot had erected to shelter the aged members of the tribe, as well as the women and children. The warriors lived at a village about three miles away. Mason avoided that village. At dawn, on May 26, Mason's troops attacked this fort on the Mystic River. His soldiers approached the sleeping Village and were only a few feet away from the main gate before they were detected. The English began their assault and charged the sleeping women and children. The Indians were forced to seek shelter inside their wigwams which the English troops set on fire. The English then retreated to the areas beyond the log walls of the fort and shot any Indian attempting to flee the blazing village. The fort was totally destroyed and all but a very few of the Indians had been killed.

Captain Underhill has left us with an eyewitness account.

Many were burnt in the fort, both men, women, and children. Others forced out, and came in troops to the Indians[escape attempts] twenty and thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of a sword. Down fell men, women, and children. It is reported by themselves [Narragansett guides]that there were four hundred souls in the fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. (56)

It now seems obvious why the Pequot asked what they did of Gardiner.

The Narragansetts were appalled. They had never seen such a display of bloody savagery. They abandoned the English and left them to find their own way back to the Saybrook, but not before protesting the massacre to Underhill, who gloated over the deed.

The Pequot warriors quickly learned of the attack and immediately left to help their tribesmen and families, sadly they arrived too late to help those inside the fort, but not before the English had had a chance to get very far away. The warriors set out to avenge the horrible devastation the English had brought about. Just as they reached Mason's troop, who by this time were low on ammunition and in no position to defend themselves, a troop of English reinforcements arrived and the Indians were chased away. Many did remain to fight but they were no match for the English and were forced to retreat.

One of the real winners of this terrible encounter was the Mohegan sachem, Uncas, who would become famous in the history of colonial New England. The Pequot were part of the Mohegan nation so it was logical that they should seek safety with their own people. Uncas, who was a weak sachem and had never been able to command more than fifty warriors, now became important to the colonial authorities. The leaders of Connecticut the Pequot to remain with Uncas because he was subject to their authority and they preferred that their enemies, the Pequot, remain within eyesight. Moreover, the fact that the surviving Pequot were still in the territory of Connecticut made it easier to justify the occupation of the former land holdings of the Pequot. The English learned from the Pequot conflict that they need no longer fear the Indians and acquired a feeling of superiority which would not be challenged until the darkest moments of the larger war which was to come.

The Indians also learned a great deal about the English. They learned at least three things: first, that the Englishman's most solemn pledge would be broken whenever obligation conflicted with advantage; secondly, that the English way of war had no limit of scruple or mercy in its wrath; thirdly, that weapons of Indian making were almost useless against weapons of the English. (57)

The embers had not had time to cool at Mystic Fort before thirty settlers were sent there by Connecticut to establish a colony. Connecticut knew that it had to act before Massachusetts did. Massachusetts suggested that the area be shared among the two colonies, but Connecticut maintained that it was they who had defeated the Pequot and were thus the only colony who held right to the area. Massachusetts turned its attention to a small band of Indians who were tributaries of the Pequot and lived on the coast at a village called Quinnipiac. The Indian tribe was no match for the Massachusetts forces. They were quickly annihilated, but before Massachusetts could occupy the depopulated area a group of dissident arrivals from England moved in and created an independent colony which they named New Haven.

Attention now turned to the Narragansetts, who occupied a vast area of land sought by all three colonies, and it is likely they would have met the same fate as the Pequot had it not been for their size and the protection provided by Roger Williams and the leaders of Rhode Island. The tribe had given William's group land when they were forced to flee Massachusetts. The two groups lived in almost complete harmony and were proof that co-existence was possible. The Rhode Island colonists now became the protector and thanks to their knowledge of law and their willingness to present the Indian cause at Court, where they had a sympathetic ear, the Narragansetts had a better chance of

withstanding pressure from the Puritan colonies. It is amazing that the Narragansetts never rose against the English. They only did so when they were given no alternative.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MASSASOIT AND HIS HEIRS

The focus of this paper will now return to the Wampanoags and Massasoit, and will also jump ahead about twenty years. This is not meant to suggest that the years between the end of the Pequot War, 1638, and the death of Massasoit in 1659 were of no significance, for indeed many important developments transpired; notably, the establishment of John Eliot's "Praying Towns" and expanded efforts to convert or "reduce" the Indians to Christianity. These "Praying Towns" present a special problem for they were a very important part of New England colonial history, but it was decided that to properly discuss them and the motives behind the conversion movement would be beyond the scope of this paper.

By the late 1650's the first of the colonies had been reduced to the least of the colonies; in fact, Plymouth was actually without a charter. Moreover, border disputes with Rhode Island and Massachusetts further eroded Plymouth's position and self-confidence. The only legal claim the colony still held was its right to act as protectorate over the Wampanoag tribe, and even this right was being challenged by Massasoit, who had begun to sell land to the Rhode Island colony against the express orders from Plymouth that he was to refrain from such sales. Before Plymouth could move to prevent him from making further sales to Rhode Island, Massasoit died. He was succeeded by his son Wamsutta, also known by the English name of Alexander. Wamsutta was not bound by any sense of allegiance to the Plymouth settlers and felt free to sell his land to the settlers in Rhode Island, or to anyone else he pleased. The Plymouth magistrates thought otherwise. The General Court of Plymouth sent an emissary to speak to Wamsutta and tell him that such sales must cease. Wamsutta ignored the message and continued to sell his land to Rhode Island.

Alden Vaughan cites Wamsutta's actions as evidence that the Indians knew what they were doing and were not helpless dupes who did not understand what was going on. A better thesis might be that by this time the Indians had indeed learned what the sale of land meant and were forced to sell the only commodity left them since they had no other way to raise capital. It should also be noted that the Wampanoags only sold land to Rhode Island. This may have been because the settlers of that colony were the only English the Indians felt they could trust not to run them off of the land they decided to keep.

Wamsutta's decision to ignore Plymouth's warning was more than the colony was willing to allow. Major Josiah Winslow was dispatched to bring Wamsutta to Plymouth by force if necessary. Winslow's party surprised Wamsutta at an Indian hunting station and, despite the fact that the sachem was visibly ill, Winslow ordered him to return to Plymouth with him or be shot where he stood.

The accounts of Wamsutta's death vary greatly among historians and range from Francis Jennings, declaration, which was cited in the preceding paragraph, that Wamsutta was taken to Plymouth by force to Douglas Leach's theory that Wamsutta was a "guest" of Winslow's and became ill from exposure and the difficulties of the trip to Plymouth. Leach's account seems unlikely because the Indians were quite adept at surviving in the open; furthermore, the episode took place in mid-summer so exposure seems unlikely. The Reverend William Hubbard said that Wamsutta died of "hot weather and choleric pride. Wamsutta was succeeded by his brother, Metacomb, better known as Philip.

The conflict which would become known as "King Philip's War" did not materialize immediately upon Metacomb's [who will be referred to as Philip hereafter] assuming the title 'of sachem. In fact, thirteen years would elapse between Wamsutta's death in 1662 and the first attack by Philip on an English settlement in 1675. However, it should not be assumed that all was peaceful between the English and the man Cotton Mather called a "blasphemous leviathan"

Philip was clever and did not fear or respect the English. It is reported that Philip once took John Eliot by the coat and told him that he cared no more for the religion of the English than he did for the button on Eliot's coat, which he then cut off with his knife. (58) However, this should not give the reader that Philip always acted in such a belligerent manner; in fact, he was quite clever when dealing with the English and often swallowed his pride rather than showing them his true feelings.

Plymouth was determined not to allow Philip to gain any degree of autonomy and only six weeks after the death of Wamsutta ordered Philip to come to Plymouth to answer charges concerning "a danger of the rising of the Indians against the English." (59) Philip willingly obeyed the command and appeared before the Plymouth magistrates and pleaded that he knew nothing of such an uprising. He even went so far as to offer his younger brother as a hostage, an offer rejected by Plymouth. Philip was forced to agree to a contract which forbade him from selling any land unless first approved by Plymouth. Philip added a stipulation that no sale of Wampanoag land would take place for seven years from the date of the signing of the contract, and that the English would also refrain from attempting to buy or occupy the said territories.

Upon returning to his village Philip had the contract reviewed by a settler from Rhode Island. Afterwards, he sent the following letter to Plymouths "Philip would intreat that favor of you, and any of the magestrats, if any English or Engians speak about any land, he pray you to give them no ansewar at all. This last summer he maid that promis with you, that he would not sell no land land in 7 years time, for that he would have no English trouble before that time, he has not forgot that you promis him." (60)

Philip was a "free sachem" which meant that he was not subject to the Plymouth colony; however, he and his tribe were subjects of the Crown and only the King was their overlord. This troubled the Plymouth Colony for it meant that there were limits to their authority as protectorates. Philip could report any misconduct to the King. In 1663, Rhode Island was granted a Royal Charter and the charter placed Philip's home Village of

Mount Hope within Rhode Island's realm of jurisdiction. Plymouth protested to Charles II, but he told them that his decision stood.. This was another blow to the declining position of the Plymouth colony and they began to fight to retain their boundaries, a fight which in turn set off a string of boundary claims and counterclaims throughout New England.

Ignoring the agreement made with Philip, Plymouth established a settlement known as Swansea, which overlapped the territories of the Wampanoag as well as Rhode Island. In 1668, Plymouth began to sell Indian land within Swansea, and in 1669 authorized expanding the colony and obtaining additional Indian lands. Understandably, the Wampanoag were very upset at this violation of their agreement with Plymouth. If the Wampanoag were resentful and thoughts of war began to circulate it seems that they can hardly be faulted for their reaction. In 1671 an armed group of warriors marched on Swansea. They did not attack, for that was not their goal. Their goal was to remind Plymouth that they were still capable of defending themselves. The colony ordered Philip to present himself in Taunton to answer for his actions.

Philip complied with the demand and appeared at Taunton. He discovered that he was being forced to deal with a new attitude from the Plymouth officials, as well as the general population who were beginning to resent all Indians. He was expected to swallow his pride and defiance and accept the terms dictated to him. If any one act from the English can be cited as convincing the Indians that they must rise against the encroachment of the English it would be this episode. The intransigence demonstrated by Plymouth was totally out of proportion to any offenses the Indians may have committed. The clause which demanded Philip to surrender all the firearms owned by the Wampanoag was the most galling to the Indians. When the Plymouth authorities arrived at the Wampanoag camps to take possession of the firearms they left the Indians with no alternative but to prepare for war.

If a prophet had come to our Village in earlier days and told us that the things were to take place which have since come to pass, none of our people would have believed him.
-- Blach Hawk, chief of the Sauk and Fox

CHAPTER NINE: WAR

The Wampanoag's, and Philip, now found themselves in a position which they felt they did not deserve and was also unacceptable. Moreover, with the establishment of Swansea, the tribe discovered onto the tiny peninsula in Narragansett Bay of New Hope. Peter Oliver, a nineteenth century historian, described the Wampanoag position this way: "Here then, Philip found his people huddled together, by the insidious policy of the Plymouth Colony, surrounded on three sides by the ocean, and, on the fourth, hemmed in by the ever-advancing tide of civilization. And this was all that forty years of friendship with the Pilgrims had benefited the Wampanoags." (62) This passage illustrates that the

Wampanoag had been willing to live alongside the English and had been cooperative until they felt their existence to be in peril.

In a last ditch effort to obtain justice, Philip asked that Massachusetts arbitrate the dispute. The colony gladly accepted and representatives from Connecticut and Massachusetts were sent to Plymouth. Unwittingly, Philip had been placed in the middle of an inter-colonial power play, and he was destined to be the loser. Philip was treated as a criminal and he was forced to agree to new terms which were harsher than the original ones. It was also decided that henceforth, Plymouth would oversee all Wampanoag land and behavior.

Plymouth was victorious in another way; because Massachusetts and Connecticut had participated in the decisions, Plymouth could now count on their help if Philip did declare war on the colony. Philip had actually brought the three colonies together instead of setting them against each other, which was what he had intended.

For the next few years Philip kept a low profile, and despite periodic rumours of an Indian uprising relations between the Wampanoags and Plymouth were stable. Evidence that relations were better can be found in the fact that in 1674 Plymouth lifted the prohibition against selling firearms to the Wampanoag.

In truth, it did not seem to matter much whether or not Plymouth allowed the sale of firearms to the Indians because they were always able to get them when they wished. Colonial New England was no different than any other society in that there were always people who were willing to place personal gain over the greater need of society. The Indians had always been able to trade for firearms with the traders with whom they came into contact, English traders included. Also, by the late 1650's, the Pilgrims and Puritans had enemies other than the Indians.

The mood in England had changed and many Anglicans and royalists would have liked nothing better than to have seen the Puritans fail. It may seem a bit extreme to suggest that foes in England would deliberately engage in policies which would benefit the Indians at the expense of Englishmen, but settlers were arriving who held strong anti-Puritan sentiments, those at New Haven are an excellent example.

It wasn't just the new arrivals which were upsetting the colonial authorities, they also had to contend with a growing number of colonists who were moving beyond the reach of Plymouth or Boston. Children of original settlers, indentured servants who had now earned their freedom, those who had been expelled from Plymouth or Massachusetts for misconduct, and those who could no longer tolerate the oppressive rule of the Pilgrims or Puritans were all now a threat to the status quo of New England. In addition, a small, but significant number of colonists found the Indian lifestyle more suited to their needs and were choosing to live with the Indians. The point being made is to illustrate that life in New England was neither harmonious nor united. And now it was becoming clear that the very real possibility existed that the worst fear of the English was soon to materialize: a united Indian uprising.

Many of the Puritan leaders and clergy had been pleading with their constituents to change their ways and cease their movement away from God or be prepared to suffer the punishment which would follow. Obviously, the fact that the Indians were upset and ready to attack was in no way the result of the policies of the English authorities: it was the byproduct of the hedonism and lack of faith being displayed by the citizens of the colonies.

In 1676 Cotton Mather delivered the following admonishment:

If we mind where the trouble began and by what instruments, we may well think that God is greatly offended with the Heathenism of the English People. How many that although they are Christian in name, are no better than Heathens in heart, and in Conversation? How many Families that live like profane Indians without any Family prayers?...If we learn the way of the Heathen, and become like them, God will punish us by them. (63)

James Axtell points out that the only way to proceed was: "By killing Satanic Indians, the colonists sought to regain God's favor and to fulfill his providential promise in America." (64)

The Indians, who were preparing for war, also believed in messages from the gods and were now waiting for a sign before they could stage an attack. Wampanoag shamans had prophesied that the Indians would win the upcoming struggle if they waited until the English fired the first shot. It was also divined that Philip would not be killed by an Englishman. The younger warriors under Philip's command were not as willing to wait for signs from above and began to mount several raiding attacks on Swansea. None of the raids were of any great significance except for two reasons: first, they alerted the Plymouth authorities that a larger attack was imminent; secondly, and most importantly, on the evening of June 23, 1675, a young English boy shot and killed an Indian. The prophecy had been fulfilled. The next day, an armed war party attacked Swansea. The war had begun.

The irony is that June 24 had been set aside, throughout the Plymouth colony, as a day of solemn humiliation and atonement so that God might forgive the colonists their sins and not punish them at the hands of the Indians.

In his book **Flintlock and Tomahawk**, Douglas Edward Leach compares the early efforts of the English to thwart the Indian threat to a scene from Gilbert and Sullivan. He is right to point out that many of the decisions of those in command were just plain stupid and that blunder followed blunder. The first was to allow Philip and the Wampanoag to escape from the easily protected Mount Hope peninsula; thereby, allowing them to spread terror throughout southern New England. The second was to keep the colonial troops on Mount Hope thinking that Philip would return, rather than following Philip and preventing him from enlisting the help of other Indians. Within only a few weeks, Philip seemed about to overcome the English who could just not get it together.

We, as twentieth century students of history, must bear in mind that this was the first time that the colonists had been forced to mount an armed defense to protect their homes and beliefs. Certainly they committed blunders and in a short time, gross atrocities, but they had learned warfare from Cromwell and those methods would not work in New England. They had to learn new ones and fight a war at the same time.

It is actually a misnomer to call this uprising a war at this point. Initially, it was a declaration from one tribe, the Wampanoag, to one English colony, Plymouth, that it would no longer tolerate the treatment it had been subjected to. In one of the few direct quotes from Philip, he said "I determined not to live until I have no country"

In the early days of the war many Indians wished to remain neutral, and many of them fled to Plymouth and threw themselves upon the mercy of the authorities. Sadly, many of them were shipped out of the colony to Spain or the West Indies as slaves. When this fact became known, Philip offered the Indians their only hope. Many of the "praying Indians" fled the towns and were never heard from again. Some Indians left for safer territory in the west or sought refuge with the Jesuit missionaries of Canada.

Most of the tribes were too small to strike fear among the English. The largest of the tribes, as well as the richest and strongest, were the Narragansetts. The colonial's rightly feared the possibility that the Narragansetts would join Philip's forces. This was a highly unlikely prospect when one remembers that the two tribes were ancient enemies, but the Narragansetts were growing increasingly resentful of English attempts at domination. The colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts turned their complete attention to settling the Narragansett question and left Plymouth to battle the Wampanoags alone.

By September the war had spread and Philip's warriors were on the threshold of bringing New England to its knees. It was not the physical destruction or loss of life which was taking the greatest toll, although each were serious; it was the psychological toll which may have been the more severe. For the first time the English colonists were being forced to question their notion of invincibility and being right. The Indians seemed totally beyond the power of the English. They struck anywhere, anytime and without warning. Many colonists had been struck down by a silent arrow and many settlements had been destroyed by this almost invisible enemy. No single colony could contain Philip's warriors, yet, amazingly enough, the colonies had not concentrated their efforts. True, Connecticut was being forced to deal with Governor Andros of New York on one front and the Indians on another front, and could not decide which presented the greatest threat. Massachusetts seemed more concerned with increasing its land holdings than in aiding a fellow colony in trouble. However, by the end of September, the colonies knew that they had no choice but to unite against Philip. Massachusetts began to organize the militias and defense and the Narragansetts would be the first to bear the brunt of this united front.

Yes - we know that when you come, we die.
-- Chiparopai, an old Yuma Indian

The Narragansetts head sachem, Ninigret, wanted to remain neutral, but when Roger Williams joined forces with the United Colonies, he realized that neutrality was no longer an option. Reports began to reach the English that the Narragansetts were sheltering the Wampanoag. This was a very upsetting development and the Narragansetts were ordered to meet with a contingent of colonial rulers. The Narragansetts were told that they must turn over any Wampanoags who were living with them. The sachems resisted these demands. Clearly the tribe was beginning to change from its previous position of neutrality and were becoming sympathetic to Philip's struggle, which they now knew to also be their struggle. Perhaps, as a means to buy time, the sachems agreed to some of the colonists demands and returned to their villages.

Upon returning home, the Narragansetts began to stall in delivering the promised Indians to the English. Reports reached the English that the tribe was assembling for war and that some Narragansett warriors were already fighting alongside Philip. An Indian informer told the English that the Narragansetts were preparing to attack the colonists early in the coming year. If this were allowed to happen the results could be disastrous for the colonies. The position of the Narragansetts would allow them to strike Connecticut or Massachusetts with equal ease. Massachusetts was now involved on a second front with the Abenaki Indians of Maine. Preparations began for a major offensive. Winter was about to set in, and, therefore, the action must take place at once or allow the Narragansetts to gain power over the winter.

The White Men were many and we could not hold our own with them. We were like deer. They were like grizzly bears. We had a small country. They had a large country. We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit made them. They were not, and would change the rivers if they did not suit them.

-- Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces, 1877

CHAPTER TEN: MASSACRE

In November a force of one thousand men were assembled from throughout the United Colonies to vanquish their common foe: the Narragansetts. In theory, this force was to impress upon the tribe that it must abide by ~11 the terms of the various treaties the tribe had agreed to; in reality, it was a military exercise to be backed up by force, not display. The troops were to be assembled and ready for action by December 10, 1675. An appropriate letter was sent to the Rhode Island authorities (they were not a member of the United Colonies) advising of the plan, especially since most of the action would take place within Rhode Island. According to Douglas Edward Leach "It was to be the greatest military force that New England had ever seen, and the hearts of the people went with it." (65) Regrettably, this noble venture would turn into one of the most shameful episodes in American history.

The campaign began without mishap or delay. There was some concern that the Connecticut and Massachusetts might not rendezvous, but the fear proved unfounded. Actually, providence seemed to be smiling on the venture and sent the English an aid, without which the mission might have failed. The aid was in the form of an Indian named Peter, an historical figure who is seen as either a traitor or a hero, depending on one's perspective. History was being repeated for as happened at Mystic Fort, during the Pequot War, the English depended on Indian guides who were willing to lead them to the secret camps in which the Indians sought refuge for their dependent women and children. The difference was that during the Pequot War the Narragansetts were the guide, this time the Narragansetts were the target.

The Narragansetts knew that the English were mounting a major offensive which was concentrated on their tribe, and as the English moved closer the Indians fled to safer grounds. Traditionally, during times of war, the Indians would remove their women and children from the area of conflict. The Narragansetts chose a site deep within an area known as Great Swamp. This site would provide adequate shelter over the coming winter, and the Narragansetts also chose it because they were aware that English soldiers would not venture into swamps. It seems that the English had an innate fear of swamps and forests. Unfortunately, the winter of 1675 had thus far been a very severe one, and, as a consequence, the muck and mire of Great Swamp had frozen solid and, therefore, provided the English an avenue to their target. Also, they had Peter to ensure that they found the fort with no difficulty.

The Narragansetts had constructed a fort which was quite extraordinary. It was located on a mound which rose out of the swamp about six feet. The women had assembled an interior village of wigwams while the men had built a barricade made up of large logs tightly placed together in an upright position. A layer of tree limbs and brush several yards thick covered the walls and provided further protection. Turret-like structures provided the warriors with look-out positions and also allowed them to fire directly down on any attackers. The structure filled the English troops with awe for they thought the Indians incapable of such industriousness or forethought. It seemed that the fort was impenetrable: however, the Indians had literally left the backdoor open.

In the rear of the fort there was an unfinished opening which was only covered with a few fallen logs. This was the spot to which Peter led them. The English began their attack immediately. As the first companies arrived they stormed the gap in the wall and despite fierce resistance they began to gain ground. The Narragansetts stepped up their defensive and were soon able to force the English beyond the walls of the compound. However, at this moment, other troops began to arrive and the attack began anew and there was no interruption in the fighting, which might have given the Indians a chance to strengthen their defenses. Again the English stormed into the fort and gradually the Indians were forced to take shelter within their wigwams. Orders were given to torch the wigwams in an attempt to force the Indians into the open. Many of the wigwams were filled with women and children. After the wigwams were burning brightly, the English retreated beyond the walls and started to shoot any Indian who tried to flee the inferno. Almost thirty years before, the Narragansetts had stood outside the wall at Mystic Fort and

watched what the English were now doing to their own wives and children. The Pequot had tried to warn them that the English would one day turn on them, but they were too blinded by inter-tribal conflicts to listen.

Exact records do not exist which might tell us just how many Narragansetts died at Great Swamp, but most estimates center around the figure of seven hundred, with the majority of deaths being non-combatants--women, children and the elderly. Perhaps it was the passion of battle which caused the English to commit such an atrocity; perhaps it was the belief that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. We will never know for certain. It does seem obvious that the English wanted total destruction and annihilation: victory was not enough.

The English suffered a large number of wounded, about two hundred, but only about twenty deaths. The English were eager to leave the scene as quickly as possible, not from any sense of remorse over the devastation they had inflicted, but from fear of Indian retaliation. In the process they left behind several of their unburied dead. Narragansett legends still tell that on certain winter nights the ice covered ghosts of these forgotten Englishmen can be seen roaming the swamp.

This victory gave the colonists a much needed shot of self-confidence, which was sorely needed at this time for many of the recruits were growing eager to return home. There was a shortage of food, and even the wounded had to sleep in the open without benefit of shelter of any kind. Many recruits were deserting and one large group left in search of food and disappeared from history. Also, the Connecticut troops resented the superior attitudes the Massachusetts troops had adopted and even believed that they had stolen their guns. This period of grumbling and dissension was short-lived, for the Indians had plans to let the colonists know that the war was not over.

Philip had been nowhere in the vicinity of Great Swamp at the time of the attack. He was in New York trying to enlist the help of the Mohawks in his struggle. He was not successful, and, in fact, had to flee from the Mohawks who wanted to kill him(the reasons are not known). Returning to his camp in almost total despair his spirits were lifted when he met with the large number of Narragansetts who were now willing to join his forces. A Narragansett/Wampanoag alliance was now a reality.

It should be pointed out that this was the only alliance with an important tribe which Philip was able to bring about, and, actually, it was the English who were responsible for this one. There was never a grand alliance among the Indians. In fact, many of the Indians, such as the Mohawks, helped the English to defeat Philip. Also, Philip was not really in charge of the warring tribes, many tribes, like the Abenaki, fought independently. Never was this a united struggle against a common enemy.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE INDIANS LOSE

In January the Indians began their newest round of attacks on English towns, and these were some of the fiercest of the entire war. The first attack was on the town of Lancaster, in Massachusetts. The English had been warned by Indian informers that an attack was to take place, but, for unknown reasons, failed to heed the warning.

Captain Daniel Gookin was aroused from his bed in Cambridge on February 9, and told that an armed group of four hundred warriors were marching on the town and would attack at dawn. Gookin listened to this second warning and he ordered a troop of recruits to leave right away. They did not arrive in time to prevent the attack, but they did manage to chase the Indians away before they had a chance to totally destroy the town. The Indians did inflict a great deal of damage and killed several of the townspeople. They also took several hostages, among them Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, who would achieve a place in American history with her captive narrative. Attacks on Medfield and Weymouth followed. Again, it seemed that the English could not contain the Indians.

The English did manage to put the Indians on the run, and large scale attacks, such as the ones which had just occurred, ceased. It was becoming very difficult for both sides. The English and the Indians were seriously short of food and adequate shelter. From Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative it becomes clear that despair and hunger were taking a very serious toll on the Indians. Furthermore, the Indian death toll had been enormous and this affected the number of warriors available for fighting. The emotional effect was catastrophic, for contrary to myth, the Indians mourned their dead just as fervently as any Englishman. Of course, it should not be forgotten that they had lost their homeland as well, for it was becoming obvious to the Indians that no matter what happened, they had lost. They were a landless people in their own land. This may sound like a cliché, but only forty years before, they had been the proud rulers of the same land upon which they were now fugitives.

By May 1676, the tide of the war was turning in the favor of the English, and the strength of the Indians had begun to wane.

Most of the attention of the English, and the Indians as well, was now centered on trying to plant crops, for the entire area was on the brink of famine because so much time had been taken up in fighting that no food had been planted. The Indians had no land upon which to plant for the English kept them away from their traditional hunting and farming grounds. They tried to plant some grain crops, but the English would destroy them. Many of the Indians were again throwing themselves on the mercy of the English. The Indians figured that their chances were better with the English than with the Mohawks who killed them on sight. The Mohawks and many Christian Indians, were helping the

English to track the renegade Indians, and were teaching the Indian methods of warfare. The English had been loathe to fight in this manner, but they slowly discovered that they had better adapt to the demands of warfare in New England. This had a great deal to do with defeating the Indians.

The Indian troops were in disagreement about how to proceed and Philip no longer had the confidence of his followers. Many of the tribal units began to break up and seek a place in which to begin a new life. The war probably would have stopped now had the English not been so adamant in their demand for unconditional surrender. Massachusetts was still at war with the Abenaki and the Pennacook tribes, and would still after the death of Philip, but the major battles were over.

The colonists, especially those of Massachusetts Bay, were not content to defeat the Indians; they wanted to inflict a final punishment on them. A series of raids whose sole aim was to find the Indians and kill them was begun, and had considerable success. On July 2, the English killed 171 Indians, including women and children, outside of Providence. The next day, they attacked another Indian group and killed 67 people. The Indians who chose to surrender were either executed or sold out of the colony as slaves. Massachusetts never offered the Indians clemency.

The Massachusetts magistrates justified their actions by claiming that the Indians were prisoners of war and were a threat to the well-being of the colony--even the women and children. Furthermore, it had been decided by the world's slave traders that Indians did not sell well because they made poor slaves. (66) (The same was said of the Irish who were sent to Jamaica and Barbados.) One must wonder what actually happened to the Indians who were to be transported. Some believe that they were taken to sea and thrown overboard. (67) One story exists concerning several Indians who languished in the slave markets of Algiers for two years until John Eliot learned of their plight and arranged for their purchase and return to America. (68)

On July 30, 1676, Captain Benjamin Church was called from church in Plymouth and informed that Philip was in the area, and that Indian informers were willing to lead him to this much sought after enemy. By evening, Church and his small troop were leaving Plymouth and on the way to end the war.

Philip, and his remaining followers, had returned to the Mount Hope area. Perhaps it was exhaustion which prompted their return, perhaps it was a desire to end their struggle on the land which they had been trying to protect from the advancement of the English.

The next day, the English arrived at the Taunton River and were greeted by a sight which brought joy to their hearts. They encountered an Indian sunning himself on a fallen log on the opposite side of the river, and were soon able to discern that the Indian was Philip. They had been given a glimpse of the most famous, and hated, Indian in New England. Before they could react Philip noticed them and was able to scamper away. Church's men followed in hot pursuit and wasted no time in getting across the river. They discovered the Indian's camp, and although Philip managed to escape, the English captured Philip's Wife and infant son. They were promptly sent to Plymouth, transported out of the colony as slaves, and disappeared to history. Philip continued to elude the English for the next several days. Frustrated and exhausted, Church's troop returned to Plymouth, but only a few hours after their arrival, news reached them that an Indian deserter was willing to take them to Philip.

Church wasted no time in assembling his men and setting out. They arrived in the area where Philip was hiding late in the evening of August 12, and waited for dawn to begin their attack. They silently approached the camp and waited. Philip, who was without a guard, was spotted asleep under a lean-to and was carefully watched during the night. During the night Philip had to leave his bed in order to answer a call of nature and the English tensed for fear that he would detect their presence. It seems that Philip did sense that something was amiss, for upon finishing his task, he looked about him and directly focused on Captain Goulding, who had a musket pointed at Philip. Goulding fired!

The Indian shamans had prophesied that Philip would not be killed by an Englishman, and they were right. Goulding had missed Philip. The English and the Indians, who had accompanied them, had been divided into pairs and soon after the attack began one of the pairs noticed an Indian running toward them--it was Philip. The Englishman fired, but his musket malfunctioned. The Indian aimed, shot and hit his target. Philip was dead.

The English "and "friendly," Indians gathered around the body of this once great sachem and gloated over their victory. Church ordered that Philip was to be beheaded and his body to be quartered. The remains of the body were left unburied and the head was taken to Plymouth where it was placed on a pole outside the meeting house. The head remained there for about twenty years. The war was over.



PHILIP KING of Mount Hope.

From the engraving by Paul Revere.

CONCLUSION

Fear can induce strange and extreme reactions--but so can greed and racism. Fear was real when the Pilgrims first arrived on the shores of New England, perhaps, it was more the basic human fear of change than a justified concern that the Indians presented a physical threat.

Hopefully, this paper has shown that the Indians presented no threat to the settlers. In fact, they exhibited charity and a willingness to co-exist, until the English forced them to behave otherwise. As the Pilgrims and Puritans increased in size and confidence we see that their greed and intolerance also increased. The Indians could adapt to the English: the English could not adapt to the Indians.

This conclusion is short because I would prefer that readers of this narrative reach their own decisions as to whether or not genocide was an intentional policy of the English settlers of colonial New England. Although I do feel that it was an intentional policy, I do not want the reader to be overly influenced by any arguments I might be able to produce. I merely want to present the evidence and invite comparison between the history we have been taught and the history we have not been taught.

The events presented in this paper comprise only a small chapter in the long and continuing saga of how the Native American has been treated by the White Man. That is why I have included quotations from Indians of various tribes and regions. I wanted to illustrate the fact that what happened in colonial New England was only the prototype of what the future of Anglo/Indian relations would be like. The history of these relations is shameful.

I think at this point, it would be better if I allow the Indians to speak for themselves.

My brothers, the Indians must always be remembered in this land. Out of our languages we have given names to many beautiful things which will always speak of us. Minnehaha will laugh of us, Seneca will shine in our image, Mississippi will murmur our woes. The broad Iowa and the rolling Dakota and the fertile Michigan will whisper our names to the sun that kisses them. The roaring Niagra, the sighing Illinois, the singing Delaware, will chant unceasingly our Dta-wa-e[Death Song]. Can it be that you and your children will hear that eternal song without a stricken heart? We have been guilty of only one sin--we have had possessions that the white man coveted. We moved away toward the setting sun; we gave up our homes to the white man.

My brethren, among the legends of my people it is told how a chief, leading the remnant of his people, crossed a great river, and striking his tepee-stake upon the ground, exclaimed, "A-la-ba-ma!" This in our language means "Here we may rest!" But he saw not the future. The white man came: he and his people could not rest there; they were driven out, and in a dark swamp they were thrust down into the slime and killed. The word he so sadly spoke has given name to one of the white man's states. There is no spot under those stars that now smile upon us, where the Indian can plant his foot and sigh "A-la-ba-ma." It may be that Wakanda will grant us such a place. But it seems that it will be

only at his side.
-- Khe-tha-a-hi, Eagle Wing, 1881

ENDNOTES

- 1** Francis Jennings, **Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest**, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1975, p. 80.
- 2** Alden Vaughan, and Daniel K. Richter, **Crossing the Cultural Divide**, Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, 1980, p. 22
- 3** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 4.
- 4** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 12
- 5** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 12.
- 6** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 13.
- 7** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 13.
- 8** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 13.
- 9** Vaughan, **Cultural Divide**, p. 15.
- 10** James Axtell, **The European and the Indian**, New York, Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 248.
- 11** Axtell, p. 248.
- 12** Roy Harvey Pearce, **Savagism and Civilization**, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988, p. 19.
- 13** John Humins, "Squanto and Massasoit," **New England Quarterly** 53,(1987), p. 57.
- 14** Axtell, p. 117.
- 15** Alden Vaughan, **New England Frontier**, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, p. 67.
- 16** Vaughan; **Frontier**, p. 69.
- 17** Humins, p. 60.
- 18** Humins, p. 56.

[19](#) Humins, p. 56.

[20](#) Humins, p. 65.

[21](#) Humins, p. 67.

[22](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 89.

[23](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 92.

[24](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 95.

[25](#) E. Brooks Holifield, **Era of Persuasion**, Boston, Twayne Publishers

[26](#) Holifield, p. 38.

[27](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 95.

[28](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 95.

[29](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 95.

[30](#) William Brighton, **The Compact with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth**, Boston, Dutton and Wentworth, 1836, p. 3.

[31](#) Brighton, p. 3.

[32](#) Axtell, p. 314. Originally published in **Mississippi Valley Historical Review**, (1954-55). v.41, p. 489.

[33](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 103.

[34](#) Jennings, p. 208.

[35](#) Jennings, p. 134.

[36](#) Axtell, p. 314

[37](#) Douglas Edward Leach, **Flintlock and Tomahawk**, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1966, p. 17.

[38](#) Leach, p. 17

[39](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 102.

[40](#) Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 105.

41 Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 105.

42 Yasuhide Kawashima, **Puritan Justice and the Indian**, Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1986, p. 59.

43 Jennings, p. 203.

44 Vaughan, **Frontier**, p.55.

45 Jennings, p. 188.

46 Jennings, p. 189.

47 Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 124.

48 Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 125

49 Jennings, p. 194.

50 Jennings, p. 195.

51 Jennings, p. 196.

52 Jennings, p. 195.

53 Jennings, p. 196.

54 Jennings, P. 203.

55 Jennings, p. 205.

56 Jennings, p. 207.

57 Jennings, p. 210.

58 Almon W. Lauber, **Indian Slavery in Colonial Times**, New York, Columbia University, 1912, p. 124.

59 Jennings, p. 212.

60 Jennings, p. 218.

61 Jennings, p. 220.

62 Vaughan, **Frontier**, p. 144.

[63](#) Jennings, p. 227.

[64](#) Axtell, p. 305.

[65](#) William S. Simmons, **Spirit of the New England Tribes**, Hanover, University Press of New England, 1982, p. 271

[66](#) Leach, p. 123.

[67](#) Lauber, p. 130.

[68](#) Lauber, p. 127

NOTE: All Indian quotations were taken from:

Touch the Earth: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence, T. C. McLuhan, ed. New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1971.

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