

## PROJECTION, RETROJECTION, INTENSIFICATION, REPLACEMENT, AND INVERSION



"A cultivated person's first duty is to be always prepared to rewrite the encyclopedia."

— Umberto Eco, *SERENDIPITY*, London:  
Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1999, page 21



This analysis of **IDIOSYNCRATISM** makes use of five peculiar concepts, **PROJECTION, RETROJECTION, INTENSIFICATION, REPLACEMENT, and INVERSION**, bastions of righteousness which require careful explanation:

- **PROJECTION** is the condemnation of one's own faults, but viewed as if they were in others, resituated in such manner as to avoid the awareness that these faults actually are in oneself. One gets to punish one's own faults, but it is others who must bear the punishment. One gets to abuse others, but the fault is theirs in being thus abused.
- **RETROJECTION** is the invention of the sort of motives and of the sort of beliefs that would legitimate one's illegitimate conduct or mode of life. One gets to do wicked things out of what seem the very best of motives.
- **INTENSIFICATION** is the snowballing technique of attack, by which one minor and relatively unproblematic characteristic of another person's life becomes transformed, in a series of stages, into some other, putative, entirely unacceptable and contemptible trait for which that person merits endless punishment.
- **REPLACEMENT** is a toying as-if technique by which one reacts to a thing warranting decent treatment in the guise of some other thing not warranting that consideration, one worthy person as if s/he were another unworthy person, etc.
- **INVERSION** is the defensive/offensive ploy that, when person or group A has done something bad X to person or group B, pretends that it had been B, the actual victim, who had done that bad thing X to A, the actual perpetrator. This tactic of inversion keeps abuse fresh and up to date, because B, the helpless victimized person or group, thus gets victimized again and again by being forced into the social role of culprit.

These five illicit coping mechanisms are illustrated in the following historical manner in this Kouroo database:

- **PROJECTION** — The best-understood example of Sigmund Freud's analysis of projection is antisemitism. "Jew" is the name and the picture of all those things we cannot admit about ourselves;



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

it is thus a symptom of our fears and anxieties. If we desired to create for ourselves some sort of private club of self-privileging exclusivists, in order by means of such a conspiracy to take advantage of others, the first thing we would need to do, in order to legitimate our conduct, would be to spread the word about those Jews who allegedly already have set up their private religion and their private culture and ethnic group as a conspiratorial club of self-privileging exclusivists, in order to be able to take advantage of non-Jews. To refuse to do the same, to refuse to play their game, would be to allow this self-privileging:

**PROJECTION**

The payoff of this being so great, it is clear that projection will occur whenever it is not interdicted.

- **RETROJECTION** — If a boy has acquired, as the result of a childhood disease, a twisted spine, and therefore has disgustingly protruding buttocks and a disgustingly protruding tailbone, then he is going to be abused relentlessly by people who do not want to be seen with and do not want to be associated with such deformity. As a boy such a deformed individual will be forever getting beaten up by normal boys, and as an man such a deformed individual will be forever being socially avoided and economically abused, so that for instance no matter what his career performance might be, the appropriate raises and promotions will never be forthcoming, and so that he will ever be the first to be laid off or dispensed with at each downturn in the national economy. Such discriminatory behavior and abuse would cause guilt on the part of the perpetrators, the victimizers — **if** the victimizers were to be aware of this as the reason for their selection of target. If, however, the victimizers can formulate **some fault** which they can project upon the deformed person (if for instance they can fantasize that he is a Deadbeat Dad) then by virtue of such a retrojection they will be not only legitimated in their selection of target, but also, it will seem to be **their duty** to determinedly persecute him.

**RETROJECTION**

The payoff of this being so great, it is clear that retrojection will occur whenever it is not interdicted.

- **INTENSIFICATION** — The snowball rolled downhill ends up, at the bottom of the hill, as an avalanche. One thing led to another. The abuses got better and better. The chosen target becomes more and more contemptible. We have all seen the positive side of this phenomenon, when the academic who has won a couple of fellowships becomes worthy, merely by virtue of having those awards of his or her *curriculum vitae* rather than by virtue of any accomplishments achieved through the proper use of such award moneys, worthy of receiving further awards and distinctions. The *cv* builds over the years, meritorious recognition being piled upon meritorious recognition. Well, intensification also has its negative side. For instance, a person lacking in power might not be punishable for simple inability to properly perform an obligation, as being outside his or her real capability, but then, if a judge subsequently ordered one to perform that obligation, one might very well find oneself being punished, not for this inability but for contempt of the court — what had been an unpunishable inability had subtly been translated, through this process of intensification, into a punishable offense.

**What is Intensification ?**

The payoff of this being so great, it is clear that intensification will occur whenever it is not



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

interdicted.

- **REPLACEMENT** — What are Jews? They are vermin, fit only to be eradicated without mercy! Go get the rat poison! — What are blacks? They are apes, capable only of mimicry and tomfoolery, and need to be kept in cages! Break out the leg irons! — What are women? They are holes needing to be plugged! Let’s plug this one! — What are queers? They are child molesters! Let’s make sure this one doesn’t have the equipment to use on our kids! — Who is this guy? He is the worst Deadbeat Dad in the history of Santa Clara County (ignore these four indignant children clustered around him attempting to protect him, ignore that protesting ex-wife over there, ignore those Quakers doing a silent-worship sit-in on his behalf), treat him as a Deadbeat Dad deserves to be treated! Put him in a cell and throw away the key! Replacement is a sort of play-acting, a sort of scapegoating, in which a behavioral switching takes place, and behaviors which would be evoked by one stimulus are instead solicited in regard to another stimulus, which may in fact possess only the remotest and most superficial of similarities.

**What is Replacement ?**

The payoff of this being so great, it is clear that replacement will occur whenever it is not interdicted.

- **INVERSION** — This is not a separate entity but is, rather, a particularly convoluted and effective strategy of projection. Some Christian soldiers during the war known as “[King Phillip’s War](#)” once set loose their trained Indian-killing mastiffs on an innocuous native woman they came across in the road. We know this happened because their commander included a mention of said incident in an unashamed letter to the governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony. Later a white historian acknowledged that, while indeed on the record an Indian woman **had** been torn to pieces by mastiffs, these must have been Indian dogs and it must have been the Indians who had set them loose to rend her. For it was after all the Indians who were the American savages, it was the Indians who had to be brought under control here in order for we decent white people to bring into existence our decent nation under God!

**What is Inversion ?**

The payoff of this being so great, it is clear that inversion will occur whenever it is not interdicted. It has happened, for instance, in the case of [King Richard III of England](#), the deformed king who was chopped down and then his body mutilated by his subjects, who proceeded to create a cultural record that he must have been an evil monarch (despite their admission that it was he who had originated the idea of the bail bond), who must have deserved to have them do this to him. The very best cure for guilt is ever for the perpetrator to construe his victim as having been the perpetrator.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Here is John Adams on inversion, as of 1767:

If the Prince is remarkable for his Gluttony Drunkenness and Lust, they commended his Temperance, and Chastity, if notorious for Falshood and Deceit, they admired his noble Simplicity and Sacred regard to Probity and Truth, if he was malicious, cruel, and revengeful they extolled his Clemency, Moderation and Condescention, and if he was infamous for Sordid Avarice and unfeeling Rapacity, they celebrated his Generosity, Humanity, Magnificence and Liberality.





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

## **WALDEN INVERTED AND WALDEN INVENTED**

**"I'm rubber, you're glue;  
Bounces off me, sticks to you!"**

Perhaps as children we have all had the experience, of listening while a playmate who was detected in a lie began to accuse others of lying. Or, detected in a theft, began to accuse others of being thieves. We learned to cope with this by singing out "Takes one to know one!"

**What is inversion?**

As adults we learned that this technique has a name, "inversion," and that it is a variant of the game strategy "the best defense is an offense." A fine example of this may be studied in the works of William Shakespeare. We have all been familiar as playgoers with the "pound of flesh" trope from "The Merchant of Venice," and the manner in which a despicable, usurious Jew figure –Shylock– asserts the right to cut a pound of flesh off a Christian. What is not so generally known is that in the historical record, the only factual account we have of a "pound of flesh" trope is one recorded by a Roman Catholic historian, Gregorio Leti, in a manuscript published in the 17th Century.<sup>1</sup> In this historical record, however, it was the Christian who was threatening to cut up the Jew. The inversion technique we can learn from this is that *first we menace someone, then we make ourselves right and them wrong by telling anyone who will listen how we are menaced by them.*

Here is a fine contemporary example of inversion. In 1964, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation J. Edgar Hoover met with four clergymen, one of whom was the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Presumably, because the Director was no novice, this meeting would have been on the record, completely recorded either in an open or in a surreptitious manner, with a complete typed transcript later made for the FBI files on each one of the attendees. This would have needed to have been the case, for it is a matter of record that the Director regarded such persons as representing a prime threat to our American way of life. Later, during the winter of 1970-1970, after the Reverend King had been threatened and blackmailed by the FBI, and after he had been assassinated under suspicious circumstances, Director Hoover would allege that during that 1964 meeting he had called King a liar to his face. In proclaiming that recollection, Hoover was lying, for in fact the other three clergymen present at that meeting insist that at no point had Hoover make any such attack on King's veracity to his face. How was it that Director Hoover was able to get away with such a baldfaced lie?

1. Gregorio Leti, 1630-1701. "The life of pope Sixtus the Fifth, (one of the most remarkable and entertaining lives that is to be met with in ancient or modern history.) In which is included the state of England, France, Spain, Italy, the Swiss cantons, Germany, Poland, Russia, Sweden and the Low countries, at that time. With an account of St. Peter's, the conclave, and manner of chusing a pope; the Vatican library ... and other notable edifices, begun or finish'd by him. Translated from the Italian of Gregorio Leti; with a preface, prolegomena, notes, and appendix, by Ellis Farnsworth. London, Printed by W. Bowyer, and sold by C. Bathurst, MDCCLIV."

We do have a very late record, from 1825, of a butcher in Egypt who sold some meat "wanting two ounces of its due weight," who was punished by local bazaar authorities "by cutting off two ounces from his back." This record is in E.W. Lane's AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MODERN EGYPTIANS, WRITTEN IN EGYPT DURING THE YEARS 1833-1835 (London 1836, new edition 1890, page 108).



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Here is how he got away with it. It is a simpler issue, whether King was a liar, and it was a more complex issue, whether, in “remembering” later that in this meeting he had called King a liar to his face, Hoover was himself telling a baldfaced lie. This is not merely a problem, that we tend to believe a white face over a black face, although indeed that is a part of the problem, and, this is not merely a problem, that we tend to believe the person in authority over the person unaffiliated with an institution of power, although indeed those are parts of the problem. Somehow, in addition, in such contexts, we usually allow a more simply formulated issue to take precedence over a more complex formulation, even when, as in this case, it is that more complex issue which is the real one, with the simpler issue amounting at best to a mere distraction. We have **that** much of a problem in holding complex issues before our minds! Our mental agility is **that** limited! —The debased currency almost always drives the valid currency out of circulation, got that?

There are two distinct stories about the origin of Walden Pond in which we can study the use of this inversion technique. The first of these two distinct stories has been found in a newspaper article signed only with the initial “S”<sup>2</sup> in Concord, Massachusetts’s The Middlesex Gazette of August 11, 1821:

### **Walden Pond**

This pond, in the southerly part of town, has something singular, both in its appearance and in the tradition concerning it. It is said that the place which now contains a body of water, was once a high hill – that on this hill the Indians assembled at certain seasons to celebrate their religious festivals, and at other times to burn and torture prisoners taken in the wars with the early settlers of the country; it was on a meeting of numerous chiefs and tribes for the latter purpose, that this celebrated hill disappeared in the midst of their barbarous rejoicings, and sunk with all its savage inhabitants upon it. And on account of the remarkable depth of the water, which has never been fathomed, it was supposed to have continued to sink to such an amazing depth, that the bottom dropped out one day. This much for tradition – We do not vouch for the truth of the story, still there is enough that is singular about this pond, to warrant a stranger in going a little distance to view it; its banks are very bold, and decorated on all sides with evergreens and other forest trees – its waters are pure – no weeds or grass grow on its borders, no stream runs into it, or issues from it, and it is found to be highest in the driest time. In this deep water many pike and pickerell have been taken, weighing from one to five pounds, and it is confidently asserted, that others have been seen which would probably weigh from ten to twenty pounds; this sort never have been taken.

Some of your readers, it is hoped, will give a more particular description of this singular pond.

2. The “S” should stand for Shame but it probably didn’t.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

We might read this as a fish tale –with its stuff about the 10-to-20-pound pike that has not been caught– except that it is not customary to pause even in the middle of a fish tale to tell of the racist burning and torturing of white people by savage non-white people, and of the “barbarous rejoicing” of these savage non-white people, and of their timely but anonymous punishment. The above curious newspaper account, or some absurd tale like it floating around in the white society of Concord MA, apparently was utilized by Henry David Thoreau in his construction of Draft F of the “The Ponds” chapter of WALDEN. The second of these two distinct stories is to be studied in the book WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS itself, in its entirety as published in 1854. That is, in Thoreau’s literary re-appropriation of the Walden Pond landscape, it is possible to discover his critical response to this technique which I am here terming “inversion.”

The question we must pose is, might this story have any basis in fact? Had there ever been any interracial killings on any slopes anywhere near Walden Pond? Hmm, **hills** in Walden Woods, hold on, **kills** in Walden Woods ... why heck, you damn betcha!

In the historical record I have found, strangely, unlike in the story, it wasn’t white Concordians who got killed. It was white Concordians who were the killers.

We are going to uncover Concord’s shame. And in order to understand, it is going to be necessary to explore the 1676 context in which interracial killings had occurred on a hillside near Walden Pond.

Henry Thoreau’s mobilization of the absurd inverted-Walden tale came about in 1853-1854 while he was trying to explain the provenance of the rim of smooth “paving stones” around the shoreline of the pond:



stones have been shoved up into a ridge by the edge of the ice being driven against it, or as if the sand had washed down and collected against the ice, and there remained when the ice was melted. But the truth ~~seems to be~~ probably is that when there is a thaw or warm rain in midwinter which warms the water ~~in the pond~~, that portion ~~of the water~~ which penetrates a little way under the frozen shore ~~apparently~~ takes out some of the frost there, and the shore, whether it is sand or pebbles, or stones or sticks, is puffed up in the form of a pent-roof six inches or more high, and under ~~which~~ this there is found to be no frost. Even pretty large rocks and trees, as I have said, are thus actually tripped up or pried over by a force applied beneath. Some have been puzzled to tell how the shore became so regularly paved. but I observe that the surrounding hills are remarkably full of the same kind of stones, so that they have been obliged to pile them up in walls on both sides of the railroad cut nearest the pond; and, moreover, that there are most stones where the shore is most abrupt; so that, unfortunately, it is no longer a mystery to me. I detect the paver.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Having agonized over the above, most of which we can be glad that he left out when he finished off his manuscript to send to Ticknor & Fields to be typeset, Thoreau went directly into his analysis of the received fable:

My townsmen have all heard the tradition, <sup>^the oldest</sup> ~~people tell me that they heard it in their youth,~~ that anciently the Indians were ~~carousing or~~ holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice ~~as I learn from the best authority,~~ is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named. It has been conjectured that when the hill shook these stones rolled down its side and became the present shore. It is very certain, at any rate, that once there was no pond there, and now there is one; <sup>^and</sup> this Indian fable does not in any respect conflict with the account of that ancient settler whom I have mentioned, who remembers so well when he first came here with his divining rod, saw a thin vapor rising from the sward, and the hazel pointed steadily downward, and he concluded to dig a well here. If the name ~~was not derived from that of some English locality,~~ <sup>^Saffron</sup> ~~Walden ^for instance ^perhaps~~ ~~I have conjectured that~~ <sup>^who knows</sup> ~~but~~ it was called, originally, Walled-in Pond.

Thoreau’s humor here is remarkable. Omitting all that stuff about the evil non-white burning and torturing of white captives, and the evil non-white “barbarous rejoicings,” as beneath repetition, Thoreau cited only the alleged non-white vice of “profanity,” and then negated even this wicked typology with an assertion implying, in effect, that no person of that particular race had ever uttered a profane word. By pairing a characterization that a race was guilty of the acts of individuals with an equally absurd typological retort, he supplied the necessary corrective. Tongue wedged firmly in his cheek, Thoreau deserves what Stanley Cavell<sup>3</sup> said of him:



Thus is humor a moral equivalent of heroism.

3.Cavell, Stanley. THE SENSES OF WALDEN. San Francisco: North Point Press. Expanded edition of 1972, page 134.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

## RACE WAR IN NEW ENGLAND

1671

March: [Metacom](#) paraded his [Wampanoag](#) warriors through [Swansea](#) displaying their weapons. Called into court in [Plymouth](#) town, he acknowledged preparations for war.<sup>1</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
RHODE ISLAND

1675

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

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

Upon the outbreak of “King Phillip’s War,” [Wannalancet](#) was invited to a meeting with the English and when he came, he was taken into custody. Upon his release he and his Penacook would flee temporarily, possibly to Merrimack, New Hampshire near present-day Horseshoe Pond and possibly all the way to Canada, and await the outcome of the hostilities.

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

The sovereign council of Canada was this year increased to 9 members and its powers extended.

At the beginning of King Phillip's uprising, only the Nashua and Wachusett (most of whom, oddly enough, had converted to Christianity) were involved in the fighting. However, to keep some of the Pennacook neutral, their headman Wanalancet was advising many of them to travel toward the north. Refusing English demands in the fall of 1675 to have his people return from Canada, Wanalancet withdrew to the upper Merrimack and spent the winter at Lake Winnepesaukee. During the winter of 1675-1676, French Jesuits would encounter a band of Pennacook as far away as the shore of Lake Huron.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



In the coming race war in New England, one or two hundred white colonists would be killed and hundreds of outlying pieces of property destroyed from a total white population probably at this point approaching 40,000.<sup>2</sup>



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

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

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

— L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz books

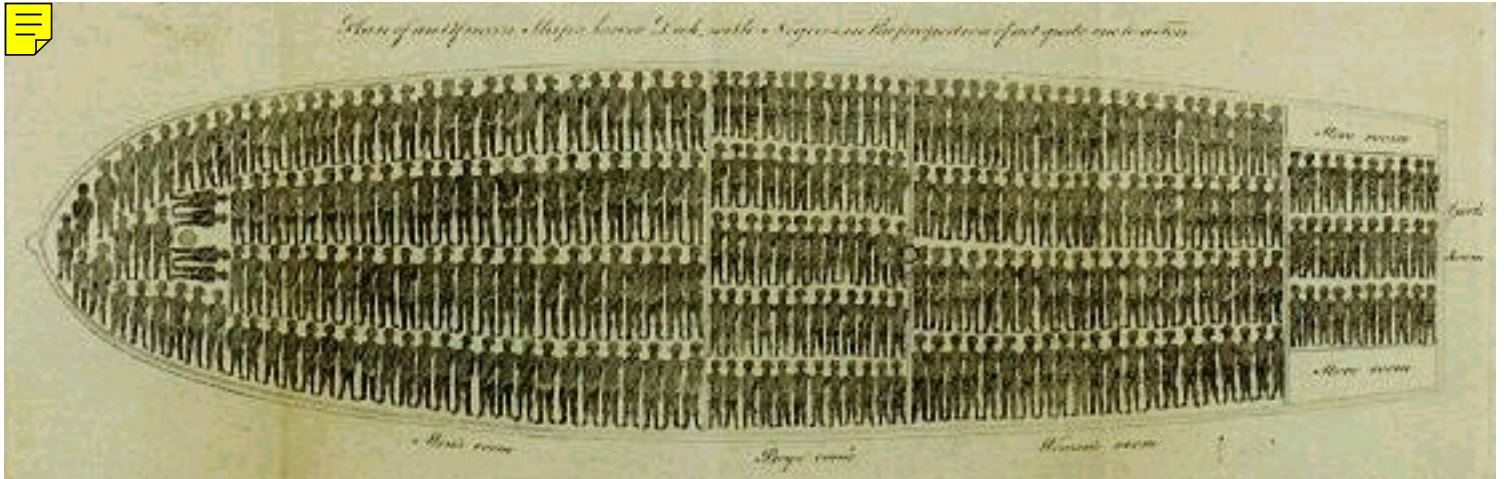


**Mr. Trust Me,  
the White Man's  
Ambassador**



GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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



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

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



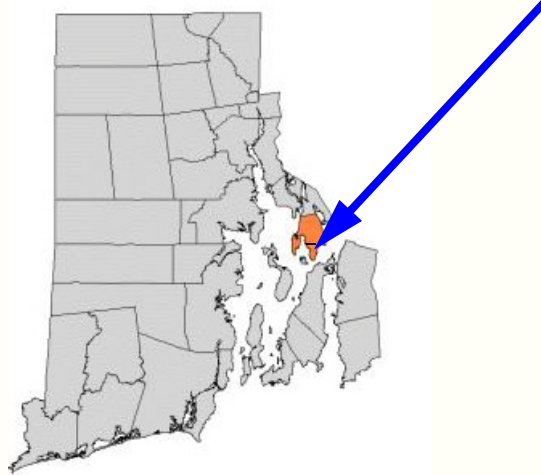


**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

*The Present State of New-England*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

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

[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Boston]

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



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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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




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

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

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

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

Mary McCarty, writing in 1940,  would term Hiroshima a hole in human history.

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



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

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



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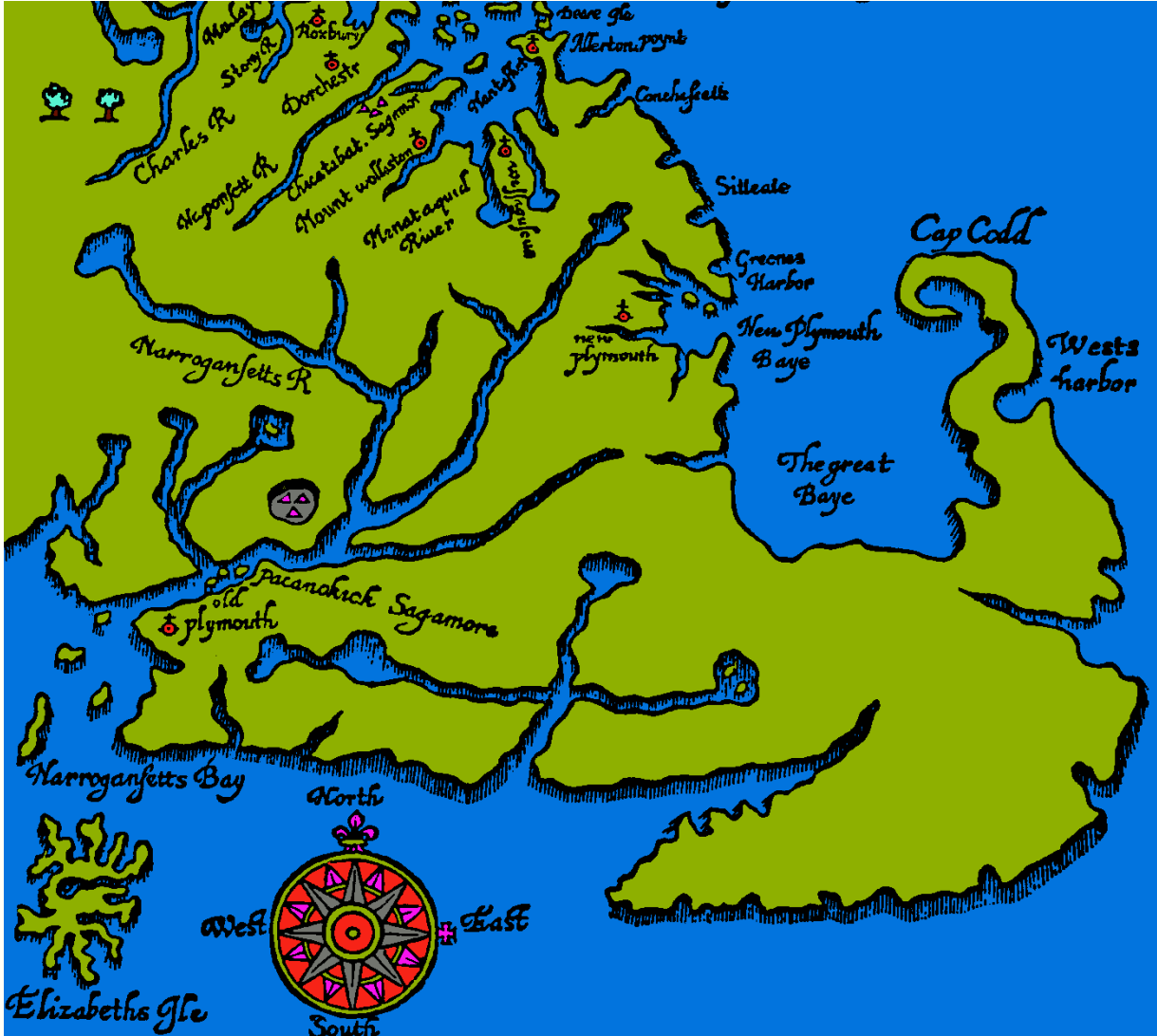
WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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

matter clothed in a wilderness dress,

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

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

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

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



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



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



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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

JANUARY 1675

Late January: The Reverend John *Sassamon* took information as to native preparations for war to the Plymouth settlement — where the whites would not believe him. He asked for protection, which was of course not extended to him.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

FEBRUARY 1675

February: The body of the Reverend John *Sassamon* was found beneath the ice of Assawampsett Pond near his home. It was not clear whether he had been murdered, or had fallen through the ice.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

The Present State of New-England,

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

with respect to the Indian War.

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

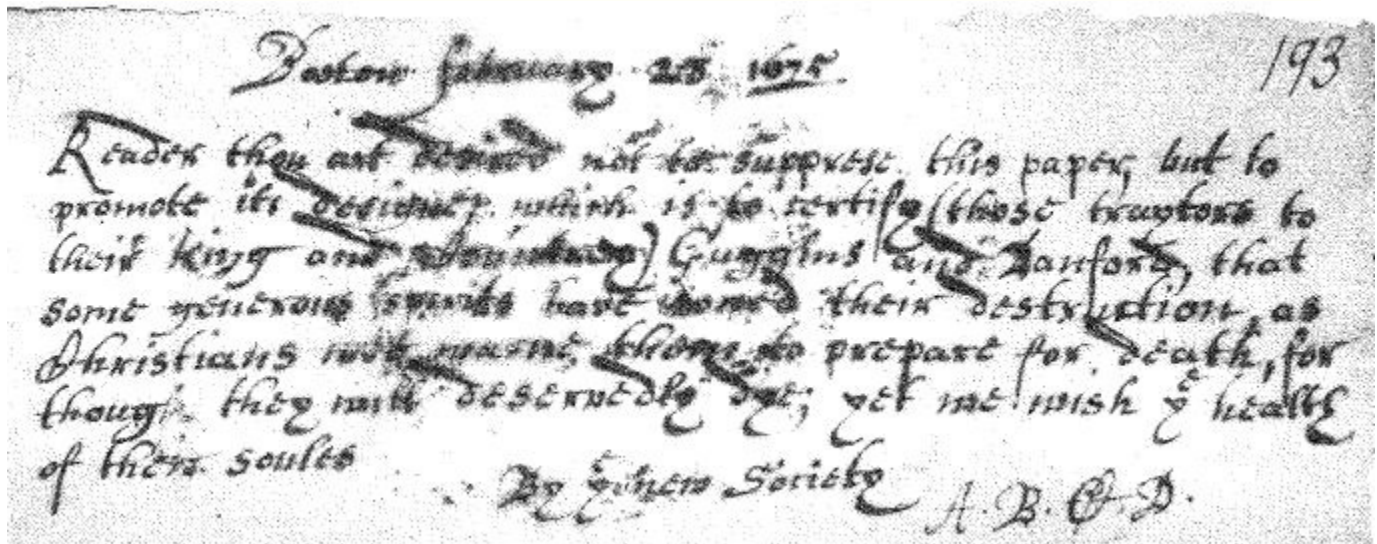
A placard threatening the lives of [Daniel Gookin](#) and Thomas Danforth was posted about [Boston](#). It would eventually appear that the threatener had been Richard Scott, whose complaint was that he and two or three others had designed to go out to Deer Island and there “cut off all Gookin’s brethren”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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Boston, February 28, 1675

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

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



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**MARCH 1675**

March 1: Trying to figure out what was going on, feeling threatened, the Plymouth whites began to interrogate native Americans widely.

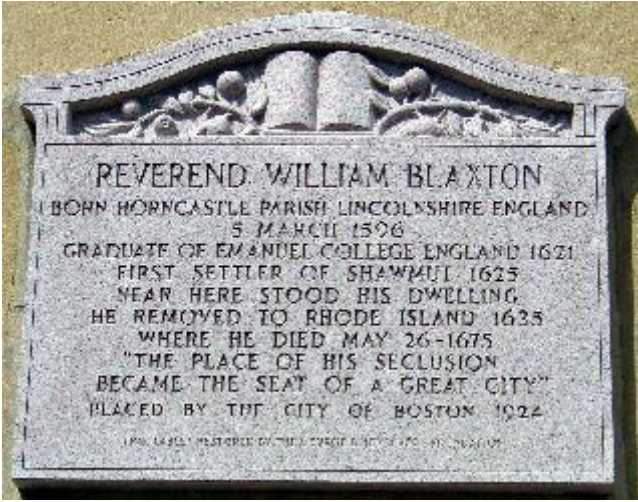
**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

Soon after March 1: Three native Americans came to be suspected of the murder of the informing Reverend John Sassamon.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**MAY 1675**

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



**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

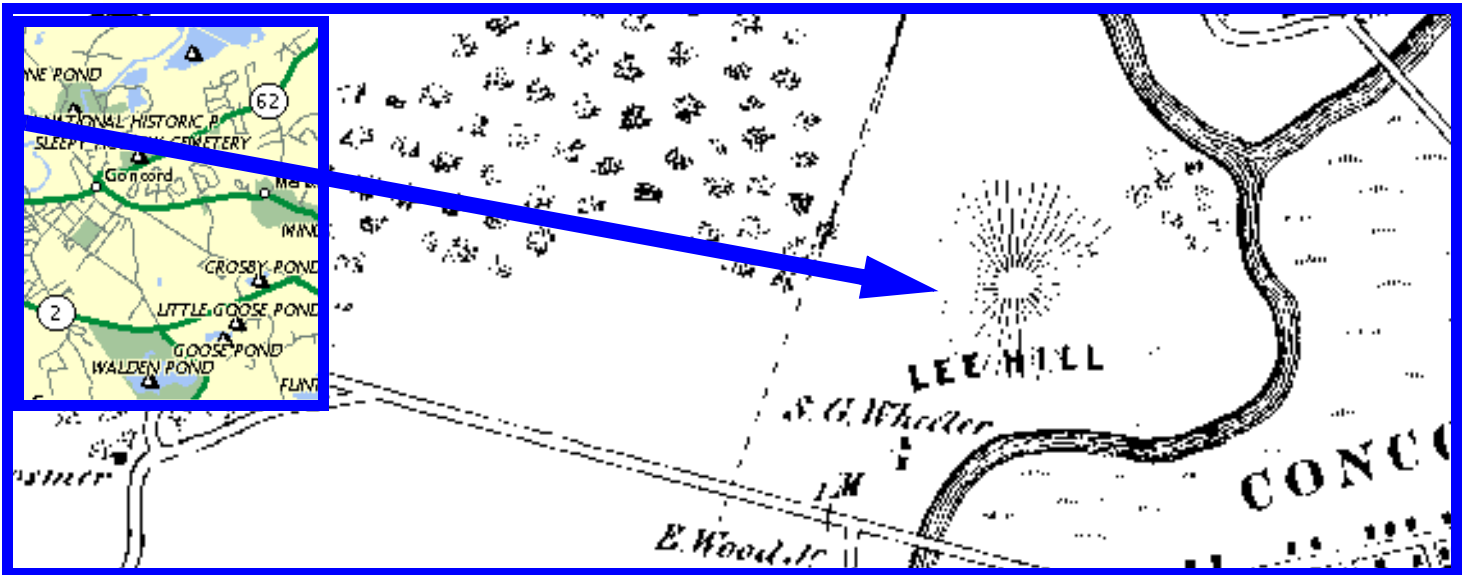
**INVENTED**

**JUNE 1675**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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





GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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



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



The Reverend John Eliot jotted in his diary that:

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

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



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**



HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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



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



in similar attire according to their own culture, because they are not white men that is warlike and alarming.)



June 1: The three native Americans who were suspected of the murder of the informing Reverend John [Sassamon](#) were formally charged.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

June 8: Three Native Americans were being **hanged** one after the other at Plymouth on suspicion of having murdered the Reverend John **Sassamon**, or Indian John of Harvard.



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

There was at the very least this proof of their guilt, that one other native had testified against them, and also that when the three suspects had been brought near the corpse of their victim, the corpse had begun again to bleed. And then there would be a last-minute willingness to talk, after a frayed cord had parted while the last one of this trio of suspect natives was hanging and strangling, while the white people were readjusting the noose to try again: this third to leave our stage, Wampapaquan, attempted to save himself by a report in which he implicated, among others, the sachem **Metacom**. (This would save his life for a week or so and then he would be shot.) The white people felt they had obtained all the evidence they needed.<sup>3</sup>

According to Friend John Easton of **Rhode Island**, sachem Metacom would list among his reasons for having gone to war that

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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



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

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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

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

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

The legislative records, noting the "dangerous hurries with the Indians,"<sup>4</sup> show that the government engaged in mobilising councils of war in the towns, ordering ammunition, mounting "great guns" and transporting Plymouth soldiers.<sup>5</sup> Quakers were

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

specifically commissioned to oversee watches in Rhode Island, to evaluate whether to fund a garrison in Providence, to procure and manage the deployment of four boats, each with five or six men, and to patrol the waters of Narragansett Bay.<sup>6</sup> The Assembly appointed a major to command the military forces of the colony, thereby centralizing the war power. Governor Coddington signed the major's commission "to use your utmost endeavor to kill, expulse, expell, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this his Majesty's Collony."<sup>7</sup> [Meredith Baldwin Weddle, "Early Quaker Peace Testimony," in Mullett's NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX, pages 92-93]

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

June 13: At Bradford shortly before May 3rd, native Americans had killed the husband of Goodwife Kimball and had marched her and her five children 40 miles inland as hostages. When on this date she and her children reappeared at a white coastal settlement, she related that while in captivity she had twice been condemned to death, and that twice the natives had made fires to burn her and her infant — before unaccountably they had released her and all her children unharmed without any ransom being paid!

In credulous town records this strange account was set down as a "deliverance," that being, you will understand, a theological category.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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



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

5. Friend [Walter Clarke](#)'s letter to the magistrates at Providence, 19th day of 9th month, 1675  
6. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, pages 531-537, passim  
7. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 538



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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



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

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



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



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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

June 17: On this day Friend John Easton, a high government official of the [Rhode Island](#) Plantation who was also something of a mediator, this [Quaker](#) who only a few years before had had personal interaction with Friend [George Fox](#) during his visit to the New World, decided to try to prevent the coming race war in a traditional Quaker way “by removing the occasion for it.” He and four other unarmed white men rowed across Narragansett Bay to [Metacom](#)’s ceremonial center on the [Mount Hope](#) promontory, and walked up the path to the top of the hill. Metacom had put aside his arms although the approximately 40 other warriors who were present did not, and so they all sat around talking about how to arrange a conciliation of grievances by agreed impartial third parties, red and white. As Easton later reconstructed the conversation:<sup>8</sup>



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

8. Hough edition of Deputy-Governor John Easton’s NARRATIVE, pages 7-31 passim.

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

According to the Reverend [Grinnell Keynoias](#) S KING PHILIP S WAR IN HISTORICAL SKETCHES:

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

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

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



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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

**AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN**

*The Present State of New-England*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

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

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 21: Some Wampanoag began looting [Swansea](#) homes that had been abandoned as the frightened English colonists drew together into defended garrison houses. It is unclear whether Metacom ordered this in order to provoke the English, or whether some of the more aggressive warriors of the tribe were taking such actions in order to force his hand, or whether this was merely individual opportunistic criminal activity, garden-variety house burglary complicated by differences in race. According to a tradition, [Metacom](#) was reluctant to begin the war and would weep when he heard of the first deaths of colonists. Another credible tradition suggests that some of the natives superstitiously believed that they would inevitably win if the English were to be the ones to draw first blood, and that therefore they were deliberately provoking the English by harassing them without directly attacking them.<sup>9</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 23: A white boy shot and killed a red native who was looting one of the abandoned [Swansea](#) homes. The trap, if it was a trap, was sprung. The next day after that offing, the escalation would be on its merry way, with one white being offed at Swansea, two being offed at Miles’ Garrison, two being offed at [Rehoboth](#), and six being offed at Mattapoiset.<sup>10</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

June 24: The [Wampanoag](#) attack on [Swansea](#) began, as the Plymouth colony observed a Fast Day.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



June 26: The troops of the Massachusetts Bay colony marched to the assistance of the Plymouth colony troops at [Swansea](#). There was a total [eclipse](#) of the [moon](#), which was understood by the whites to be a natural event but nevertheless was nothing that made them feel any better about anything, and was understood by the reds to be an omen of bloodshed.<sup>11</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

SKY EVENT

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



— [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), THE SCARLET LETTER

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

SKY EVENT



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

June 26-29: Attacks were made by the [Wampanoag](#) upon [Rehoboth](#) and [Taunton](#).

It proved to be possible to evade the approaching colonial troops and evacuate [Mount Hope](#) in favor of [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#)). The Mohegan sent an embassy to Boston with an offer to fight alongside the English against the Wampanoag.

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



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

RHODE ISLAND



June 29: The Bay colony observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.<sup>12</sup>

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**SUMMER 1675**

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

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**JULY 1675**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

July 16-24: An envoy of the English colony on the Massachusetts Bay was attempting a negotiation with the Nipmuc.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

July 28: Captain Thomas Wheeler and his company came through [Concord](#) on their way to battle at Brookfield, and his group included Joseph and Sampson *Petuhanit*, Praying Indians from [Natick](#), and a relative of theirs, George *Memecho*.<sup>13</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

At this time the number of warriors in the five nations of Indians in the immediate vicinity of the English settlements, as has been noticed in the commencement of this history, was estimated at about 1,800; the whole number of English inhabitants in New England at 120,000; and the effective military force of the four United Colonies at 16,000, of which Massachusetts had nearly three fourths. She had twelve troops of cavalry of 60 men each. The county of Middlesex then contained 17 incorporated towns,<sup>14</sup> and its militia was embraced in one regiment. A majority of these towns were but recently settled by inhabitants living remote from each other, without even tolerably good roads to facilitate their intercourse. Concord then contained a foot and part of a horse company.<sup>15</sup> ... At Wamesit (Lowell), Nashobah (easterly part of Littleton), Okommokamesit (Marlborough), and several other places near the frontier, English settlements were incorporated Indian towns, containing in 1676 about 500 inhabitants, including women and children, who had ostensibly embraced Christianity, and were friendly to the whites. At length jealousies arose among the unfriendly Indians against these and against the English; and Philip, the bold chief of the Wampanoags at [Mount Hope](#), determined to destroy their infant settlements and exterminate the inhabitants. To aid him in this barbarous conspiracy, he endeavoured to obtain the alliance of all the neighboring tribes; and in most instances he effected his designs.

The government ordered that garrison-houses should be erected in the several towns, or that dwelling-houses already built should be fortified, which were to serve as a kind of fortress into which the inhabitants, by districts or companies, might collect at night, or in case of an attack. Houses were also erected for the accommodation of military watches, which were

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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

maintained in each town to perform patrol duty, and forewarn the inhabitants of danger.

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

Though several acts of hostility had been committed in Plymouth Colony, the Nipmuck Indians residing near the centre of the present limits of Worcester County, had not fully united with Philip in his blood-thirsty designs of extermination. And since some of these were Praying Indians, the government flattered themselves that they might be reclaimed and enlisted permanently on their side. Having professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English, a mission was sent forth to meet these Indians at Quabaug (Brookfield). Capt. Edward Hutchinson was commissioned to negotiate a treaty; and Capt. Thomas Wheeler of Concord with 20 or 25 of his company, was ordered to go with him as a guard, and to assist in the objects of the expedition. Two sons of old Robin Petuhanit of Grafton, Sampson and Joseph,<sup>16</sup> and George Memecho, three Christian Indians, accompanied them as guides and interpreters. They marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28th, 1675; and arrived at Brookfield 1st August, when they found the Indians were assembled about ten miles distant. Four messengers were sent to acquaint them with the intentions of the English, but an alarm was raised, and the Indians assumed a warlike attitude. The messengers endeavored to convince the Sachems of their peaceful intentions; and they promised to meet the English the next morning a short distance from Brookfield. They doubted whether to proceed; yet, being urged to go by the inhabitants of Brookfield, they marched to the place assigned for holding the treaty. Finding no Indians there, the company continued their march, contrary to the advice of their guides, four or five miles further near to a swamp, when they were suddenly attacked by 200 or 300 Indians. Eight were killed by the first fire and three wounded, among whom were Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler. Capt. Wheeler had two horses shot under him and received a ball through his body. Seeing this, his son, whose arm was then fractured by a ball, dismounted and placed his wounded father upon his own horse; and himself mounting another whose rider had been killed, they both escaped. The surviving English retreated to Brookfield and had scarcely entered the town, before it was set on fire in various places by the pursuing enemy. All the house (twenty) were consumed excepting one, in which the inhabitants and the company were gathered. In this distressing situation, Capt. Wheeler appointed Lieut. Simon Davis of Concord and two others to take the command, being disabled himself; and gave orders to Ephraim Curtis of

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

sudbury, and Henry Young of Concord to proceed to Boston to give information of these lamentable occurrences to the Council. After two unsuccessful attempts to proceed, in which they were driven back by the Indians and Henry Young was killed, Ephraim Curtis escaped. On his arrival at Marlborough, he met Major Simon Willard and Capt. James Parker of Groton with 46 men, who had been despatched to scout between Marlborough, Lancaster and Groton. On hearing of the sufferings of the people at Brookfield, he altered his course and rushed on immediately to their relief. He arrived late in the evening of the 4th of August, just in time to save the lives of a few of the English, who still survived; when the engagement was renewed with vigor. and continued most of the night. Towards the morning of the 5th, the Indians were compelled to retreat. They lost 80 men killed and wounded. The inhabitants of Brookfield suffered the total loss of their houses and property. Twelve of the fifteen of the English fell in this hard-fought battle, of whom Samuel Smeadly, Henry Young and some others belonged to Concord.<sup>17</sup>



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**AUGUST 1675**

August 1: The expedition of Captains Edward Hutchinson and Thomas Wheeler and their company arrived on their march from Cambridge at Brookfield, and dispatched Ephraim Curtis and three native guides to arrange for a meeting with the Quabaug native Americans under Muttamp. They were located about ten miles away from that town, and the sachems agreed to meet with the English on the following morning on a plain some three miles from Brookfield.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**





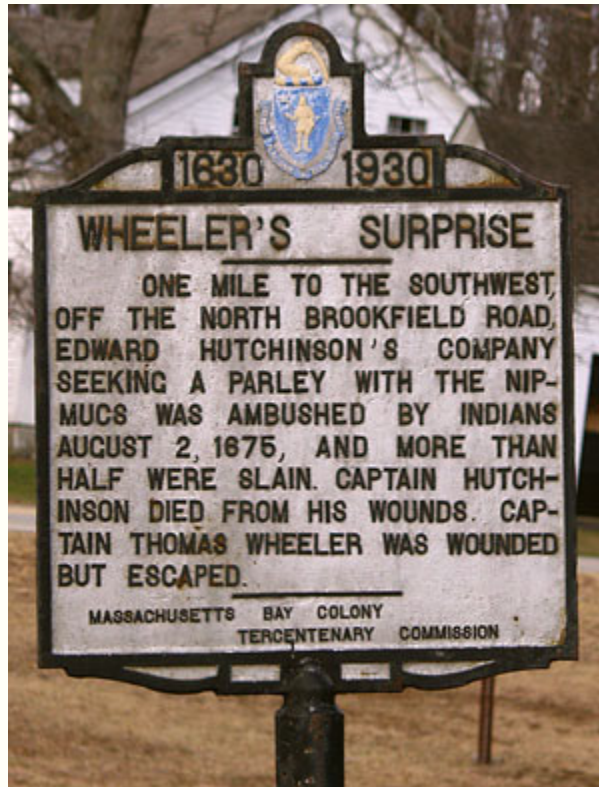
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**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**







INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

August 3, 4 and 5: Even after the attack on Mendon the [Boston](#) authorities were hoping to make peace with the Nipmuc. They selected Captain Edward Hutchinson to lead the mission, with an escort of 20 men under Captain Thomas Wheeler of [Concord](#).<sup>18</sup> On August 3rd the mission was ambushed on its way to the native village just outside Brookfield. With three men killed, the other 17 retreated to Brookfield to warn the town. The survivors along with 80 or 90 men, women, and children of Brookfield garrisoned themselves into the largest and strongest house. The warriors attacked the village, torching all unoccupied houses before turning their attention to the garrisoned house. All through the 4th, some 300 warriors attacked the house and were held off. On the evening of the 4th, 46 troopers under the command of Major Simon Willard and Captain James Parker rode into the devastation and right past the Nipmuc to the garrison house. Although the Nipmuc continued to attack through the night, on the morning of the 5th they decided that the cost would be too high, and gave up the attack. The whites would lingered for some days in the silence and the stillness, trying to make up their minds what to do, before deciding that it really made no sense at all to attempt to defend a smoking pile of ashes.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

At this time the number of warriors in the five nations of Indians in the immediate vicinity of the English settlements, as has been noticed in the commencement of this history, was estimated at about 1,800; the whole number of English inhabitants in New England at 120,000; and the effective military force of the four United Colonies at 16,000, of which Massachusetts had nearly three fourths. She had twelve troops of cavalry of 60 men each. The county of Middlesex then contained 17 incorporated towns,<sup>19</sup> and its militia was embraced in one regiment. A majority of these towns were but recently settled by inhabitants living remote from each other, without even tolerably good roads to facilitate their intercourse. Concord then contained a foot and part of a horse company.<sup>20</sup> ... At Wamesit (Lowell), Nashobah (easterly part of Littleton), Okommokamesit (Marlborough), and several other places near the frontier, English settlements were incorporated Indian towns, containing in 1676 about 500 inhabitants, including women and

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

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

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INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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The government ordered that garrison-houses should be erected in the several towns, or that dwelling-houses already built should be fortified, which were to serve as a kind of fortress into which the inhabitants, by districts or companies, might collect at night, or in case of an attack. Houses were also erected for the accommodation of military watches, which were maintained in each town to perform patrol duty, and forewarn the inhabitants of danger.

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

Though several acts of hostility had been committed in Plymouth Colony, the Nipmuck Indians residing near the centre of the present limits of Worcester County, had not fully united with Philip in his blood-thirsty designs of extermination. And since some of these were Praying Indians, the government flattered themselves that they might be reclaimed and enlisted permanently on their side. Having professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English, a mission was sent forth to meet these Indians at Quabaug (Brookfield). Capt. Edward Hutchinson was commissioned to negotiate a treaty; and Capt. Thomas Wheeler of Concord with 20 or 25 of his company, was ordered to go with him as a guard, and to assist in the objects of the expedition. Two sons of old Robin Petuhanit of Grafton, Sampson and Joseph,<sup>21</sup> and George Memecho, three Christian Indians, accompanied them as guides and interpreters. They marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28th, 1675; and arrived at Brookfield 1st August, when they found the Indians were assembled about ten miles distant. Four messengers were sent to acquaint them with the intentions of the English, but an alarm was raised, and the Indians assumed a warlike attitude. The messengers endeavored to convince the Sachems of their peaceful intentions; and they promised to meet the English the next morning a short distance from Brookfield. They doubted whether to proceed; yet, being urged to go by the inhabitants of Brookfield, they marched to

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

the place assigned for holding the treaty. Finding no Indians there, the company continued their march, contrary to the advice of their guides, four or five miles further near to a swamp, when they were suddenly attacked by 200 or 300 Indians. Eight were killed by the first fire and three wounded, among whom were Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler. Capt. Wheeler had two horses shot under him and received a ball through his body. Seeing this, his son, whose arm was then fractured by a ball, dismounted and placed his wounded father upon his own horse; and himself mounting another whose rider had been killed, they both escaped. The surviving English retreated to Brookfield and had scarcely entered the town, before it was set on fire in various places by the pursuing enemy. All the houses (twenty) were consumed excepting one, in which the inhabitants and the company were gathered. In this distressing situation, Capt. Wheeler appointed Lieut. Simon Davis of Concord and two others to take the command, being disabled himself; and gave orders to Ephraim Curtis of Sudbury, and Henry Young of Concord to proceed to Boston to give information of these lamentable occurrences to the Council. After two unsuccessful attempts to proceed, in which they were driven back by the Indians and Henry Young was killed, Ephraim Curtis escaped. On his arrival at Marlborough, he met Major Simon Willard and Capt. James Parker of Groton with 46 men, who had been despatched to scout between Marlborough, Lancaster and Groton. On hearing of the sufferings of the people at Brookfield, he altered his course and rushed on immediately to their relief. He arrived late in the evening of the 4th of August, just in time to save the lives of a few of the English, who still survived; when the engagement was renewed with vigor, and continued most of the night. Towards the morning of the 5th, the Indians were compelled to retreat. They lost 80 men killed and wounded. The inhabitants of Brookfield suffered the total loss of their houses and property. Twelve of the fifteen of the English fell in this hard-fought battle, of whom Samuel Smeadly, Henry Young and some others belonged to Concord.<sup>22</sup>

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

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**



August 13: By order of the Massachusetts Counsel, all Christian Indians were to confine themselves to the close vicinity of their praying towns. The woodlands were to be a free-fire zone.

The Reverend [John Eliot](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. and the Council of the Bay Colony, in opposition to the sale of Indians “unto the Ilands for perpetual slaves,” because “to sell soules for many seemeth to me a dangerous merchandize.” He proposed instead that the dangerous ones simply be executed: “To put to death men that have deserved to dy, is an ordinance of God, & a blessing is promised to it.”

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

In approximately this timeframe, to find out whether it was true as rumored that native American children, little animals, could swim at birth, some sailors tipped a native canoe on the Saco River on the coast of Maine. The white men disproved their hypothesis but they also gotten into trouble, because the mother of the child managed to retrieve her child and escape, and the child died, and it was the child of the sagamore Squando in Maine.<sup>23</sup>



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



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



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

in the Reverend William Hubbard's A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM PASCATAQUA TO PEMMAQUID,<sup>24</sup> the Reverend would comment mildly on this inverted canoe episode that



The child might have died in any case.

He would add that



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

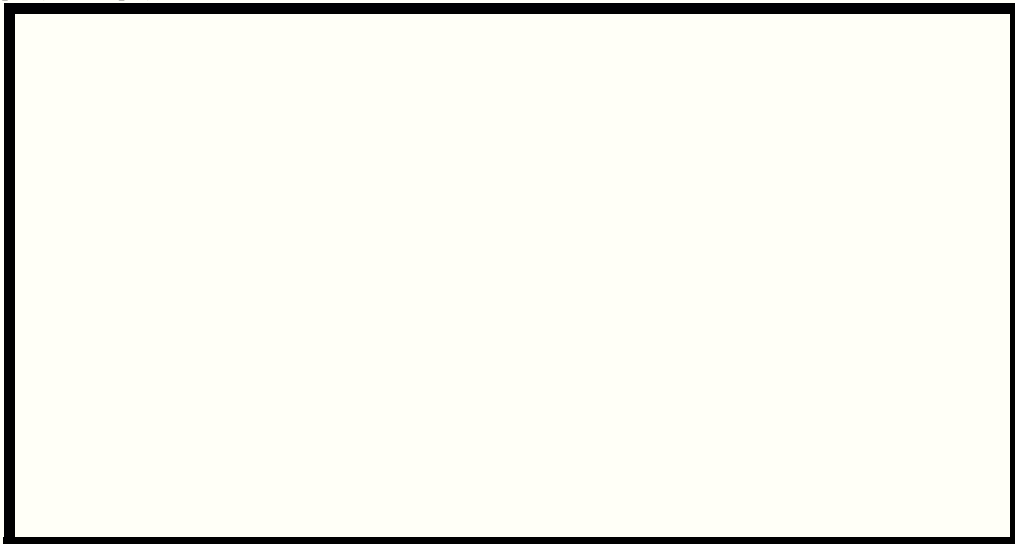
He would assert also that the death of the sachem's baby



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

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

24. Pascataque (Piscataqua) River:





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

→ August 24 (24/6M), 1675: A group of Rhode Island Quakers authored a curious document, a copy of which has recently been recovered from among the papers of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. of Connecticut, in which they were alleging there to be among them some who were falling away from the Peace Testimony by resorting to "Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons." Along the way they described what their Peaceable Kingdom of God was supposed to be like — a place "where Strife, Envy, Pride, Covetousness, are not":

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

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

August 30: The posting on the following screen was nailed up throughout the Bay Colony by fiat of the Massachusetts Council: ***“all those Indians that are desirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations.”***<sup>25</sup> That is, to Hassanamesitt, Maquonkaquog, Nashobah, [Natick](#), Okammakamesit, Punkapaog, Wamesit, or perhaps one or another of the seven inland villages being considered as refuges for the Nipmuc of the interior. Establishing almost the totality of the colony as a Vietnam-style free-fire zone, the council warned that any Native Americans discovered ***“above one Mile from the Center of such of their Dwelling, unless in Company with some Englifh, or in their Service near their Dwellings”*** would be assumed to be hostiles and were placing themselves ***“on Peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors”*** and ***“on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.”*** Furthermore, again by fiat, the white people would ***“account themselves wholly Innocent”*** of the consequences, for ***“their Blood or other Damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads.”*** On the next page is an attempt to mimic a version of this lost printed broadside we have, as it was circulated in England for the information of white readers, in the closest computer fonts available to me (not really very close, as the original is in an Old-English font and is justified).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

August 30: Captain Samuel Mosely, acting upon available evidence which hardly rose above the level of race suspicion, arrested [James Printer](#) and 14 other of the Christian native Americans who happened to be in the Praying Indian village of *Hassanemesit* (today’s Grafton MA), allegedly on suspicion of the murder of the seven whites at Lancaster on August 22nd. He had these detainees roped together at the neck as was his custom, and marched them from near Marlborough into Boston for their “trial.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

(Note that one of the puns during this period, was for the white Christian English to refer to these red Christian natives, the so-called “Praying Indians,” as the “Preying Indians.”

Though important services had been rendered to the country by the Praying Indians, yet such a great and indiscriminate prejudice had arisen among the common people against all natives, that the very name of Indian had become hateful. Under these circumstances the government passed an order, 30th August, 1675, to confine all the Praying Indians to five towns; and none were allowed to go a mile from any town under forfeiture of their lives. The same day, fifteen of the Christian Indians were unjustly seized at Marlborough and carried to Boston, bound neck to neck. They were confined in prison nearly a month before their

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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

## AT A COUNCIL Held in BOSTON,

August 30, 1675.

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

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

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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

trial, which resulted in their nonorabile acquittal. This was done by a captain without authority, but was a most unfortunate occurrence for the company, and the cause of much of the subsequent trouble.<sup>26</sup>

In October 1675, the government ordered that the militia of Suffolk and Middlesex be "put in a posture of war; and be ready to march at a minute's warning to prevent danger;" and at the same time authority was given to Capt. Timothy Wheeler "to impress an able gunsmith to repair to Concord to be resident there for the fixing up of arms from time to time during the war for this and the towns adjacent." "Committees of militia," somewhat resembling the committees of safety in the revolution of 1775, were appointed in the several towns. The Hon. Peter Bulkeley was chairman of that committee in Concord. He and Joseph Dudley were appointed in November to "attend the forces that are now to go forth against the enemy, and to be ministers unto them."<sup>27</sup>

**SEPTEMBER 1675**

September: James Printer and the 14 other Christian Indians who had been arrested by Captain Samuel Mosely for the murder of seven whites at Lancaster on August 22nd were found innocent by the court, whereupon they narrowly avoided being lynched.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

September 1: At this point the Connecticut colony began to set aside one day each week as a Fast Day.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

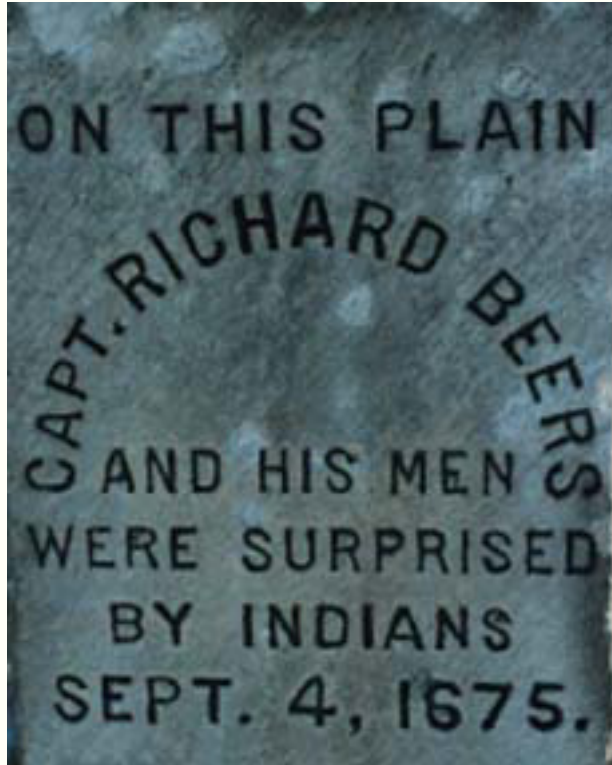
September 1-2: There was an attack on Deerfield by Wampanoag and Nipmuc.  
There was an attack on Pennacook by the English under Captain Samuel Mosely.<sup>28</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

26. The assertion of many writers, that these Indians were suspected of treachery, does not appear true after reading Major Daniel Gookin's MS account of this affair.

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

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



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

September 12: The English settlers abandoned their homes in Deerfield, Squakeag, and Brookfield as indefensible  
**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

September 17: Boston observed another fast day or Day of Humiliation.  
**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

September 18: In Boston, envoys of the [Narragansett](#) signed a treaty with the English.  
**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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



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

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WHAT?

INDEX

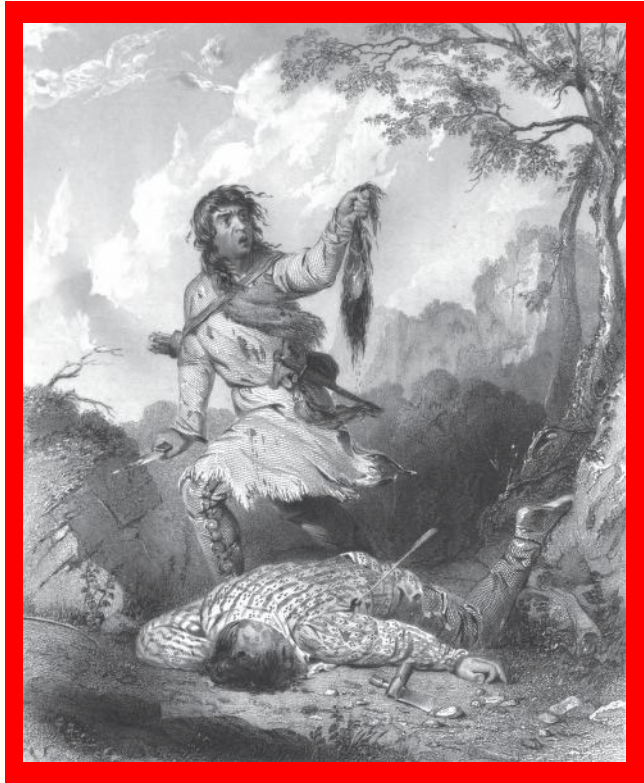
INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

For approximately six hours, neither side could gain the upper hand. Finally a troop of 100 Connecticut soldiers with a band of Mohegans arrived on the scene, whereupon the ambushers faded into the forest. The surviving soldiers straggled back to Deerfield and that night would be taunted by warriors who from a safe distance would wave items stripped from English corpses.<sup>29</sup> The surviving soldiers returned the next day to dig a mass grave. The sluggish stream would be known as Bloody Brook. Shortly afterward, Deerfield would be abandoned and would be torched by Phillip's warriors. In the town of South Deerfield MA a stone shaft marks the edge of the swampy area in which this ambush occurred.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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

FALL 1675

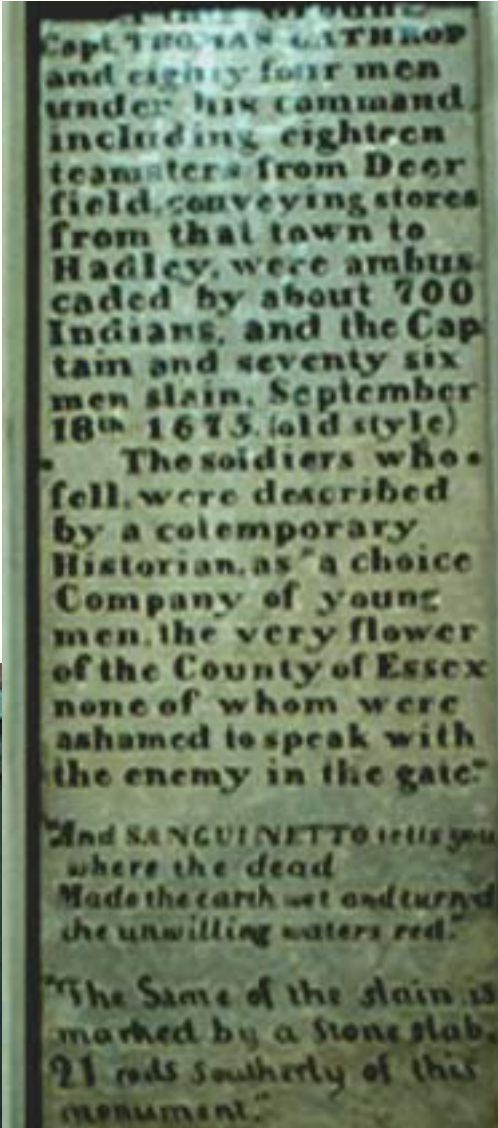
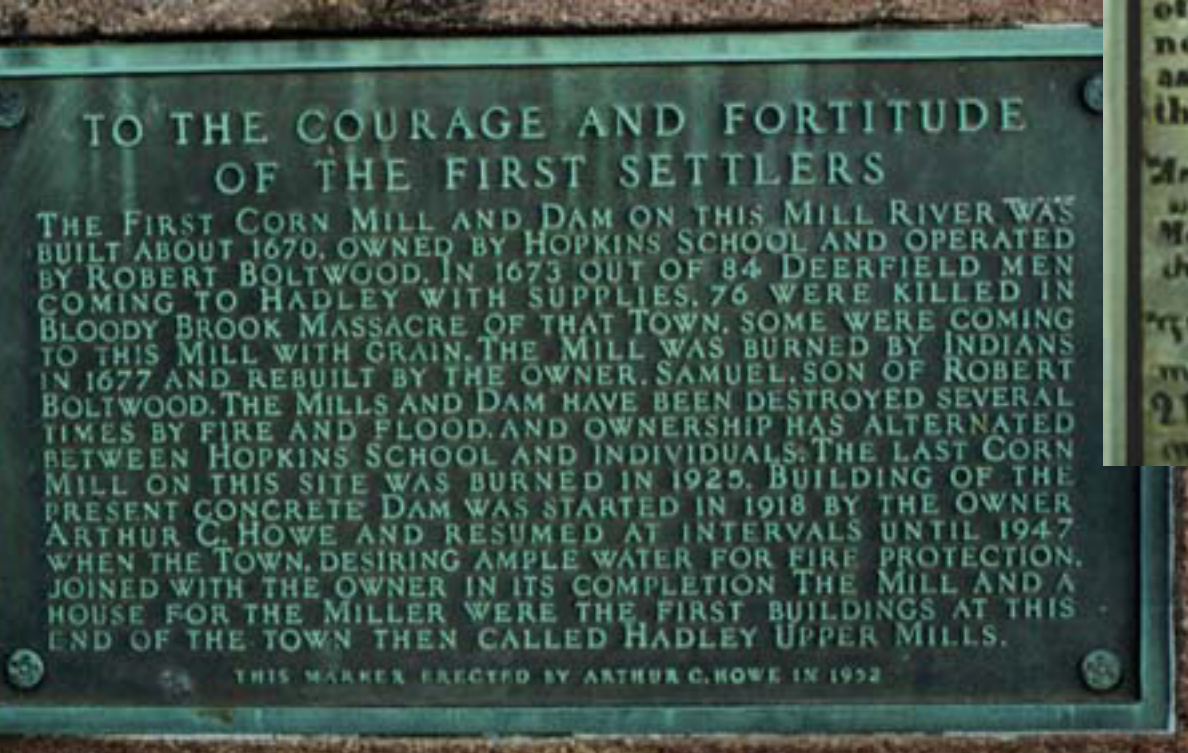
29. Among the corpses was that of Samuel Crumpton of Salem. His widow Jane Crumpton would remarry with Captain Richard More and help him keep his tavern.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Fall: Captain Samuel Moseley took his gang of soldiers who had been convicted pirates, escaped indentured servants, and transported convicts, with their mastiffs, into the Nashobah Plantation, rounding up everyone there without notice and without the opportunity to carry off any food supplies, and transferring them over the 11-mile trail to the Musketaquid which had become Concord town.

OCTOBER 1675

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



October 7: The Bay colony observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

October 13, at midnight: At midnight the white government began to transport some Christian Indians, of the Natick group, to Deer Island in Boston Harbor.<sup>30</sup>



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

The Indians made no opposition.

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



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

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



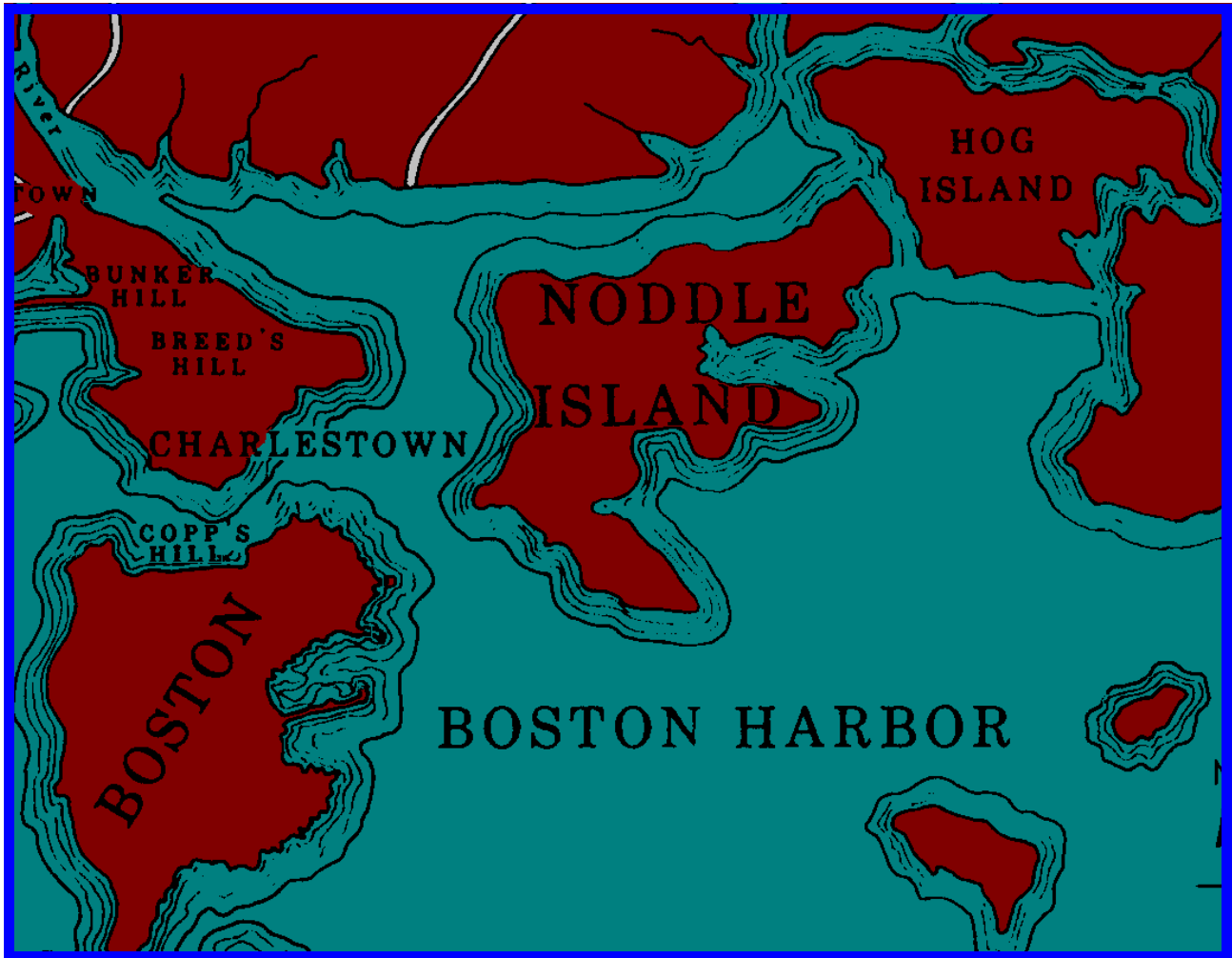
"As the star of the Indian descended, that of the Puritans rose ever higher." - Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES, NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



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

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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



The Praying Indian captives were embarked at midnight at a place called “The Pines” at the Arsenal Grounds near Mt. Auburn, one source says on October 13th, another on October 30th, and were transported to Deer Island in Boston Harbor. Another group was transported later to Long Island, so, just maybe, that accounts for the two differing dates given in different source documents.<sup>31</sup>

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

We can learn about Deer Island in Boston Harbor in a 19th-Century Boston guidebook.<sup>32</sup> Or, rather, we can learn everything about Deer Island that Bostonians **care** to have us learn, which is that Deer Island is a site at

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

which good white people practice their studied and magnificent benevolence toward the lower orders:



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

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

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



October 14: The Plymouth colony observed this day as a Fast Day.

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

October 16: On this date, or slightly before, Captain Samuel Mosely's troops captured a native American woman near Springfield, Massachusetts. Although the white militia under his command was under strict orders by the financially strapped government to "kill none that he took alive, but secure them in Order to a Transportation," this specimen was so old and decrepit as to be obviously unmerchandizable. So the captain decided to have some fun, and had his troops unleash their Indian-killing mastiffs on the woman. She was



torn in peeces by Doggs.

She was "soe dealt with all," the Captain bragged in an extant letter to the governor.<sup>33</sup>

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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



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

In the beginning of Philip's war, the English army, to cause the Narragansets to fight for them, whom they had always abused and treated with contempt since before the cutting off of Miantunnomoh's head, marched into their country, but could not meet with a single sachem of the nation. They fell in with a few

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



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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

or their people who could not well secrete themselves, and who concluded a long treaty of mere verbosity, the import of which they could know but little, and, doubtless, cared less.

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



October 19: At Hatfield, an attack by the Americans was repelled by the English.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



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

The 21st of October, 1675, was kept in Concord by Capt. Wheeler and those who returned with him, as a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable and safe return, when the Rev. Edmund Bulkeley preached a sermon to them from Psalm cxvi. 12: 'What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me?'<sup>34</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)






**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**NOVEMBER 1675**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

Indians removed to [Concord](#); and December 13th, Major Simon Willard, the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, and [Major Gookin](#), were appointed to order their settlement. They were placed under the care and superintendence of Mr. John Hoar, “the only man in Concord,” says Gookin, “who was willing to do it.” He was compensated by being exempted from impressment and taxation. This man was very loving to them, and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or danger by them.”<sup>35</sup> The excitement generally was so great, that the Natick Indians had been previously carried to Deer Island for fear of being attacked by the English. From this time depredations continued to be frequently committed by the unfriendly Indians on the frontier settlements; and notwithstanding the precautions of the government, the friendly Indians occasionally suffered unjustly from the enmity of the whites. Companies of soldiers were often sent for the relief of these suffering towns, in which Concord was usually represented.<sup>36</sup>

**WINTER 1675/1676**

Early Winter: Sarah Doublett and her 12-year-old son were at Wamesit, a Christian Indian village to the north of Nashobah Plantation, at the southeast side of the junction of the Concord River with the Merrimack River, when a group of 14 Chelmsford white men, angered at an unexplained local barn fire, decided to effect a racial revenge. They marched up early one morning, called the people there out of their dwellings, and then two of them opened fire, pretty much in the manner in which a German Army Einsatzgruppen would open fire on a collection of peasants during the WWII march across Poland in retaliation for suspected collaboration with guerrillas. They killed Sarah’s son and wounded her and three or four others, whereupon the villagers scattered into the forest to try to hide and survive until the end of the race war.<sup>37</sup> After these two men had been acquitted of murder, the authorities would recharge them with wounding and hold them in custody for retrial.

35. [Major Daniel Gookin](#)’s MS.

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

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

37. Sarah, allegedly with a blue image of a bear tattooed on her left cheek, eventually, old and blind, would sign over the last of the Nashoba lands to the Jones family of [Concord](#) in return for her sustenance and cot in a storeroom of their tavern.



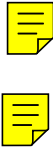
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GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Winter: There were already about 500 internees in the racial concentration camp on barren Deer Island, a site in Boston Harbor chosen of course because no white people had been able to subsist there. ... Local food was utterly depleted. ... During a period of heavy snow the Native American villages of the Concord area, praying-ized by the Reverend John Eliot and not, had been surrounded while in their lodges by troops from Marlborough led by Captain Samuel Mosely, roped together at the neck, and shepherded through the town's streets. Only 58 of the Reverend Eliot's Praying Indians remained in the Concord area, working during the day and locked up at night in a stockade built for them, mostly Nashobah women and children.

DECEMBER 1675



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

38. Racial concentration camps for Praying Indian hostages would also be set up on Long Island in Boston Harbor and on Clark's Island off Plymouth.

39. Our National Park Service now refers to the detainees of King Philip's War as "prisoners" and as "captives," evidently in order to create the false suggestion in the minds of current visitors to the sewage-disposal plant under construction at the site that these people had had the status of captured disarmed hostile warriors rather than what they actually were, the innocent families of the Christian allies of the white people, plus the miscellaneous innocent persons of color who were being swept up while going about their business in the race dragnets across the colony. However, the National Park Service does acknowledge that of the approximately 500 Americans whom they denominate "prisoners" and "captives," the few who survived the 1675-1676 winter of exposure and starvation had indeed been subsequently reduced to slavery.

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

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

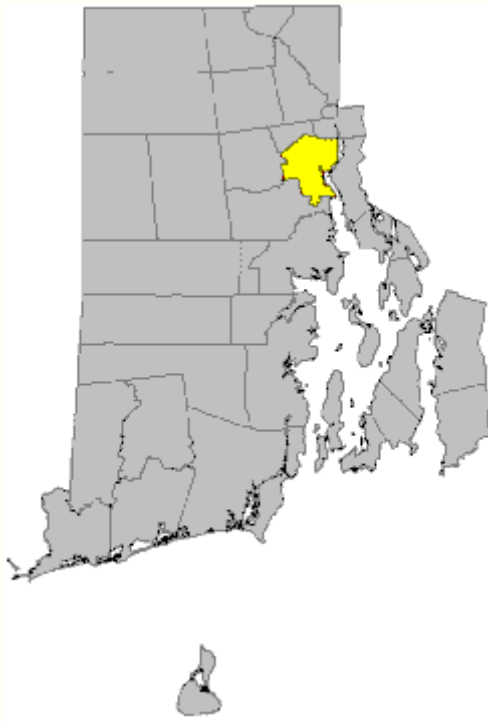
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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



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



- Meredith Baldwin Weddle, WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. England:



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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVERTED

Oxiord UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

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



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

About the last of November, the Nashobah Indians removed to Concord; and December 13th, Major Simon Willard, the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, and Major Gookin, were appointed to order their settlement. They were placed under the care and superintendence of Mr. John Hoar, "the only man in Concord," says Gookin, "who





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

was willing to do it." He was compensated by being exempted from impressment and taxation. This man was very loving to them, and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or danger by them."<sup>41</sup> The excitement generally was so great, that the Natick Indians had been previously carried to Deer Island for fear of being attacked by the English. From this time depredations continued to be frequently committed by the unfriendly Indians on the frontier settlements; and notwithstanding the precautions of the government, the friendly Indians occasionally suffered unjustly from the enmity of the whites. Companies of soldiers were often sent for the relief of these suffering towns, in which Concord was usually represented.<sup>42</sup>

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW-ENGLAND, With Respect to the INDIAN WAR. Wherein is an Account of the true Reason thereof, (as far as can be Judged by Men.) Together with most of the Remarkable Passages that have happened from the 20th of June, till the 10th of November, 1675. Faithfully Composed by a merchant of Boston, and Communicated to his Friend in LONDON. Licens'd Decemb. 13. 1675. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON. Printed for Dorman Newman, at the Kings-Arms in the Poultry, and at the Ship and Anchor at the Bridg-foot on Southwark side. 1676. As faithfully reproduced in KING PHILIP'S WAR NARRATIVES. March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966<sup>43</sup>

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

41. Gookin's MS.

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

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(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)


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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. that it was necessary to attack the [Narragansett](#) because they were “barbarous men of Bloud.” He had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the “mind and voice of the most high amongst us,” and had assured himself that those among the [Quakers](#) who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will.

**READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT**

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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

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

**RHODE ISLAND**

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

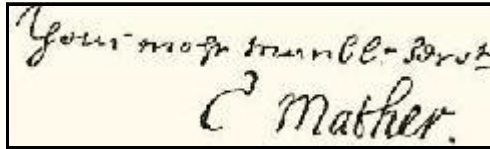


**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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



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



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

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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

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

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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

in the course of this single race battle with the English, the [Narragansett](#) would lose almost 20% of its entire population, and massacre and starvation would soon be killing off most of the remainder. By 1682 fewer than 500 would remain of the original estimated 10,000 souls who had existed as of 1610. After 1682 this remnant would be allowed by the English to settle with the Eastern Niantic on a reservation at Charlestown RI. The Narragansett tribal registry currently list over 2,400 members, most of whom reside in [Rhode Island](#).<sup>44</sup>



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



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

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

*Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley*

*Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot*

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

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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



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

*May it please your honour*

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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

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

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

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



Narragansett 26th 11th month 1675

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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

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

*31 67*

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

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

1676

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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

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

This Nashoba was the 6th of the Praying Indian towns and was made up of 10 families amounting to about 50 souls. [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) would mention that at the instance of the Reverend [John Eliot](#), in 1651, the desire of the Christian native Americans to continue to reside near Concord "was granted by the General Court, and Nashobah, lying near Nagog Pond, now partly in Littleton, partly in Acton, became an Indian town, where a Christian worship was established under an Indian ruler and teacher.... Such was, for half a century, the success of the general enterprise, that, in 1676, there were five hundred and sixty-seven praying Indians, and in 1679, twenty-four Indian preachers, and eighteen assemblies."<sup>45</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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

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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

The Reverend Gershom Bulkeley of Weathersfield was dismissed from his ministerial obligations on account of ill health, presumably because he had been wounded in a battle near Wachusett while in the army as a surgeon. He would go on to make himself one of that town's most distinguished physicians and surgeons.

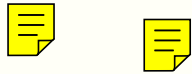
**JANUARY 1676**

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

January 5: The church in *Plymouth* observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

January 14: The English captured Joshua Tift among the savage enemy, presumed the man to have “gone native,” and hanged and quartered him for this presumed race treason.<sup>46</sup>

AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

*The Present State of New-England,*

*with respect to the Indian War.*

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

[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Bofton]

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

January 27: [Narragansett](#) warriors raided [Pawtuxet](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**FEBRUARY 1676**

February: Daniel Goble of [Concord](#) was being paid a soldier’s wages under the service of Captain Nicholas Manning.

The Nashobah who had been rounded up in the previous winter and moved to [Concord](#) were at this point marched down to barren frigid Deer Island. Some whites were opinioning, well, this is for their own protection, to protect these Christians from being abused by the aroused whites.



There was, however, at this time a plot among certain white men of Lynn, about 30 or 40 in number, to attack the starving unarmed internees. The idea seemed to be that they were fighting red men, and here were some red people, –let’s kill them. The proposition, current in Europe at that time, that belligerents ought to make a “separation between the guilty and the inosent,” was an innovation which needed in New England to be supported by argument and reasoning. Fortunately, one Thomas Sheppard of Charlestown MA got wind of this



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

proposed slaughter expedition and informed the Legislative Council in time to forestall it. I do not know whether the Concord residents had been placed by Captain Samuel Mosely on the island before, or after, this threatening planning which took place in Lynn during the month of February.

At any rate, the following is what a popular current paperback tour book of Boston Harbor<sup>47</sup> has to say about Deer Island during this period. The tour book includes no references or authentication, but it does most bluntly make the following assertions:

The island's resources were not adequate to feed them, and no assistance was rendered from the mainland. At least two hundred perished from starvation and disease during the first two months of internment. Prisoners of war were also brought to Deer Island and later sold into slavery. The memory of these Native Americans is honored each year through a re-enactment of the trip from the old Natick village site to Deer Island. The group, which includes descendants of Deer Island internees, gathers on the South Natick common on October 30 and traces the route taken more than three hundred years ago. Members of the Native American community have expressed concern that their ancestral gravesites on Deer Island have been disrupted by the construction of the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority wastewater treatment plant. With the construction of a quarantine hospital in 1847, Deer Island again provided a holding area for the displaced. Almost 5,000 Irish immigrants were admitted to Deer Island between 1847 and 1849. Many were taken ill during their long voyage from Ireland. 750 died and were buried on the island.

We can well understand what is meant by the remark from the tour book quoted above, "Prisoners of war were also brought to Deer Island and later sold into slavery," since in fact all captured warriors were being immediately executed upon the Common.

**HANGING**



What is meant by the guidebook, obviously, by this guilty expression "prisoners of war," is that any persons with any degree of native American ancestry who were so entirely inoffensive that they could not be executed upon the Boston Common, such as the women and the children and the aged men and the infirm, were being driven down to this exposed and barren island and incarcerated temporarily with the "Eliot's Indians" already being held captive there, until whatever survivors there might be could be sold into the foreign slavery of field labor in the plantations of the Azore Islands of the far Atlantic. But there is an additional implication to this material from today's guidebook to the harbor, an implication for which I know of no available supporting evidence. That additional implication would be that (Hypothesis A) the distinction between the survivors of the Deer Island concentration camp who were later sold into foreign enslavement, and those survivors of the concentration camp who would not be sold into foreign enslavement, had been a distinction between, on the

47. Kales, Emily and David. ALL ABOUT THE BOSTON HARBOR ISLANDS. THEIR GEOGRAPHY, ECOLOGY, HISTORY AND FUTURE, THEIR LORE AND ROMANCE. WITH UPDATED INFORMATION ON HOW TO GET TO THEM, WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO PICNIC ... WHERE TO MOOR, RENT, OR CHARTER A BOAT; WHERE, WHEN, HOW AND WHAT FISH TO CATCH; HARBOR CRUISES, SWIMMING. 4th and Revised Edition, 1983 [1st edition 1976]. Maps and sketches by Deborah Warren. Hingham MA: Hewitts Cove Publishing Company, Ltd., Hingham Shipyard, 349 Lincoln Street. Page 28.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

one hand, the inhabitants of the Christian villages, the “Eliot’s Indians” with their prayer books who had early in the race war been herded down onto the exposed island tied together at the neck with rope, and, on the other hand, the various anonymous persons of color who were being swept up by the white armies later on in the race war. Although the latter would be sold into slavery, reading between the lines in today’s guidebook to the harbor would imply, the former would not. And here’s the rub: I know of no evidence that that was the way things went down on the ground at the time, that that was the *Selektion* that was in fact made. Even if someone “in charge,” sitting in a comfortable room in Boston, had intended such a benevolent *Selektion*, had ordered such a benevolent *Selektion* — it is unlikely to have been something which mere good intentions could obtain. I would offer as a contrary hypothesis, that (Hypothesis B) the actual white “underlords” actually out there on that island making that *Selektion* after the race war would not have been particularly scrupulous or careful later as to how they make the *Selektion* between those whom they could now enslave and those whom they now needed to put on their own recognizance — that in fact what they probably did with their helpless hostages after their won race war was claim for service in their white households whatever red children seemed comely and alert and undiseased (unprotected children make marvelous household sex objects), then sell anyone among the residue for whom they could get a halfway decent price, and then set loose on their own recognizance **only** those redskins who for reason of age or illness could not be turned to the satisfaction of any white victor’s greed. How might the actual process have been otherwise? –Do people engage in a successful genocide and then come out on the other side of this successful genocide being decent and caring people?



Now the question becomes: who is going to provide some **evidence**, amounting to something more than simple self-serving opinion, as to whether Hypothesis A, the guidebook’s implicit hypothesis, or Hypothesis B, my own somewhat more likely story, is a more accurate description of what actually went down, there in secrecy and silence in Boston Harbor so long ago?



Is it not curious, that the most sustained treatment of this human disaster which we have presently available to us is this two-paragraph “retreating admission” mention which any police interrogator would disbelieve, and that this two-paragraph “retreating admission” which we are supposed to accept is to be found buried in a popular guidebook of no substantial authority? Is it not curious, that even this two-paragraph “most sustained treatment presently available” amounts to an implicit claim that what happened hadn’t been all that bad, because 1.) although “hundreds of friendly Christian Indians” had died of starvation and exposure, this seems to have happened through mere neglect rather than through white maliciousness, and then because 2.) the only people who were subsequently enslaved had been “prisoners of war,” which is to say, implicitly, by supposition, captured male warriors? Is it not curious, that in such a tourist treatment we find anonymous writing about the disturbing of sacred graves of victims by “wastewater treatment,” when the fluid actually indicated by this innocent term “wastewater” would be made up not only of Boston’s gray dishwater but also of its shit and piss and cigarette butts and condoms and dead babies? Is it not curious that a mass grave would be being referred to as “their ancestral gravesites” (plural rather than singular) as if to suggest falsely that these hundreds of people who died at once of starvation and exposure would have received decent individual and singular, respectful, separate burials? Is it not curious that the guidebook prepared for our general public refers to “their ancestral gravesites” (the collective third person possessive “their” in distinction from the collective first person possessive “our”) as if to suggest falsely that any and all readers of this guidebook would of course be the descendants of the white intrusives, and as if to suggest falsely that descendants of the surviving red indigenes have no use for this book, perhaps do not yet know how to read or at least are not likely to go on holiday tours of the islands in the Boston harbor, have nothing to do but march on the indicated annual protest days and “express concern”?



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Jonathan Tyng, the first permanent settler of Dunstable, who lived on Wicasuck Island near the Wicasuck Falls and provided what was at the time the uppermost garrison house on the Merrimack River, petitioned the Bay Colony for aid, as his home was “lying open to ye enemy, yet being so seated that it is, as it were, a watch-house to the neighboring towns.” He offered that with reinforcements he could render important service to his country, “there being,” he said, “never an inhabitant left in the town but myself.” He asked for “**three or four men** to help garrison his said house,” and these soldiers were provided. This has been reported to us by Thoreau in WEEK, with Thoreau adding a comment which presumably has to do with the conflict between being a functionary in such a genocidal race war and being fully human,

methinks that such a garrison would be weakened by the addition of a man.



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



On the first of February, 1676, the Indians burnt the house of Thomas Eames of Framingham and £330. 12s. worth of property, and either killed or carried into captivity his wife and nine children. The next day orders were given to Major Simon Willard to raise a party of troops to scour the country between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough. Similar orders were given to [Major Daniel Gookin](#) in relation to the country between Marlborough and Medfield.<sup>48</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



February 5: [Boston](#) observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.



**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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

He added the thought that at this point:

we had Case to think it wold

because:

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

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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

Intelligence was brought to Major Gookin, Feb. 9th at 10 o'clock in the evening, by Job Kettenanet, one of the Christian Indians who had been sent out as spies, that 400 of the enemy were at Menemese and had already marched forth intending to burn Lancaster the next day. He immediately sent orders to Marlborough, Concord, and Lancaster, mustering forces for the defence of Lancaster forthwith; and 40 soldiers were collected and marched from Marlborough under Capt. Wadsworth by break of day. But notwithstanding they succeeded in getting possession of one of the garrisons, they could not prevent the Indians from carrying their threats into execution. Lancaster then contained about 50 families, out of which the Indians killed and captured forty persons. Among the latter were Mrs. Rowlandson and her children, the family of the minister. By the bold and successful exertions of Mr. John Hoar of Concord, the connexion with Tom Doublet and Peter Conaway, Christian Indians of Concord, they were subsequently redeemed from captivity.<sup>49</sup>

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



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

Of the 50 white families resident at Lancaster, 37 whites had taken refuge in this particular garrison house. The first alert was hearing the sound of shots, as attacks were made on three of the other four garrison houses in the settlement. Four of the five fortifications would be able to withstand the attack,<sup>50</sup> but from her own garrison house and its surroundings, none of the pack of “six stout Dogs belonging to our Garrison,” she would complain, would be willing to stir,<sup>51</sup>

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



**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

After two hours of assault, the attackers managed to set the house ablaze. Of the occupants, 12 would be killed,

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

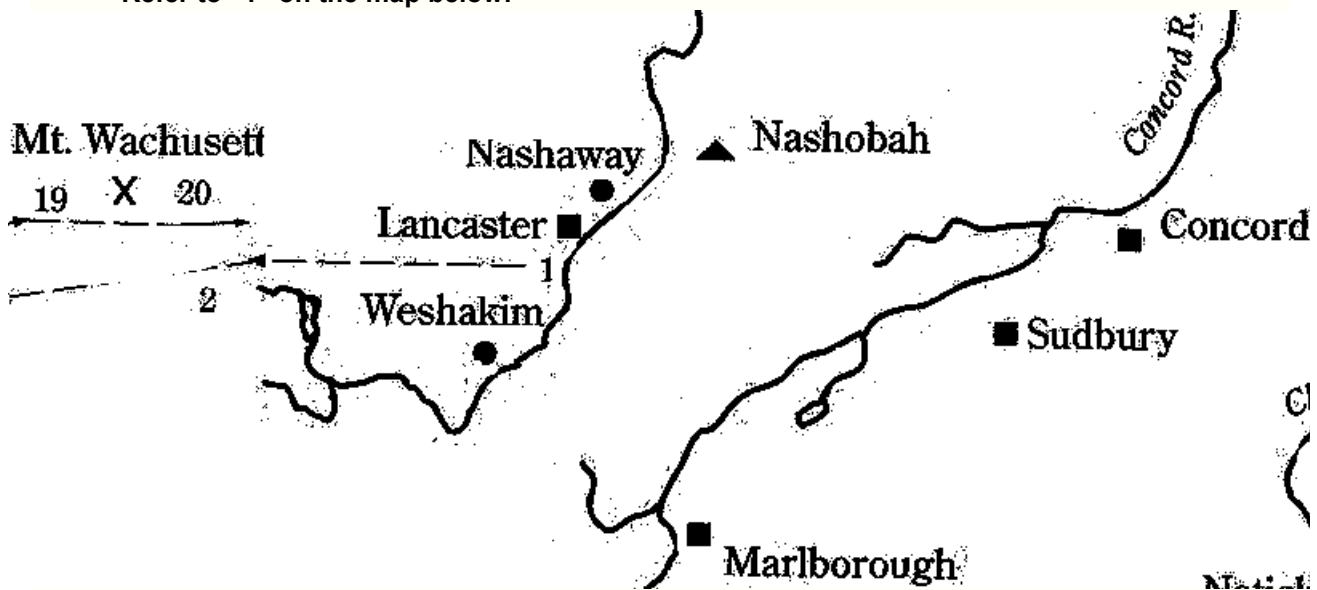
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

one would escape, and 24 would be held for ransom.



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

Refer to "1" on the map below:



Mistress Rowlandson would relate, "Then I took Children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house: but as soon as we came to the dore and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the House, as if one had taken an handfull of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back." Finally she was forced to leave the burning house. Immediately she saw her brother-in-law fall, dead from wounds; her nephew, whose leg was broken, killed, and her sister shot. She herself was shot through the side, the child she carried in her arms being struck by the same bullet. There were 13 killed and 24 taken captive.

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

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

According to her account, "I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along ... then that moment to end my days..." Mary Rowlandson would sojourn as a servant with her captors for almost three months, as they journeyed westward to the Connecticut River and northward into Vermont and New Hampshire. Wounded in her side and carrying the wounded child, for the first three days there would be not only no roof over their head, but nothing whatever to eat. At times a warrior would carry the child for her, but when she and the child were put on a horse she fell off, not knowing how to ride bareback. Finally she and her feverish child would be able to ride behind a warrior.

On the fourth day, Mistress Rowlandson would meet Robbert Pepper, who had been captured during the ambush at Beers Plain in Northfield the previous September. He would suggest that she put a poultice of oak leaves on her wound, as that had earlier cured a wound on his own leg. On February 18th, Mary's child would die in her arms and be buried by the warriors on a hillside. Her other daughter was in the custody of another warrior and she would soon learn that her son was alive, in a nearby encampment. Although she was a captive, the natives would make no attempt to prevent her from seeing her children. They would give her a Bible to read. At the end of February, Mary Rowlandson and her master and mistress would leave the main body of warriors behind, so she would not see her daughter again until she was ransomed. In March the small warrior band with which she traveled moved on to Miller's River (Baquaug) in Orange, Massachusetts, followed closely by a troop of English. Again, according to her account, "... then they made a stop, and chose some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English Army in play whilst the rest escaped: And then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old, and with their young: some carried their old decrepit mothers, some carried one, and some another." When the group would reach Miller's River, everyone would begin cutting dry trees to make rafts to cross the stream on that very cold day. Mistress Rowlandson would rejoice at being able to cross without chilling her feet. "The chief and commonest food was [Ground-nut](#): They eat also Nuts and Acorns, Harty-choaks, Lilly roots, Ground-beans, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not. They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joynts, and if they were full of wormes and magots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boile them, and drink up the Liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a Morter, and so eat them. They would eat Horses guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild Birds which they could catch: also Bear, Vennison, Beaver, Tortois, Frogs, Squirrels, Dogs, Skunks, Rattle-snakes; yea, the very Bark of Trees; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English." Rowlandson would be part of a very large Amerindian encampment at Squakeag (Northfield, Massachusetts). While the group remained there, her son Joseph would be able to come for a short visit. During her stay in this area, she would meet Metacom and he would offer her a pipe of [tobacco](#), which she would decline "though I had formerly used Tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a Bait, the Devil layes to make men loose their previous time: I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is. But I thank God, he has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to ly sucking a stinking Tobacco-pipe." Mrs. Rowlandson would make clothes and barter them to her captors. In this way, for instance, she would obtain a broth thickened with the bark of a tree, and a knife. When



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Metacom would give her a shilling for making a shirt for his boy, she would offer the shilling to her master and he would allow her to keep it. From Squakeag, the tribe would move up into New Hampshire near the Ashuelot valley and then up to Chesterfield. During this period of her captivity, Mistress Rowlandson would see her son several times, but then he would be sold to a new master and she wouldn't see him again until he would finally be ransomed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Finally, when she thought she would never be taken eastward again, the group began to retrace its route to Miller's River, then to Petersham, and finally to Mount Wachusett. Here negotiations for her ransom would begin toward the end of April. On May 2, 1676, Mary Rowlandson would be exchanged at Redemption Rock for a ransom of twenty English pounds. When she would return to Lancaster, there would be not a single English to be seen and not a single house still standing.

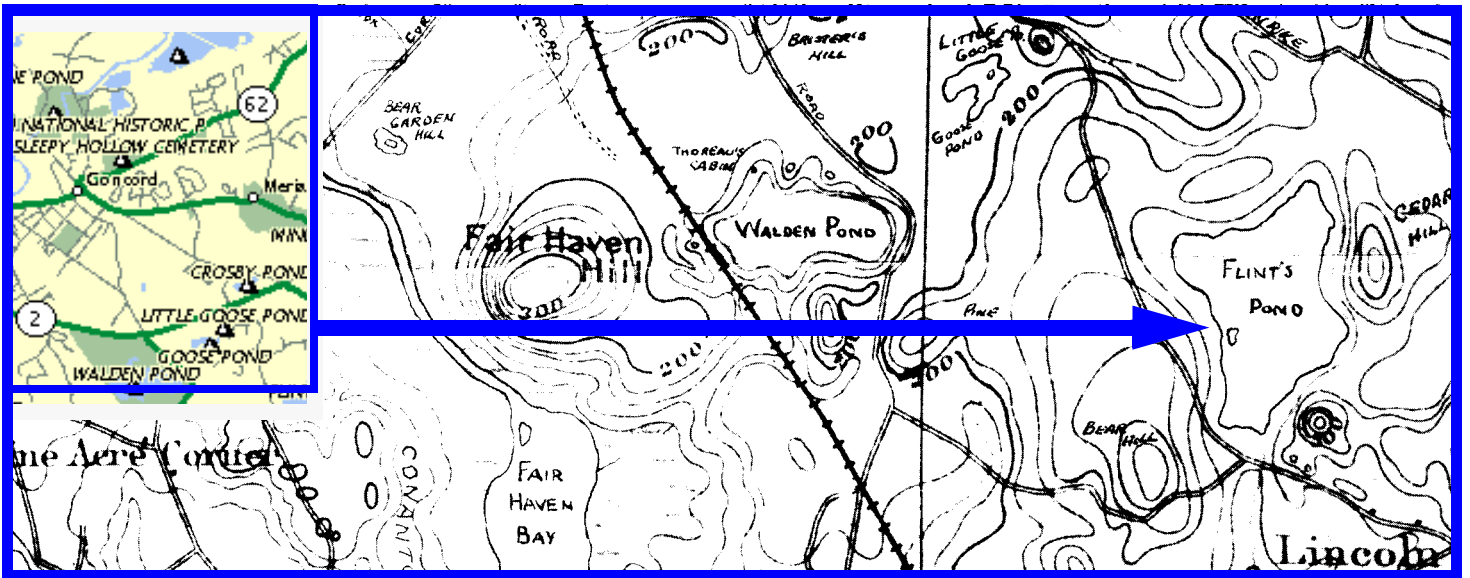
INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



(or to within a mile from the outskirts of beautiful downtown [Concord](#), for it doesn't seem to be clear where the white people intended their local free-fire zone to begin and end) one of the things this meant was that they would starve. For this restriction prevented them from cultivating their cornfields. During a period of heavy snow the Native American villages of the Concord area, praying-ized by the Reverend John Eliot<sup>52</sup> and not, were surrounded while in their lodges by troops from Marlborough led by Captain Samuel Mosely, roped together at the neck, and herded through Concord to what can only be described as a concentration camp on barren Deer Island, a site chosen of course because no white people had been able to subsist there.<sup>53</sup> "Tis Satan's policy, to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration." Most of the hostages would die there of exposure and starvation. There were only 58 of the Reverend Eliot's Praying Indians left in the Concord area, mostly Nashobah women and children. [John Hoar](#) of Concord delegated himself to supervise these people, and built a stockade for them, with workshops, near his home south of the millpond:<sup>54</sup>

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

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

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

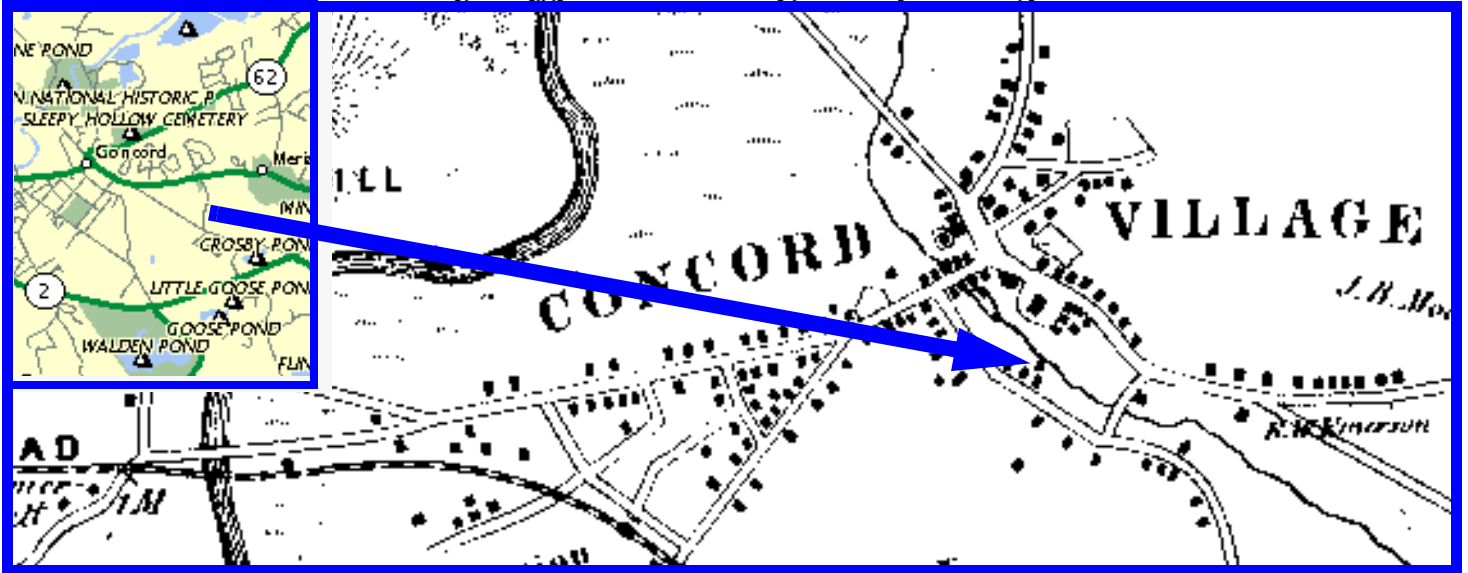


[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED



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



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

One Sunday soon afterward Captain Samuel Mosely, acting on his own authority, came with his soldiers to [Concord](#) worship, and afterward addressed the congregation. He then marched out to the Hoar stockade, followed by a rabble of townspeople, and demanded that [John Hoar](#) allow him to “inspect” the remaining Praying Indians. He placed his soldiers on guard around the stockade that night, and the next morning caused the Native Americans to be assembled and marched between two files of horsemen to internment on Deer Island. His soldiers of course stripped the Nashobah even of their shirts and shoes, stealing anything worth taking.<sup>55</sup> The town council of Concord did not reprove Mosely: of course not, for the Nashobah being gone meant more arable fields that could be seized by white farmers.

We have a note that the wife of Joseph Petuhanit<sup>56</sup> was in this group of hostages.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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



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

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

About the middle of February, Abraham and Isaac Shepherd were killed near Nashobah in Concord village while threshing grain in their barn. Apprehensive of danger, says tradition, they placed their sister Mary, a girl about fifteen years old, on a hill a little distance off to watch and forewarn them of the approach of an enemy. She was, however, suddenly surprised and captured, and her brothers were slain. She was carried captive into the Indian settlements but with great heroism made her escape. While the Indians were asleep in the night, probably under the influence of spiritous liquors, she seized a horse, which they had a few days before stolen at Lancaster, took a saddle from under the head of her Indian keeper, mounted, swam across the Nashua river and rode through the forest to her home.<sup>57</sup>

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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



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



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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

camp that had been established on Deer Island:



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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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



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



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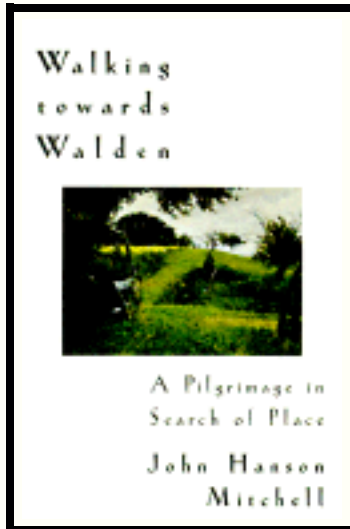
WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

February 11, Friday: God was testing [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#):

But now, the next morning, I must turn my back upon the town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate wilderness, I knew not whither. It is not my tongue, or pen, can express the sorrows of my heart, and bitterness of my spirit that I had at this departure: but God was with me in a wonderful manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse; it went moaning all along, "I shall die, I shall die." I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms till my strength failed, and I fell down with it. Then they set me upon a horse with my wounded child in my lap, and there being no furniture upon the horse's back, as we were going down a steep hill we both fell over the horse's head, at which they, like inhumane creatures, laughed, and rejoiced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our days, as overcome with so many difficulties. But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carried me along, that I might see more of His power; yea, so much that I could never have thought of, had I not experienced it.

After this it quickly began to snow, and when night came on, they stopped, and now down I must sit in the snow, by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me, with my sick child in my lap; and calling much for water, being now (through the wound) fallen into a violent fever. My own wound also growing so stiff that I could scarce sit down or rise up; yet so it must be, that I must sit all this cold winter night upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick child in my arms, looking that every hour would be the last of its life; and having no Christian friend near me, either to comfort or help me. Oh, I may see the wonderful power of God, that my Spirit did not utterly sink under my affliction: still the Lord upheld me with His gracious and merciful spirit, and we were both alive to see the light of the next morning.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

HDT

WHAT?

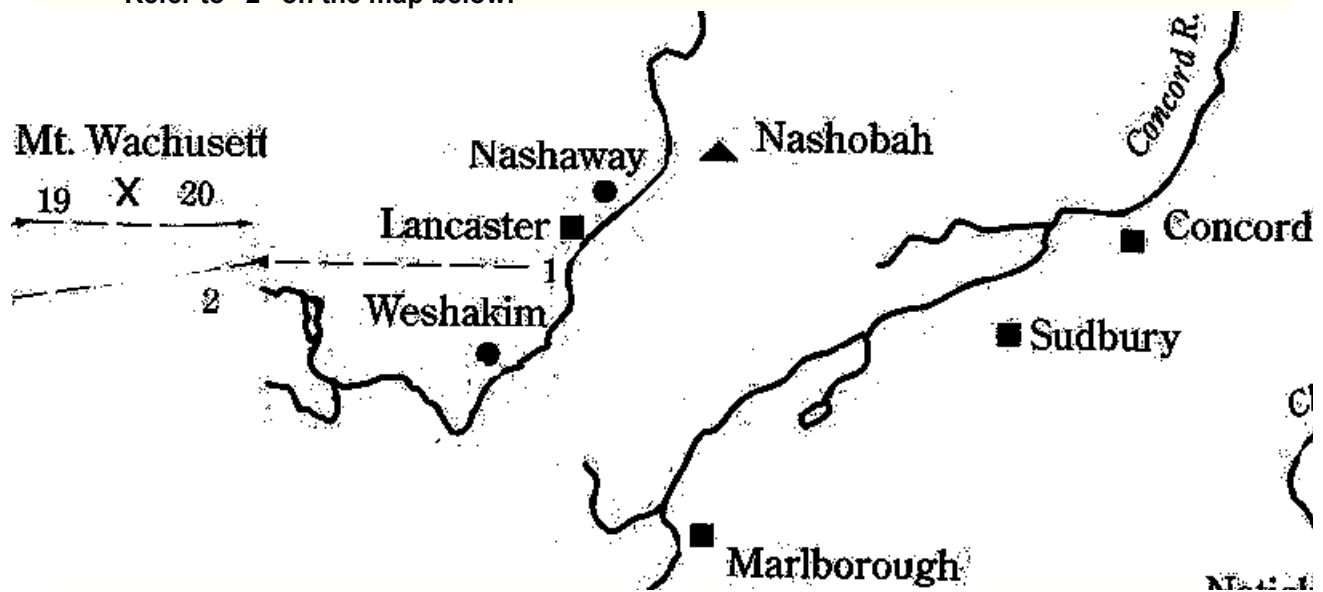
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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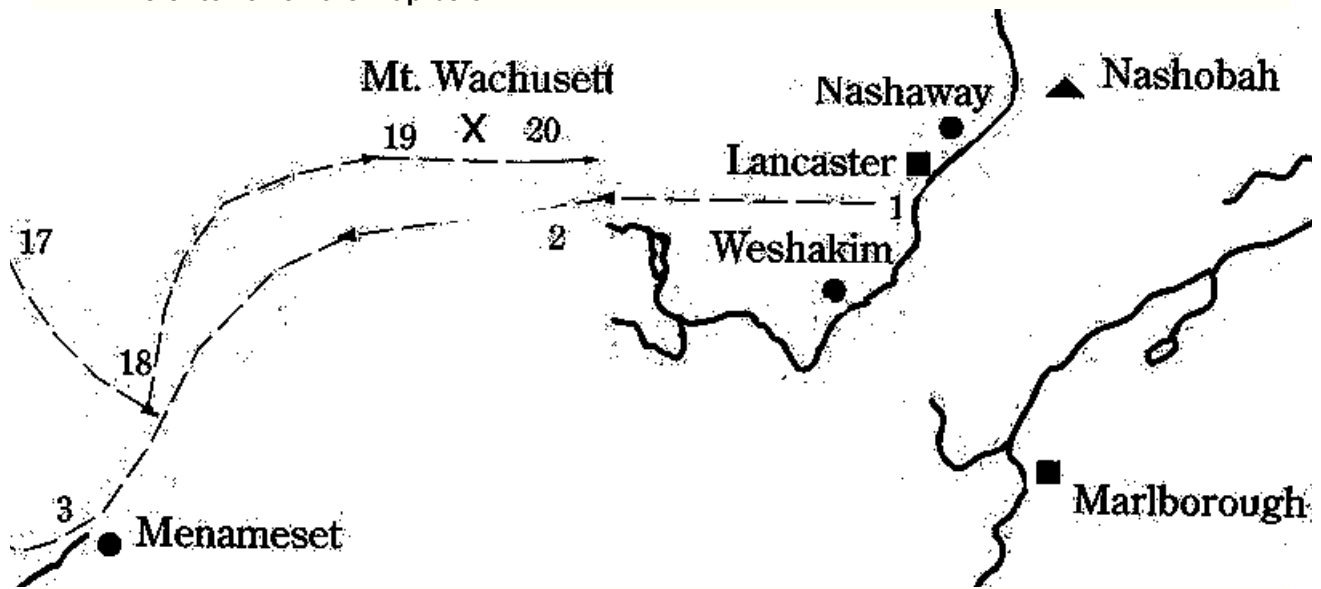


CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

February 12, Saturday: In the wilderness near what would become Littleton, God was testing [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#):

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

Refer to "3" on the map below:





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Alfred S. Hudson avers on pages 410-3 of his history of Concord that:

On the 12th, the Indians made a raid on Concord village, now a part of Littleton, and killed two men and captured a girl. The place of the tragedy was on the south side of Quagana Hill, and the persons slain and captured were children of Rafe and Thanklord Shepard who went from Malden near a place since called Bell Rock to Concord village, where they bought of Lieut. Joseph Wheeler of Concord 610 acres in the form of a triangle between the Indian reservation of Nashoba and that part of Chelmsford which adjoins Westford. Nagog pond forming the base of the triangle, the apex being two miles one-quarter and sixty rods north of the southwest end of Nagog pond. The names of the persons slain and captured were Isaac, Jacob, and Mary. Isaac was born June 20, 1639, and married Mary Smedley, 1667. Jacob was born in 1653, and Mary the youngest of the family was born in 1660 or 1662. When the Indians swooped down upon the Shepard homestead the ground was covered with snow to such a depth that snow shoes were used. The event happened on Saturday, and Isaac and Jacob were threshing in the barn. Being aware of the perilous times, they had set their sister on the summit of a hill to watch for Indians; but the savages eluded her vigilance and before she was aware of their presence she was captured and her brothers were slain. Tradition does not inform us just where the girl was taken to; some think it was in the neighborhood of Lancaster, others that it was as far off as Brookfield, but wherever it was she soon escaped and returned home. Hubbard in his narrative of the Indian wars says of Mary Shepard that "she strangely escaped away upon a horse that the Indians had taken from Lancaster a little while before." Tradition asserts that she escaped during the night following the day of her capture and arrived home the next morning. Rev. Edmund Foster a former minister of Littleton in a "Century Sermon" preached in the year 1815, stated concerning the event that tradition says the girl was carried by the savages to Nashawa, now called Lancaster, or to some place in the neighborhood of it. Samuel gardner Drake in his notes on the "Old Indian Chronicle" says that the leader of the band who slew the Shepard brothers is supposed to have been Netus, the same who attacked the Eames family, and who was sometimes called the Nipmuck Captain. Netus was slain the 22nd of March following, by a company of men from Sudbury, who with some soldiers from Marlboro found him asleep with a company of Indians around their campfire. Foster says that in the dead of night as related by tradition, Mary Shepard took a saddle from under the head of her Indian keeper when sunk in sleep increased by the fumes of ardent spirit, put the saddle on a horse, mounted him, swam him across the Nashawa river, and so escaped the hands of her captors and arrived safe to her relatives and friends.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

The question then arises, how much of this Sereno musing is at all plausible, and what were the physical evidences which existed at the time, that any such preposterous story later related by this Mary Shepard was the truth? Do we actually have any evidence, for instance, that there were native Americans in the vicinity of the Shepard farm on the day in question? Do we actually have any evidence that two Shepard brothers were murdered by someone — or might this be a doubled story having to do with a single murder? What happened to the alleged horse and saddle? Were there multiple snowshoe tracks, simply unmentioned, in the snow on the following day?

Quite frankly, the story as told sounds to me like one of those stories which are so good that they must be true, that are built upon by surmise after surmise, and elaborated endlessly by generation after generation of patriotic historian. The simple fact of the matter is that, during a general race war, every sneaking crummy little garden-variety family murder will get itself blamed on the race enemy. How do we know that there were native Americans anywhere in the vicinity, who sneaked in and perpetrated just this one outrage without leaving any other evidence of their raid? How do we know that there was not actually a rather more commonplace provenance for the dead body or bodies in question?



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**



February 13, Sunday: God was testing [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#):

The next day was the Sabbath. I then remembered how careless I had been of God's holy time; how many Sabbaths I had lost and misspent, and how evilly I had walked in God's sight; which lay so close unto my spirit, that it was easy for me to see how righteous it was with God to cut off the thread of my life and cast me out of His presence forever. Yet the Lord still showed mercy to me, and upheld me; and as He wounded me with one hand, so he healed me with the other. This day there came to me one Robert Pepper (a man belonging to Roxbury) who was taken in Captain Beers's fight, and had been now a considerable time with the Indians; and up with them almost as far as Albany, to see King Philip, as he told me, and was now very lately come into these parts. Hearing, I say, that I was in this Indian town, he obtained leave to come and see me. He told me he himself was wounded in the leg at Captain Beer's fight; and was not able some time to go, but as they carried him, and as he took oaken leaves and laid to his wound, and through the blessing of God he was able to travel again. Then I took oaken leaves and laid to my side, and with the blessing of God it cured me also; yet before the cure was wrought, I may say, as it is in Psalm 38.5-6 "My wounds stink and are corrupt, I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long." I sat much alone with a poor wounded child in my lap, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body, or cheer the spirits of her, but instead of that, sometimes one Indian would come and tell me one hour that "your master will knock your child in the head," and then a second, and then a third, "your master will quickly knock your child in the head."

This was the comfort I had from them, miserable comforters are ye all, as he said. Thus nine days I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw again; my child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bade me carry it out to another wigwam (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles) whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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



CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

February 15, Tuesday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat in the native encampment and waited out her period of affliction, with her sick child upon her knees.

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

Meanwhile Thomas Shepard was testifying at the Massachusetts Council in [Boston](#), that a Malden man had “asked him if he would goo with him to Dere Island. His words were these. will you go with us to Deere island to destroy the Indians.” According to [Major Daniel Gookin](#)’s report, “This intelligence of burning Medfield coming to the General Court, and so soon after the burning of Lancaster, occasioned many thoughts of hearty and hurrying motions, and gave opportunity to the vulgar to cry out, ‘Oh, come, let us go down to Deer Island, and kill all the praying Indians.’” The General Court reacted by putting out warnings against this sort of voluntarism, to those who might be tempted.

Meanwhile, in Chelmsford:

On the 15th of February, a party attacked Joseph Parker of Chelmsford with his friends, who had been to visit Major Simon Willard.<sup>58</sup>

[“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”](#)

February 16, Wednesday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat in the native encampment and waited out her period of affliction, with her sick child upon her knees.

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

February 17, Thursday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat in the native encampment and waited out her period of affliction, with her injured 6-year-old girl upon her knees.

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

~~February 18, Friday: God was testing the faith of [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#). She sat in the native encampment and waited out her period of affliction with her little Sarah upon her knee, until:~~

About two hours in the night, my sweet babe like a lamb departed this life on Feb. 18, 1675. It being about six years, and five months old. It was nine days from the first wounding, in this miserable condition, without any refreshing of one nature or other, except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed; I must and could lie down by my dead babe, side by side all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me in preserving me in the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

February 19, Saturday: [mistress Mary Kowlandson](#) was attempting to deal with her distress: On this day in

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**NARRAGANSETT**

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

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

Hubbard says the Indians burnt a house and murdered three persons in Concord on the 19th of February but who they were I know not.<sup>59</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

The latter part of this month they burnt Medfield, and killed 20 of the inhabitants; and on the 13th of March nearly all of Groton was reduced to ashes. Major Willard was engaged in this battle.<sup>60</sup> A company from Concord, and another from Watertown were also there.

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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



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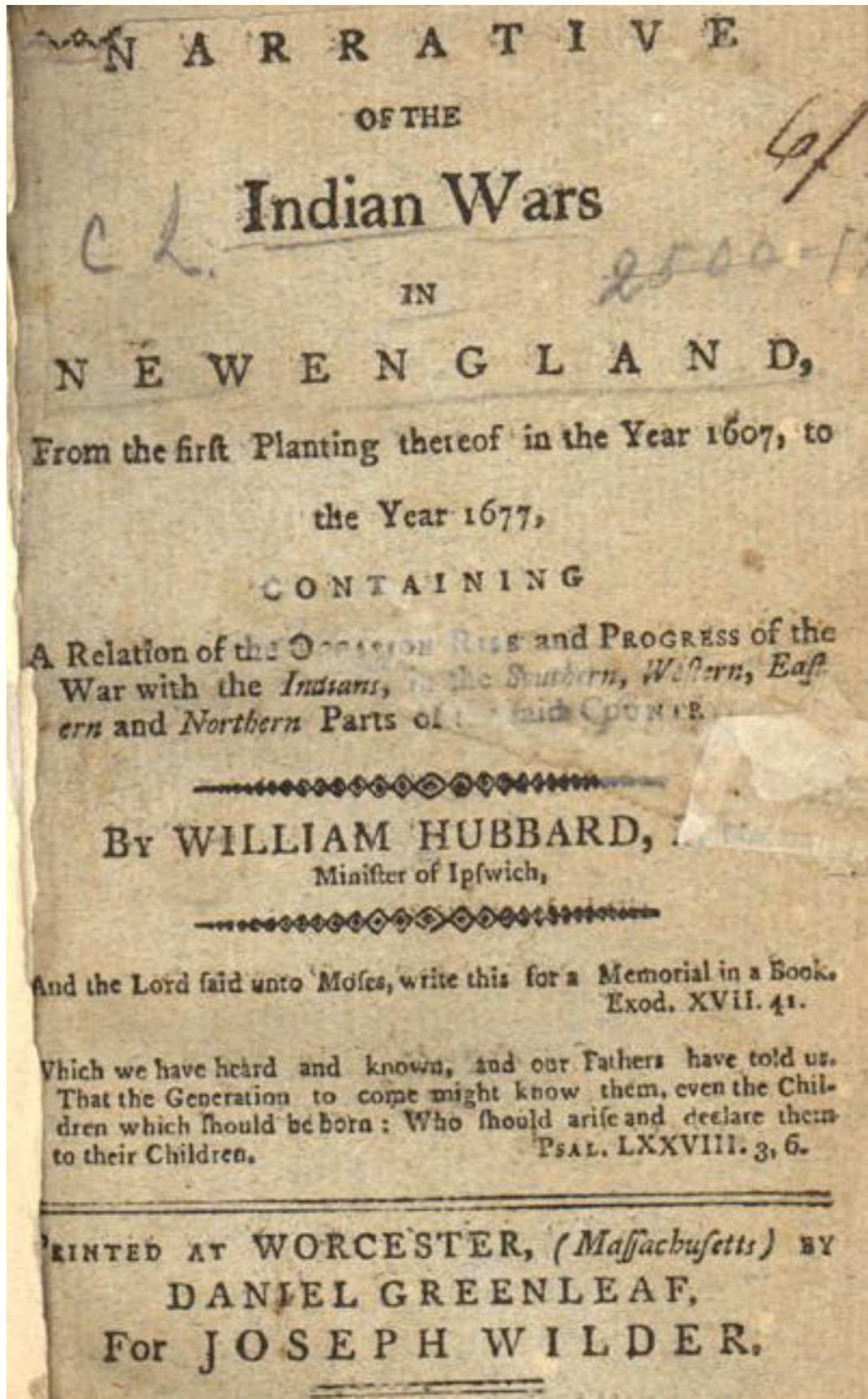
WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED







**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

February 20, Sunday: Nipmuc warriors raided Medfield.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**INVERTED****GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE****INVENTED**

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

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

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

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)["KING PHILLIP'S WAR"](#)



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

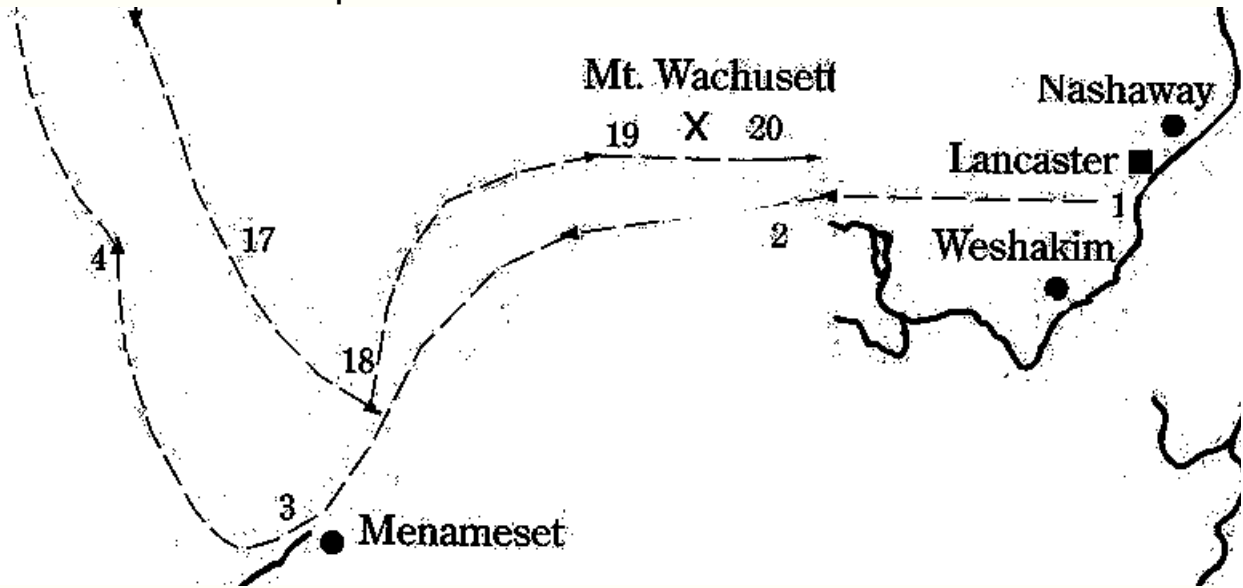
Heart-aching thoughts here I had about my poor children, who were scattered up and down among the wild beasts of the forest. My head was light and dizzy (either through hunger or hard lodging, or trouble or all together), my knees feeble, my body raw by sitting double night and day, that I cannot express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

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Refer to "4" on the map below:



Be it duly noted that although Mrs. Rowlandson was offended over the "hideous insulting and triumphing that there was over some Englishmen's scalps that they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them," in fact Massachusetts was paying a bounty for native scalps. The reward a white man could get for a human scalp depended on whether he had taken it during service in the regular forces under pay, or as a volunteer in such service, or as an unpaid volunteer, and also on whether it was a man's, a woman's, or a child's scalp that he had to offer. Presumably the officials could discriminate between the large scalp of an adult and the small scalp of a child, and presumably also they could determine by something about the cut of the hair whether the scalp was that of a male or of a female?<sup>61</sup>

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

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

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

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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



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

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

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



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

As someone on the community's margins, Hoar may have found it easier to sympathize with the Christian Indians, who were outside both Indian and English society. He soon found his decision sorely tested. Hoar had to feed the fifty-eight Nashobahs who pitched their wigwams on his land, and costs piled higher as he began building a "house sutable [*sic*] for to teach them in manufactures." Like Eliot, Hoar apparently had plans to



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

"civilize" the Indians under his protection by teaching them English skills. Unfortunately, his undertaking came at a time when his neighbors were more than usually unsympathetic to such a project. Writing to the General Court in January 1675, Hoar asked, "What way I shall be directed to save the Indians from the insolency of the English, being daily threatned [*sic*] to be shott [*sic*], and one snapt at thrice at my own dore [*sic*] by a Lankastsheir [*sic*] souldier [*sic*]."

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

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



INVERTED

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

INVENTED

both embraced and rejected his rather's ambiguous example. This is how the matter was recorded by [Daniel Gookin](#) in his HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND:

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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

it appears from a manuscript letter of Mr. Hoar in my possession, that the English were very insolent to the Indians, and threatened to destroy them. One of the Lancaster soldiers, stationed at Concord, snapped his gun three times at one of them while standing at Mr. Hoar's door. It is believed, however, that this prejudice existed rather among the soldiers who had witnessed the horrid barbarities of the Indians in other places, and who did not distinguish justly between the friends and enemies of the English, than among the citizens generally. By the influence of this class of men, the unfortunate occurrences detailed above were brought about.<sup>62</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



February 22, Tuesday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat reading her Bible in the native encampment and waiting out her period of affliction.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

Meanwhile, in [Boston](#), a proposal was being made to the Massachusetts Council, that the Praying Indians who were being concentrated on various islands in Boston Harbor such as Deer Island, Long Island, Potuck Island,<sup>63</sup> and the Brewsters, be removed to "some place farther more from us," some place unspecified.<sup>64</sup>

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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

64. They may have been scheming to sell them into slavery on the Azores, but thinking that it was not yet time to lay out the entire arrangement, for after the race war a number of the captives would be shipped to the Azores and sold into plantation slavery there.

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



In [Boston](#), the Massachusetts General Court debated the fate of Christian Indians being held hostage at island concentration camps (Deer Island, Long Island in Boston Harbor, Clark’s Island, etc.): would it be necessary to slaughter them outright, or would it be better to transport them and sell them into useful slavery? In the end the Council decided to continue to abide in moderation<sup>65</sup> in accordance with the pact that had been entered into in 1644, of mutual protection and subjection between the English and the Indians.

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

February 24, Thursday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat reading her Bible in the native encampment and waiting out her period of affliction.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

~~February 25, Friday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was attempting to deal with her distress:~~

The occasion (as I thought) of their moving at this time was the English army, it being near and following them. For they went as if they had gone for their lives, for some considerable way, and then they made a stop, and chose some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English army in play whilst the rest escaped. And then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old and with their young: some carried their old decrepit mothers, some carried one, and some another. Four of them carried a great Indian upon a bier; but going through a thick wood with him, they were hindered, and could make no haste, whereupon they took him upon their backs, and carried him, one at a time, till they came to Banquaug river. Upon a Friday, a little after noon, we came to this river. When all the company was come up, and were gathered together, I thought to count the number of them, but they were so many, and being somewhat in motion, it was beyond my skill. In this travel, because of my wound, I was somewhat favored in my load; I carried only my knitting work and two quarts of parched meal. Being very faint I asked my mistress to give me one spoonful of the meal, but she would not give me a taste. They quickly fell to cutting dry trees, to make rafts to carry them over the river: and soon my turn came to go over. By the advantage of some brush which they had laid upon the raft to sit upon, I did not wet my foot (which many of themselves at the other end were mid-leg deep) which cannot but be acknowledged as a favor of God to my weakened body, it being a very cold time. I was not before acquainted with such kind of doings or dangers. "When thou passeth through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee" (ISAIAH 43:2). A certain number of us got over the river that night, but it was the night after the Sabbath before all the company was got over.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

HDT

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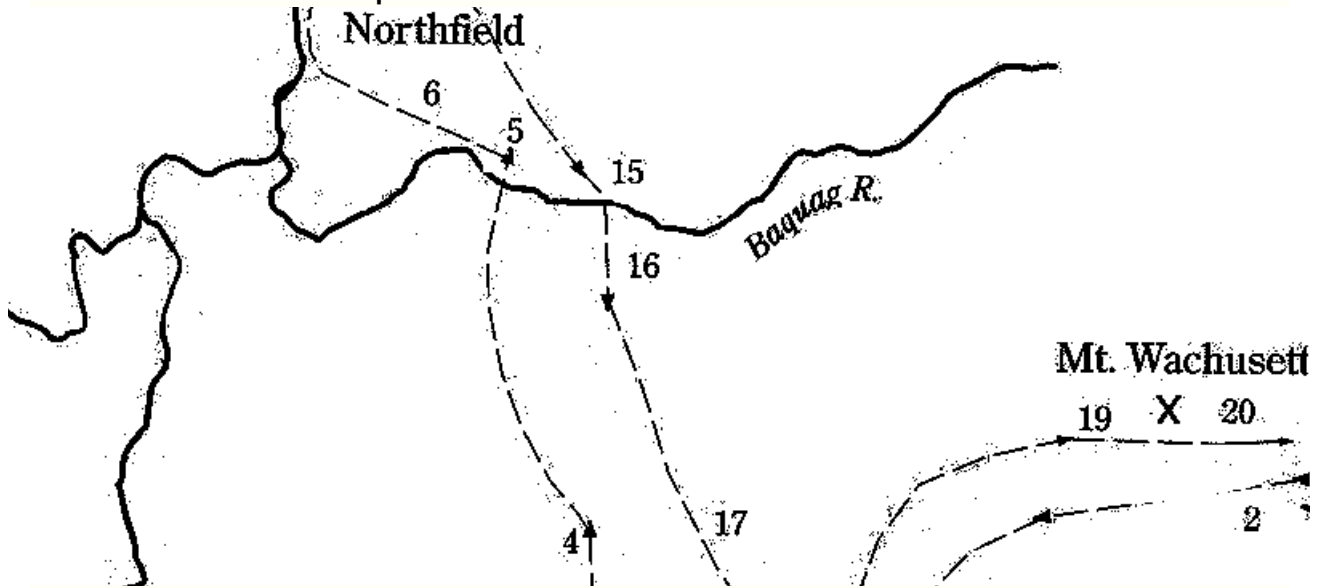
INDEX

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GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Refer to 15 on the map below:





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**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

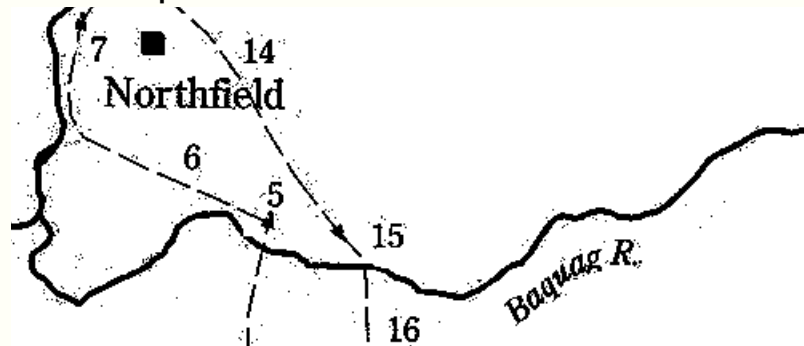
**INVENTED**

February 26, Saturday: The native Americans were still struggling to get all of their tribe across the swollen river, and [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was sitting on the far bank with her Bible, attempting to deal as well as she could with her distress and her hunger:

On the Saturday they boiled an old horse's leg which they had got, and so we drank of the broth, as soon as they thought it was ready, and when it was almost all gone, they filled it up again. The first week of my being among them I hardly ate any thing; the second week I found my stomach grow very faint for want of something; and yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash; but the third week, though I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet they were sweet and savory to my taste.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

Refer to "5" on the map below:



February 27, Sunday: The native Americans were finally getting all of their tribe across the swollen river, and [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was sitting on the far bank with her Bible, attempting to deal as well as she could with her distress and her hunger, and finding out what it was like to be someone's servant:

I was at this time knitting a pair of white cotton stockings for my mistress; and had not yet wrought upon a Sabbath day. When the Sabbath came they bade me go to work. I told them it was the Sabbath day, and desired them to let me rest, and told them I would do as much more tomorrow; to which they answered me they would break my face. And here I cannot but take notice of the strange providence of God in preserving the heathen. They were many hundreds, old and young, some sick, and some lame; many had papooses at their backs.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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



*... I tooke leave of my young Lo[rd] Mordaunt going into France, & sent a recommendatory letter to Mrs. Godolphin, to have some eye over him:*





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

The greatest number at this time with us were squaws, and they traveled with all they had, bag and baggage, and yet they got over this river aforesaid; and on Monday they set their wigwams on fire, and away they went. On that very day came the English army after them to this river, and saw the smoke of their wigwams, and yet this river put a stop to them. God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us. We were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance. If we had been God would have found out a way for the English to have passed this river, as well as for the Indians with their squaws and children, and all their luggage. "Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries" (Psalm 81.13-14).  
On Monday (as I said) they set their wigwams on fire and went away. It was a cold morning, and before us there was a great brook with ice on it; some waded through it, up to the knees and higher, but others went till they came to a beaver dam, and I amongst them, where through the good providence of God, I did not wet my foot. I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own country, and traveling into a vast and howling wilderness, and I understood something of Lot's wife's temptation, when she looked back. We came that day to a great swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night. When I came to the brow of the hill, that looked toward the swamp, I thought we had been come to a great Indian town (though there were none but our own company). The Indians were as thick as the trees: it seemed as if there had been a thousand hatchets going at once. If one looked before one there was nothing but Indians, and behind one, nothing but Indians, and so on either hand, I myself in the midst, and no Christian soul near me, and yet how hath the Lord preserved me in safety? Oh the experience that I have had of the goodness of God, to me and mine!

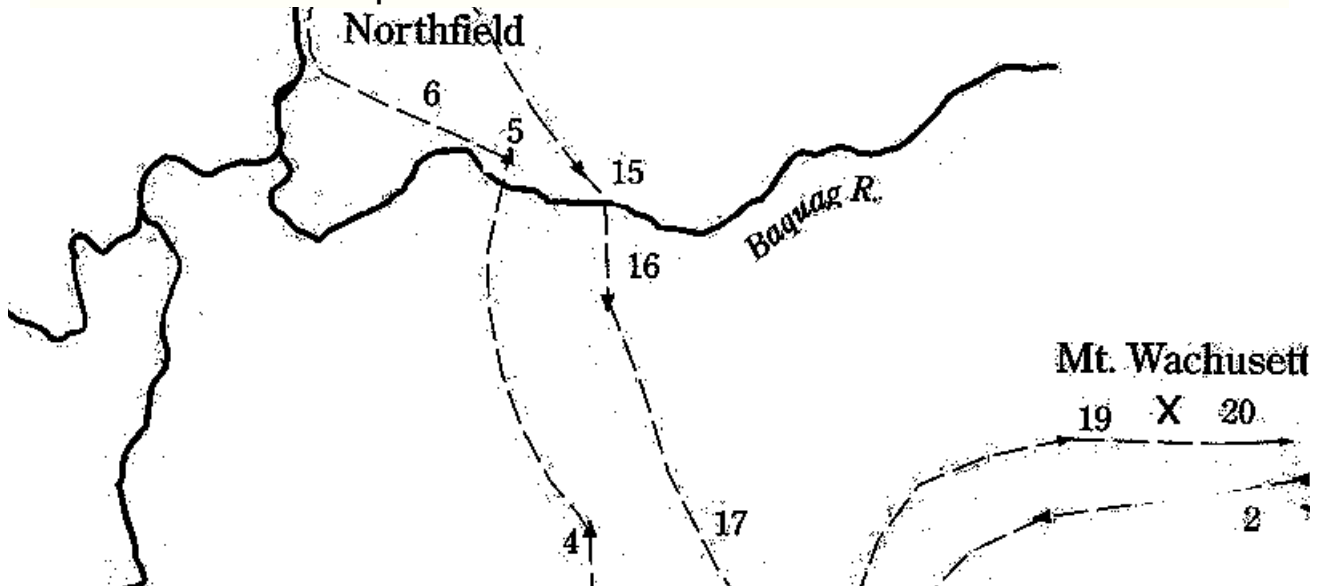
[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Refer to 10 on the map below:



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

~~February 29, Tuesday: The Massachusetts General Court declared itself in regard to the Christian Indians being held hostage on "deare Island" in Boston Harbor. The officer in charge, Captain Daniel Henchman, was to take care to ensure that these natives were working hard and living "soberly & religiously." The hostages must be guarded by six to eight "English men" to ensure that there were no escapes. They were to be put to work. The owners of Deer Island, Long Island, Potuck Island,<sup>66</sup> and the Brewsters were to be compensated for this public use of their property.<sup>67</sup>~~

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

February 19 (Old Style): At the Royal Society Experiments to prove that the force of gun-powder was from the compression of aire in the Cornes.

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

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

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

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

**MARCH 1676**

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



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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





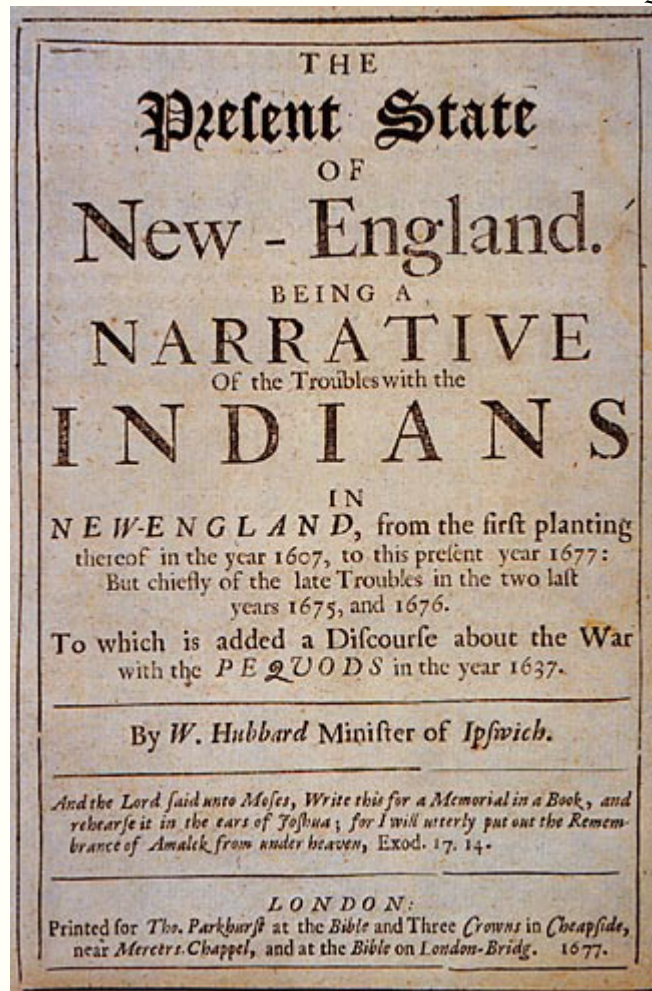
**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Boston, 10 //, volume 1, page 208:

The Reverend [William Hubbard](#) Minister of Ipswich's THE *PREFENT STATE* OF NEW-ENGLAND. BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PREFENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE WAR WITH THE *PEQUODS* IN THE YEAR 1637.<sup>68</sup>



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

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



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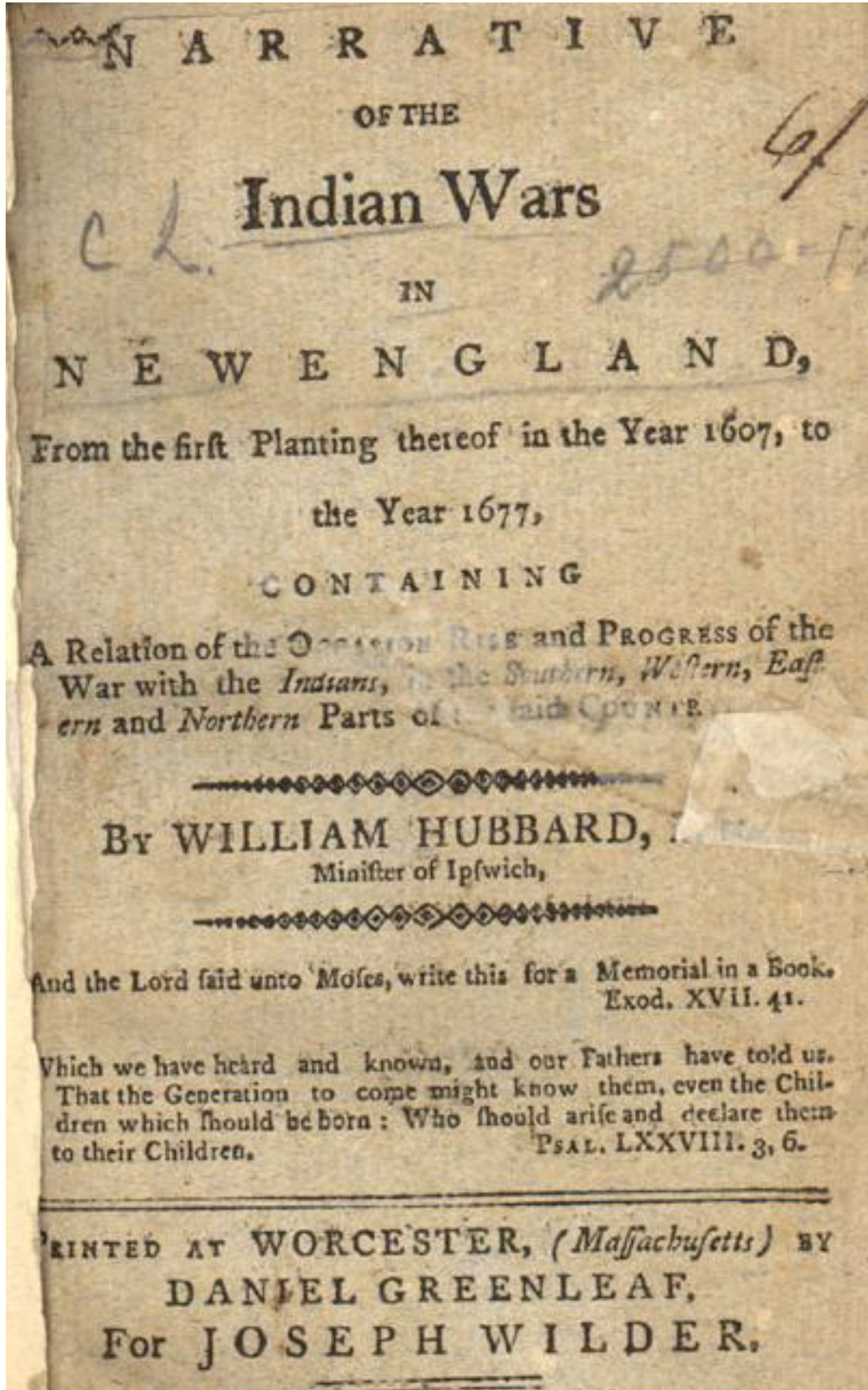
WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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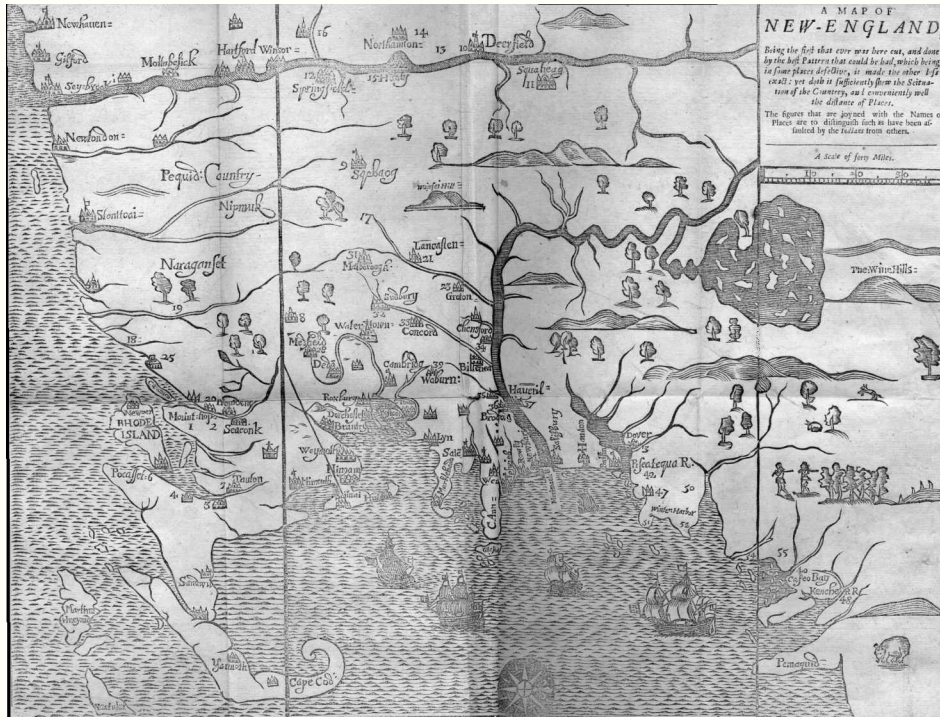


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## GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

The volume contained a 51 x 40 cm. map of New-England, being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: Yet doth it sufficiently show the situation of the country & conveniently well the distances of places.” The map was prepared by John Foster (1648-1681) and was oriented with north to the right, with relief pictorially depicted. “The figures that are joyned with the names of places are to distinguish such as have been assaulted by Indians from others.”



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

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

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

During this month a Quaker of Sandwich named Edward Perry was passing it around that he had received a message from God. He demanded that the governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies publish the message which he had received, which was to the effect that the current race troubles were a visitation from God, due to the general sinfulness of the white people. As you might imagine, God had specifically cited to him persecution of Quakers, as an instance of this rampant sinfulness which was being punished.<sup>69</sup>



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

March 1, Tuesday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, clutching her Bible and her faith in the dismal swamp, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger:

After a restless and hungry night there, we had a wearisome time of it the next day. The swamp by which we lay was, as it were, a deep dungeon, and an exceeding high and steep hill before it. Before I got to the top of the hill, I thought my heart and legs, and all would have broken, and failed me. What, through faintness and soreness of body, it was a grievous day of travel to me. As we went along, I saw a place where English cattle had been. That was comfort to me, such as it was. Quickly after that we came to an English path, which so took with me, that I thought I could have freely lyen down and died. That day, a little after noon, we came to Squakeag, where the Indians quickly spread themselves over the deserted English fields, gleaning what they could find. Some picked up ears of wheat that were crickled down; some found ears of Indian corn; some found ground nuts, and others sheaves of wheat that were frozen together in the shock, and went to threshing of them out. Myself got two ears of Indian corn, and whilst I did but turn my back, one of them was stolen from me, which much troubled me. There came an Indian to them at that time with a basket of horse liver. I asked him to give me a piece. "What," says he, "can you eat horse liver?" I told him, I would try, if he would give a piece, which he did, and I laid it on the coals to roast. But before it was half ready they got half of it away from me, so that I was fain to take the rest and eat it as it was, with the blood about my mouth, and yet a savory bit it was to me: "For to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet." A solemn sight methought it was, to see fields of wheat and Indian corn forsaken and spoiled and the remainders of them to be food for our merciless enemies. That night we had a mess of wheat for our supper.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

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



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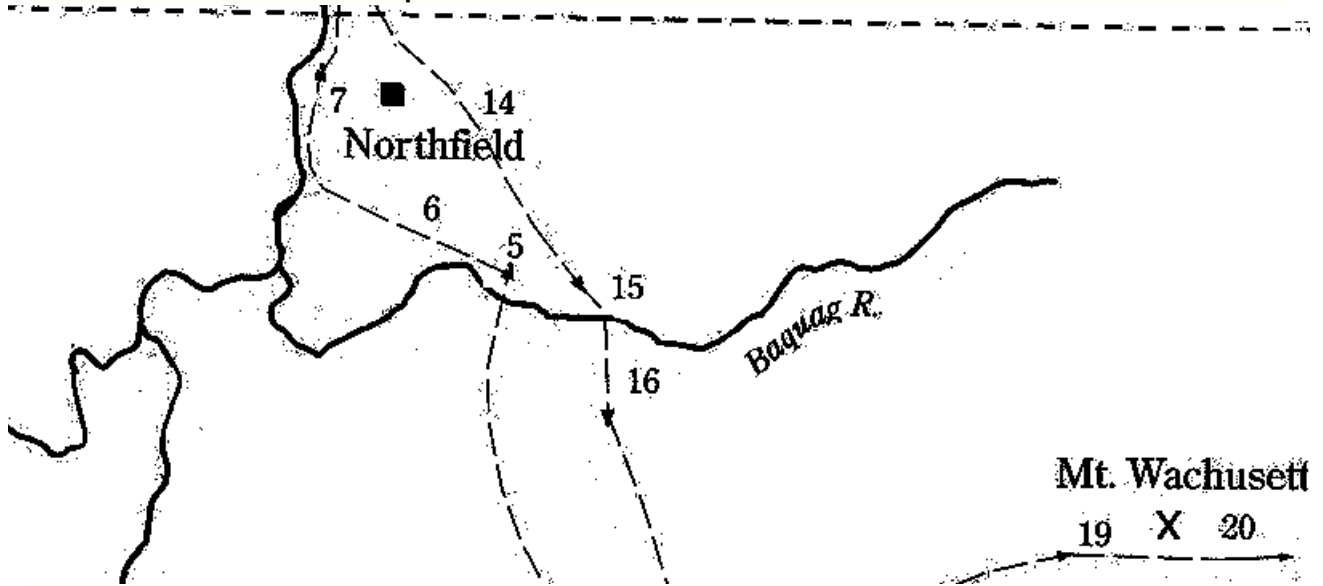
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Refer to 7 on the map below:





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



March 2, Wednesday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans until they could negotiate her ransom, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger, took consolation that her captivity was at least granting her freedom from her previous addiction to the [tobacco pipe](#):

**[next screen]**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

On the morrow morning we must go over the river, i.e. Connecticut, to meet with King Philip. Two canoes full they had carried over; the next turn I myself was to go. But as my foot was upon the canoe to step in there was a sudden outcry among them, and I must step back, and instead of going over the river, I must go four or five miles up the river farther northward. Some of the Indians ran one way, and some another. The cause of this rout was, as I thought, their espying some English scouts, who were thereabout. In this travel up the river about noon the company made a stop, and sat down; some to eat, and others to rest them. As I sat amongst them, musing of things past, my son Joseph unexpectedly came to me. We asked of each other's welfare, bemoaning our doleful condition, and the change that had come upon us. We had husband and father, and children, and sisters, and friends, and relations, and house, and home, and many comforts of this life: but now we may say, as Job, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." I asked him whether he would read. He told me he earnestly desired it, I gave him my Bible, and he lighted upon that comfortable Scripture "I shall not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord: the Lord hath chastened me sore yet he hath not given me over to death" (Psalm 118.17-18). "Look here, mother," says he, "did you read this?" And here I may take occasion to mention one principal ground of my setting forth these lines: even as the psalmist says, to declare the works of the Lord, and His wonderful power in carrying us along, preserving us in the wilderness, while under the enemy's hand, and returning of us in safety again. And His goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable scriptures in my distress. But to return, we traveled on till night; and in the morning, we must go over the river to Philip's crew. When I was in the canoe I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of pagans that were on the bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst. I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoiced over their gains and victories. Then my heart began to fail: and I fell weeping, which was the first time to my remembrance, that I wept before them. Although I had met with so much affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight; but rather had been all this while in a maze, and like one astonished. But now I may say as Psalm 137.1, "By the Rivers of Babylon, there we sate down: yea, we wept when we remembered Zion." There one of them asked me why I wept. I could hardly tell what to say: Yet I answered, they would kill me. "No," said he, "none will hurt you." Then came one of them and gave me two spoonfuls of meal to comfort me, and another gave me half a pint of peas; which was more worth than many bushels at another time. Then I went to see King Philip. He bade me come in and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke it (a usual compliment nowadays amongst saints and sinners) but this no way suited me. For though I had formerly used tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a bait the devil lays to make men lose their precious time. I remember with shame how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is. But I thank God, He has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to lie sucking a stinking tobacco-pipe.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

March 3, Thursday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans until they could negotiate her ransom, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger:

Now the Indians gather their forces to go against Northampton. Over night one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design. Whereupon they fell to boiling of ground nuts, and parching of corn (as many as had it) for their provision; and in the morning away they went. During my abode in this place, Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling. I offered the money to my master, but he bade me keep it; and with it I bought a piece of horse flesh. Afterwards he asked me to make a cap for his boy, for which he invited me to dinner. I went, and he gave me a pancake, about as big as two fingers. It was made of parched wheat, beaten, and fried in bear's grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life. There was a squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her sannup, for which she gave me a piece of bear. Another asked me to knit a pair of stockings, for which she gave me a quart of peas. I boiled my peas and bear together, and invited my master and mistress to dinner; but the proud gossip, because I served them both in one dish, would eat nothing, except one bit that he gave her upon the point of his knife. Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and found him lying flat upon the ground. I asked him how he could sleep so? He answered me that he was not asleep, but at prayer; and lay so, that they might not observe what he was doing. I pray God he may remember these things now he is returned in safety. At this place (the sun now getting higher) what with the beams and heat of the sun, and the smoke of the wigwams, I thought I should have been blind. I could scarce discern one wigwam from another. There was here one Mary Thurston of Medfield, who seeing how it was with me, lent me a hat to wear; but as soon as I was gone, the squaw (who owned that Mary Thurston) came running after me, and got it away again. Here was the squaw that gave me one spoonful of meal. I put it in my pocket to keep it safe. Yet notwithstanding, somebody stole it, but put five Indian corns in the room of it; which corns were the greatest provisions I had in my travel for one day.

The Indians returning from Northampton, brought with them some horses, and sheep, and other things which they had taken; I desired them that they would carry me to Albany upon one of those horses, and sell me for powder: for so they had sometimes discoursed. I was utterly hopeless of getting home on foot, the way that I came. I could hardly bear to think of the many weary steps I had taken, to come to this place.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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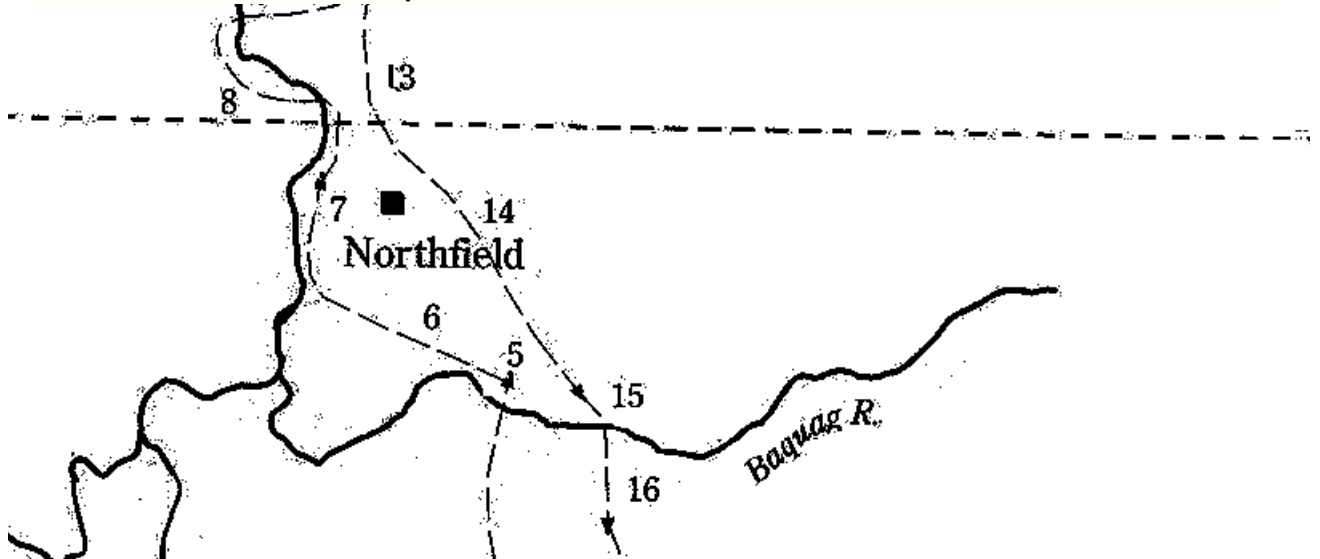
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Refer to 18 on the map below:







INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

March 4, Friday and a number of days afterward: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans until they could negotiate her ransom, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger, and by this point evidently she was beginning to lose track of the passage of time during her eleven weeks of captivity:

**[next screen]**



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**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

But instead of going either to Albany or homeward, we must go five miles up the river, and then go over it. Here we abode a while. Here lived a sorry Indian, who spoke to me to make him a shirt. When I had done it, he would pay me nothing. But he living by the riverside, where I often went to fetch water, I would often be putting of him in mind, and calling for my pay: At last he told me if I would make another shirt, for a papoose not yet born, he would give me a knife, which he did when I had done it. I carried the knife in, and my master asked me to give it him, and I was not a little glad that I had anything that they would accept of, and be pleased with. When we were at this place, my master's maid came home; she had been gone three weeks into the Narragansett country to fetch corn, where they had stored up some in the ground. She brought home about a peck and half of corn. This was about the time that their great captain, Naananto, was killed in the Narragansett country. My son being now about a mile from me, I asked liberty to go and see him; they bade me go, and away I went; but quickly lost myself, traveling over hills and through swamps, and could not find the way to him. And I cannot but admire at the wonderful power and goodness of God to me, in that, though I was gone from home, and met with all sorts of Indians, and those I had no knowledge of, and there being no Christian soul near me; yet not one of them offered the least imaginable miscarriage to me. I turned homeward again, and met with my master. He showed me the way to my son. When I came to him I found him not well: and withall he had a boil on his side, which much troubled him. We bemoaned one another a while, as the Lord helped us, and then I returned again. When I was returned, I found myself as unsatisfied as I was before. I went up and down mourning and lamenting; and my spirit was ready to sink with the thoughts of my poor children. My son was ill, and I could not but think of his mournful looks, and no Christian friend was near him, to do any office of love for him, either for soul or body. And my poor girl, I knew not where she was, nor whether she was sick, or well, or alive, or dead. I repaired under these thoughts to my Bible (my great comfort in that time) and that Scripture came to my hand, "Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee" (Psalm 55.22). But I was fain to go and look after something to satisfy my hunger, and going among the wigwams, I went into one and there found a squaw who showed herself very kind to me, and gave me a piece of bear. I put it into my pocket, and came home, but could not find an opportunity to broil it, for fear they would get it from me, and there it lay all that day and night in my stinking pocket. In the morning I went to the same squaw, who had a kettle of ground nuts boiling. I asked her to let me boil my piece of bear in her kettle, which she did, and gave me some ground nuts to eat with it: and I cannot but think how pleasant it was to me. I have sometime seen bear baked very handsomely among the English, and some like it, but the thought that it was bear made me tremble. But now that was savory to me that one would think was enough to turn the stomach of a brute creature. One bitter cold day I could find no room to sit down before the fire. I went out, and could not tell what to do, but I went in to another wigwam, where they were also sitting round the fire, but the squaw laid a skin for me, and bid me sit down, and gave me some ground nuts, and bade me come again; and told me they would buy me, if they were able, and yet these were strangers to me that I never saw before.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

HDT

WHAT?

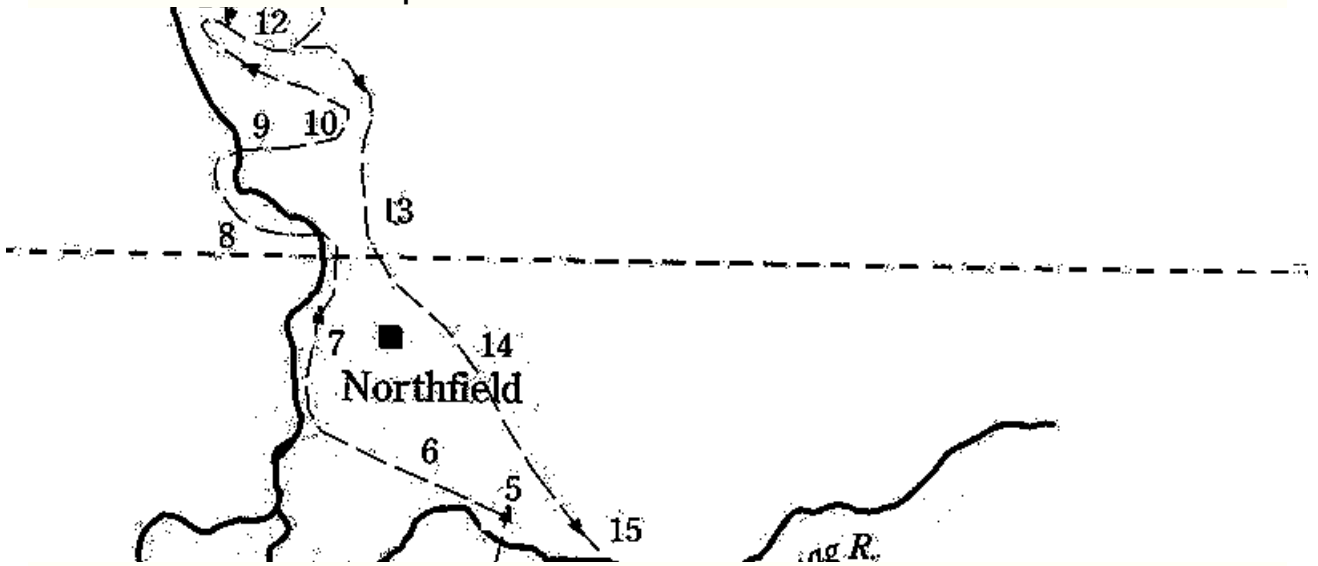
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Refer to "9" on the map below:

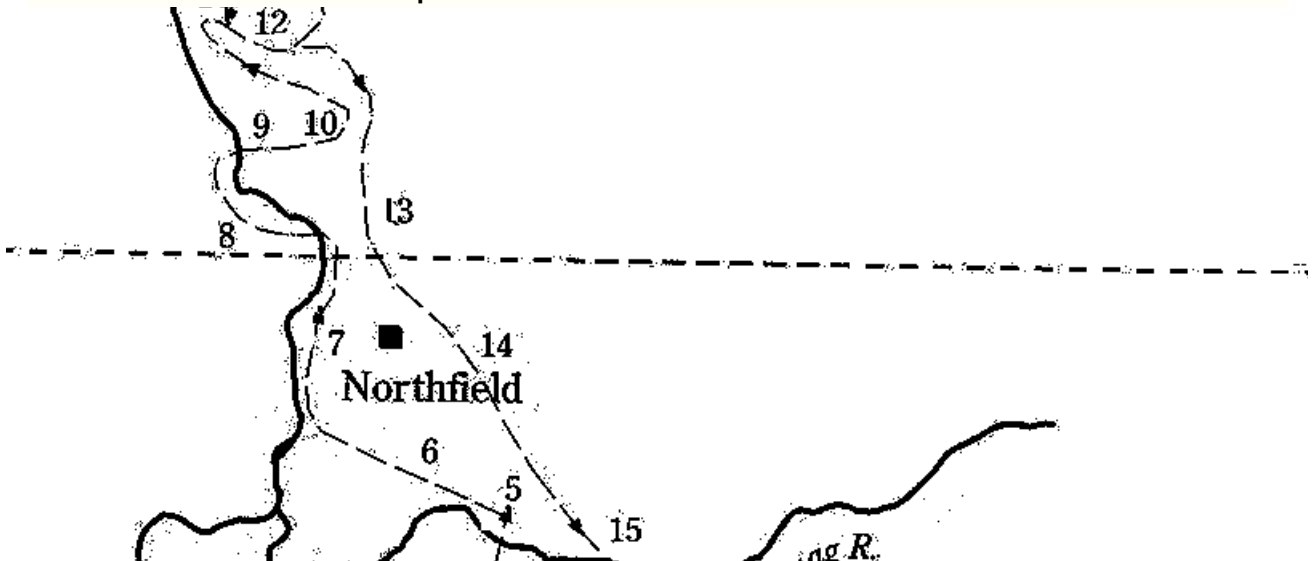


Later on in March: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger:

The Tenth Remove: That day a small part of the company removed about three-quarters of a mile, intending further the next day. When they came to the place where they intended to lodge, and had pitched their wigwams, being hungry, I went again back to the place we were before at, to get something to eat, being encouraged by the squaw's kindness, who bade me come again. When I was there, there came an Indian to look after me, who when he had found me, kicked me all along. I went home and found venison roasting that night, but they would not give me one bit of it. Sometimes I met with favor, and sometimes with nothing but frowns.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

Refer to "10" on the map below:





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

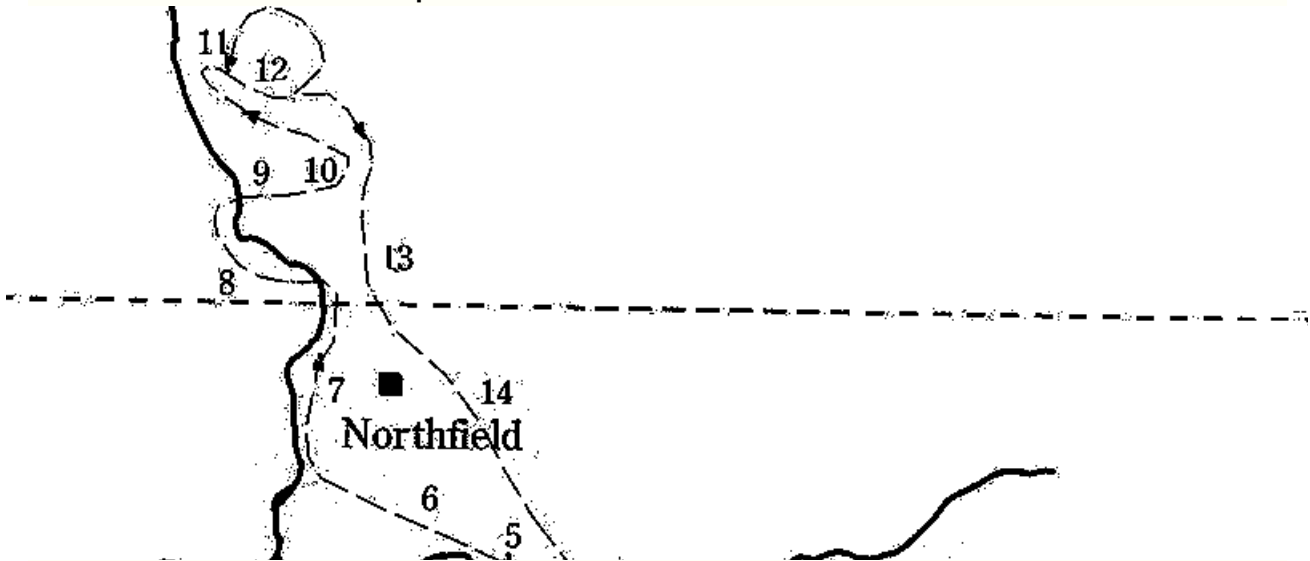
**INVENTED**

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

The Eleventh Remove: The next day in the morning they took their travel, intending a day's journey up the river. I took my load at my back, and quickly we came to wade over the river; and passed over tiresome and wearisome hills. One hill was so steep that I was fain to creep up upon my knees, and to hold by the twigs and bushes to keep myself from falling backward. My head also was so light that I usually reeled as I went; but I hope all these wearisome steps that I have taken, are but a forewarning to me of the heavenly rest: "I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right, and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me" (Psalm 119.75).

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

Refer to "11" on the map below:





INVERTED

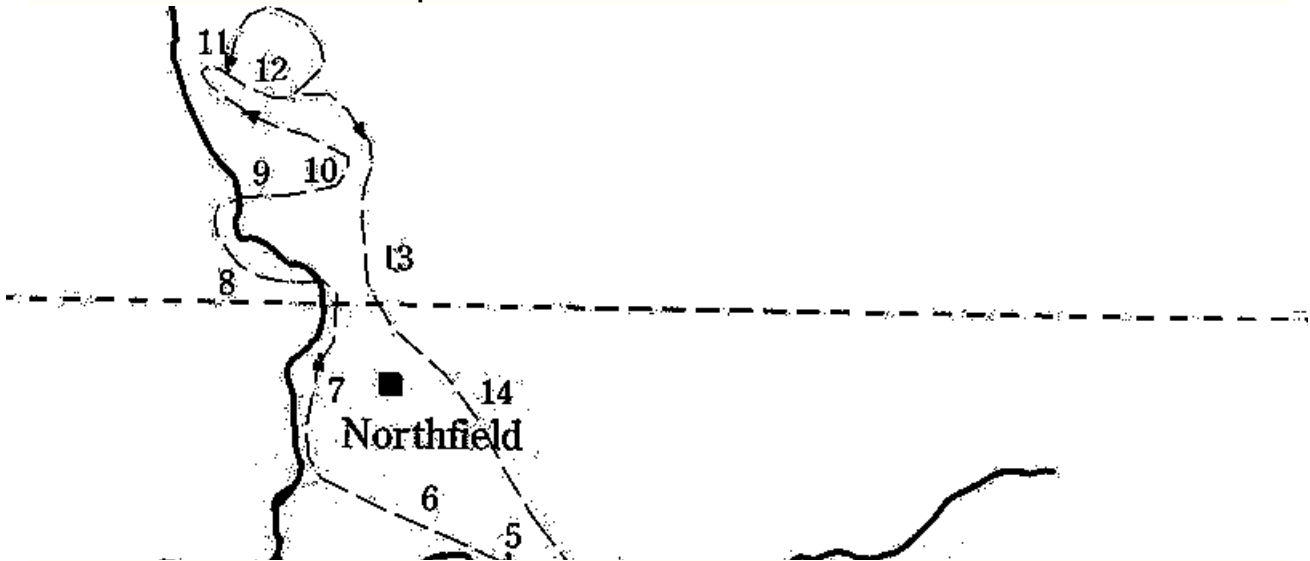
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

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

**[next screen]**

Refer to "12" on the map below:





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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

The Twelfth Remove: It was upon a Sabbath-day-morning, that they prepared for their travel. This morning I asked my master whether he would sell me to my husband. He answered me "Nux," which did much rejoice my spirit. My mistress, before we went, was gone to the burial of a papoose, and returning, she found me sitting and reading in my Bible; she snatched it hastily out of my hand, and threw it out of doors. I ran out and caught it up, and put it into my pocket, and never let her see it afterward. Then they packed up their things to be gone, and gave me my load. I complained it was too heavy, whereupon she gave me a slap in the face, and bade me go; I lifted up my heart to God, hoping the redemption was not far off; and the rather because their insolency grew worse and worse. But the thoughts of my going homeward (for so we bent our course) much cheered my spirit, and made my burden seem light, and almost nothing at all. But (to my amazement and great perplexity) the scale was soon turned; for when we had gone a little way, on a sudden my mistress gives out; she would go no further, but turn back again, and said I must go back again with her, and she called her sannup, and would have had him gone back also, but he would not, but said he would go on, and come to us again in three days. My spirit was, upon this, I confess, very impatient, and almost outrageous. I thought I could as well have died as went back; I cannot declare the trouble that I was in about it; but yet back again I must go. As soon as I had the opportunity, I took my Bible to read, and that quieting Scripture came to my hand, "Be still, and know that I am God" (Psalm 46.10). Which stilled my spirit for the present. But a sore time of trial, I concluded, I had to go through, my master being gone, who seemed to me the best friend that I had of an Indian, both in cold and hunger, and quickly so it proved. Down I sat, with my heart as full as it could hold, and yet so hungry that I could not sit neither; but going out to see what I could find, and walking among the trees, I found six acorns, and two chestnuts, which were some refreshment to me. Towards night I gathered some sticks for my own comfort, that I might not lie a-cold; but when we came to lie down they bade me to go out, and lie somewhere else, for they had company (they said) come in more than their own. I told them, I could not tell where to go, they bade me go look; I told them, if I went to another wigwam they would be angry, and send me home again. Then one of the company drew his sword, and told me he would run me through if I did not go presently. Then was I fain to stoop to this rude fellow, and to go out in the night, I knew not whither. Mine eyes have seen that fellow afterwards walking up and down Boston, under the appearance of a Friend Indian, and several others of the like cut. I went to one wigwam, and they told me they had no room. Then I went to another, and they said the same; at last an old Indian bade me to come to him, and his squaw gave me some ground nuts; she gave me also something to lay under my head, and a good fire we had; and through the good providence of God, I had a comfortable lodging that night. In the morning, another Indian bade me come at night, and he would give me six ground nuts, which I did. We were at this place and time about two miles from [the] Connecticut river. We went in the morning to gather ground nuts, to the river, and went back again that night. I went with a good load at my back (for they when they went, though but a little way, would carry all their trumpery with them). I told them the skin was off my back, but I had no other comforting answer from them than this: that it would be no matter if my head were off too.

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

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

**[next screen]**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**METACOM**

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

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

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**



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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

HDT

WHAT?

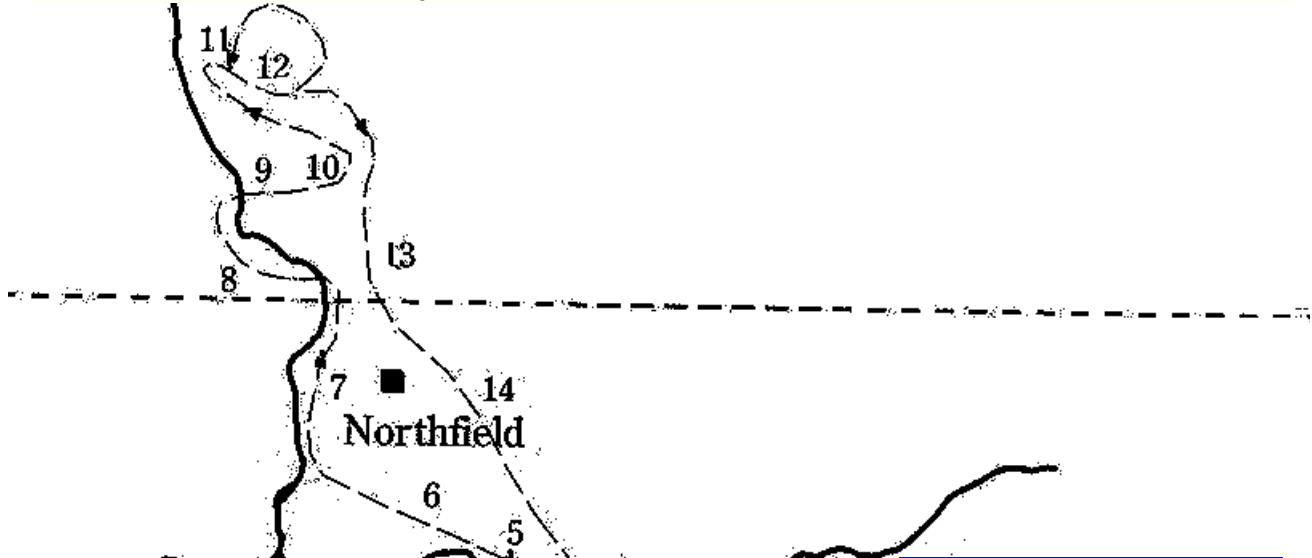
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Refer to "15" on the map below:



CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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

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

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

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

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

According to the Reverend William Hubbard's A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURSE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, on this day a [Concord](#) man was killed while going after hay.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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

Marriages Births Deaths

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Marriages Births Deaths

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



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

The latter part of this month they burnt Medfield, and killed 20 of the inhabitants; and on the 13th of March nearly all of Groton was reduced to ashes. Major Willard was engaged in this battle.<sup>70</sup> A company from [Concord](#), and another from Watertown were also there.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

READ THE FULL TEXT

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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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



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

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

March 14th, the Council ordered "that the committees of militia of [Concord](#) and Sudbury doe forthwith impress so many carts as may bee sufficient to bring off the goods and provisions belonging to the people left at Lancaster, unto Concord or any other towne, they desire to come unto; and for guarding the said carts it is ordered that Sargeant Lamson, commander of the garrison soldiers at Lancaster, do send two files of soldiers to guard the said carts up and down." Besides the inhabitants of Lancaster, several of Groton and other frontier towns resided in Concord till after the peace.<sup>71</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

The Fourteenth Remove: Now must we pack up and be gone from this thicket, bending our course toward the Baytowns; I having nothing to eat by the way this day, but a few crumbs of cake, that an Indian gave my girl the same day we were taken. She gave it me, and I put it in my pocket; there it lay, till it was so moldy (for want of good baking) that one could not tell what it was made of; it fell all to crumbs, and grew so dry and hard, that it was like little flints; and this refreshed me many times, when I was ready to faint. It was in my thoughts when I put it into my mouth, that if ever I returned, I would tell the world what a blessing the Lord gave to such mean food. As we went along they killed a deer, with a young one in her, they gave me a piece of the fawn. and it was so young and tender, that one might eat the bones as well as the flesh, and yet I thought it very good. When night came on we sat down; it rained, but they quickly got up a bark wigwam, where I lay dry that night. I looked out in the morning, and many of them had lain in the rain all night, I saw by their reeking. Thus the Lord dealt mercifully with me many times, and I fared better than many of them. In the morning they took the blood of the deer, and put it into the paunch, and so boiled it. I could eat nothing of that, though they ate it sweetly. And yet they were so nice in other things, that when I had fetched water, and had put the dish I dipped the water with into the kettle of water which I brought, they would say they would knock me down; for they said, it was a sluttish trick.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

HDT

WHAT?

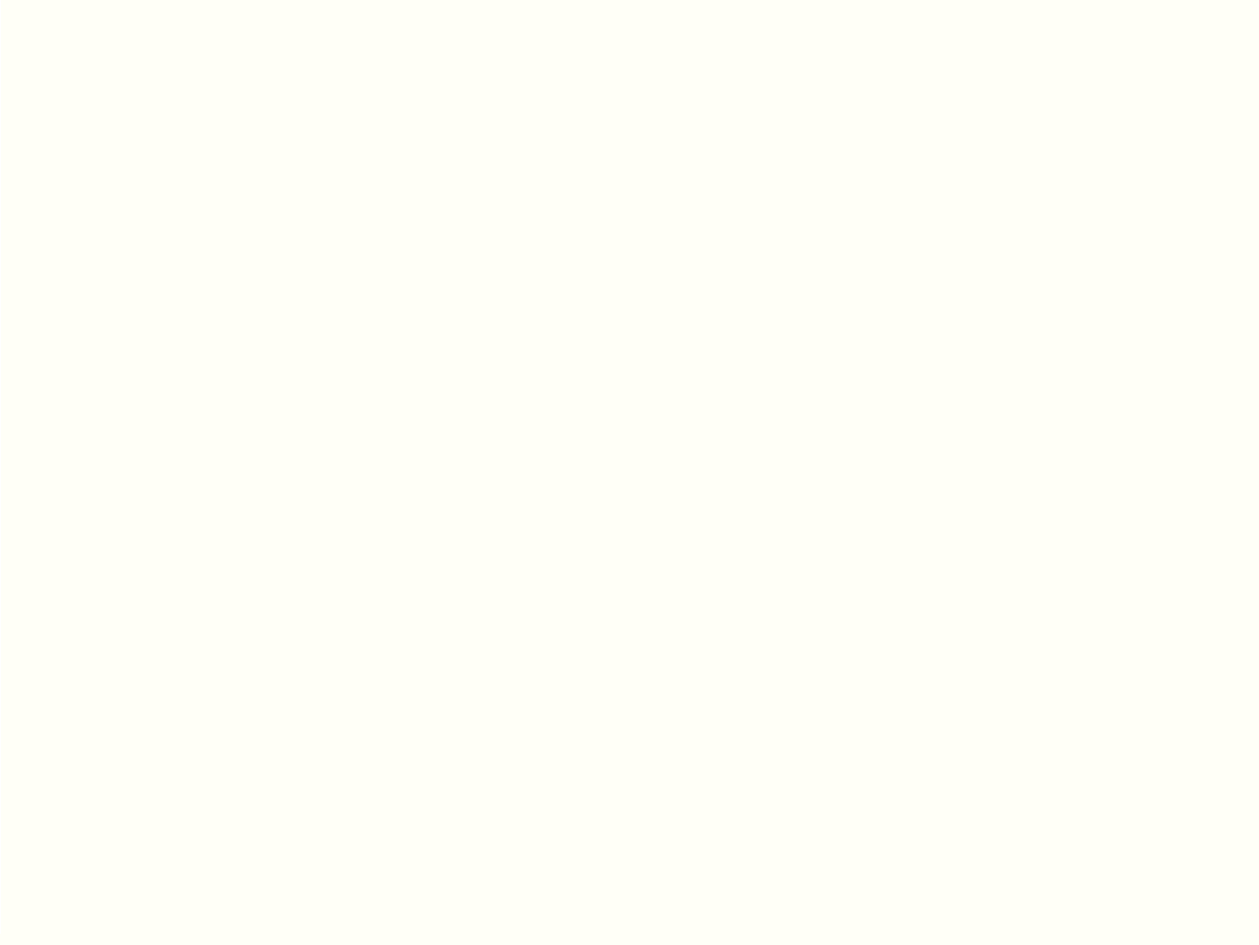
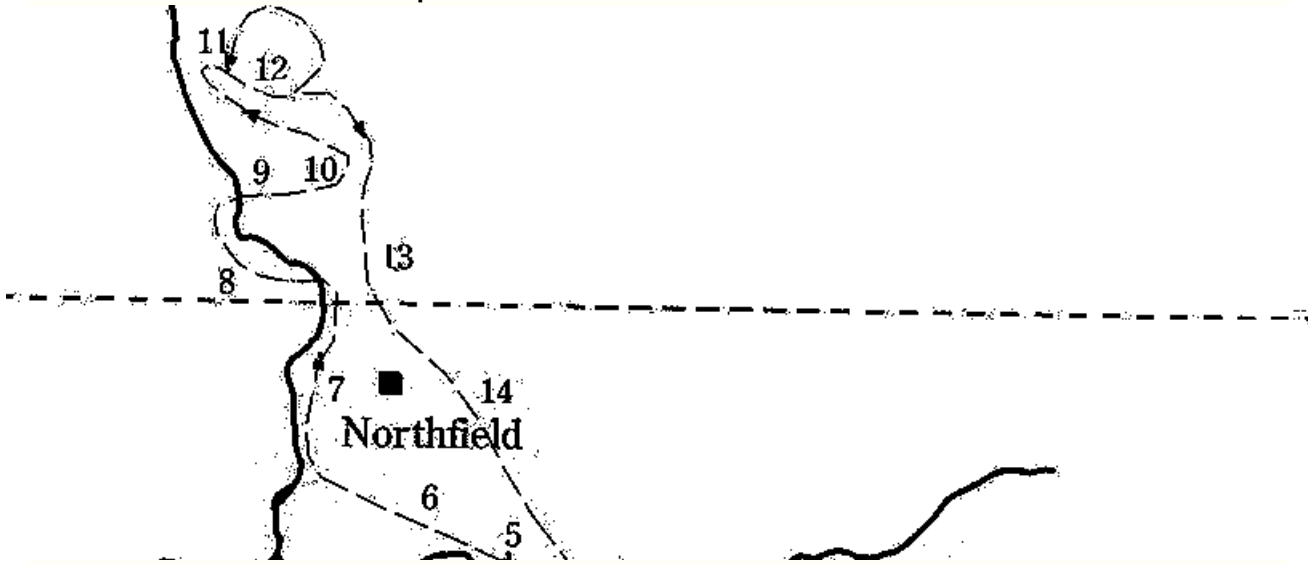
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Refer to "14" on the map below:





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

The Fifteenth Remove: We went on our travel. I having got one handful of ground nuts, for my support that day, they gave me my load, and I went on cheerfully (with the thoughts of going homeward), having my burden more on my back than my spirit. We came to Banquaug river again that day, near which we abode a few days. Sometimes one of them would give me a pipe, another a little tobacco, another a little salt: which I would change for a little victuals. I cannot but think what a wolvis appetite persons have in a starving condition; for many times when they gave me that which was hot, I was so greedy, that I should burn my mouth, that it would trouble me hours after, and yet I should quickly do the same again. And after I was thoroughly hungry, I was never again satisfied. For though sometimes it fell out, that I got enough, and did eat till I could eat no more, yet I was as unsatisfied as I was when I began. And now could I see that Scripture verified (there being many Scriptures which we do not take notice of, or understand till we are afflicted) "Thou shalt eat and not be satisfied" (Micah 6.14). Now might I see more than ever before, the miseries that sin hath brought upon us. Many times I should be ready to run against the heathen, but the Scripture would quiet me again, "Shall there be evil in a City and the Lord hath not done it?" (Amos 3.6). The Lord help me to make a right improvement of His word, and that I might learn that great lesson: "He hath showed thee (Oh Man) what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God? Hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it" (Micah 6.8-9).

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**



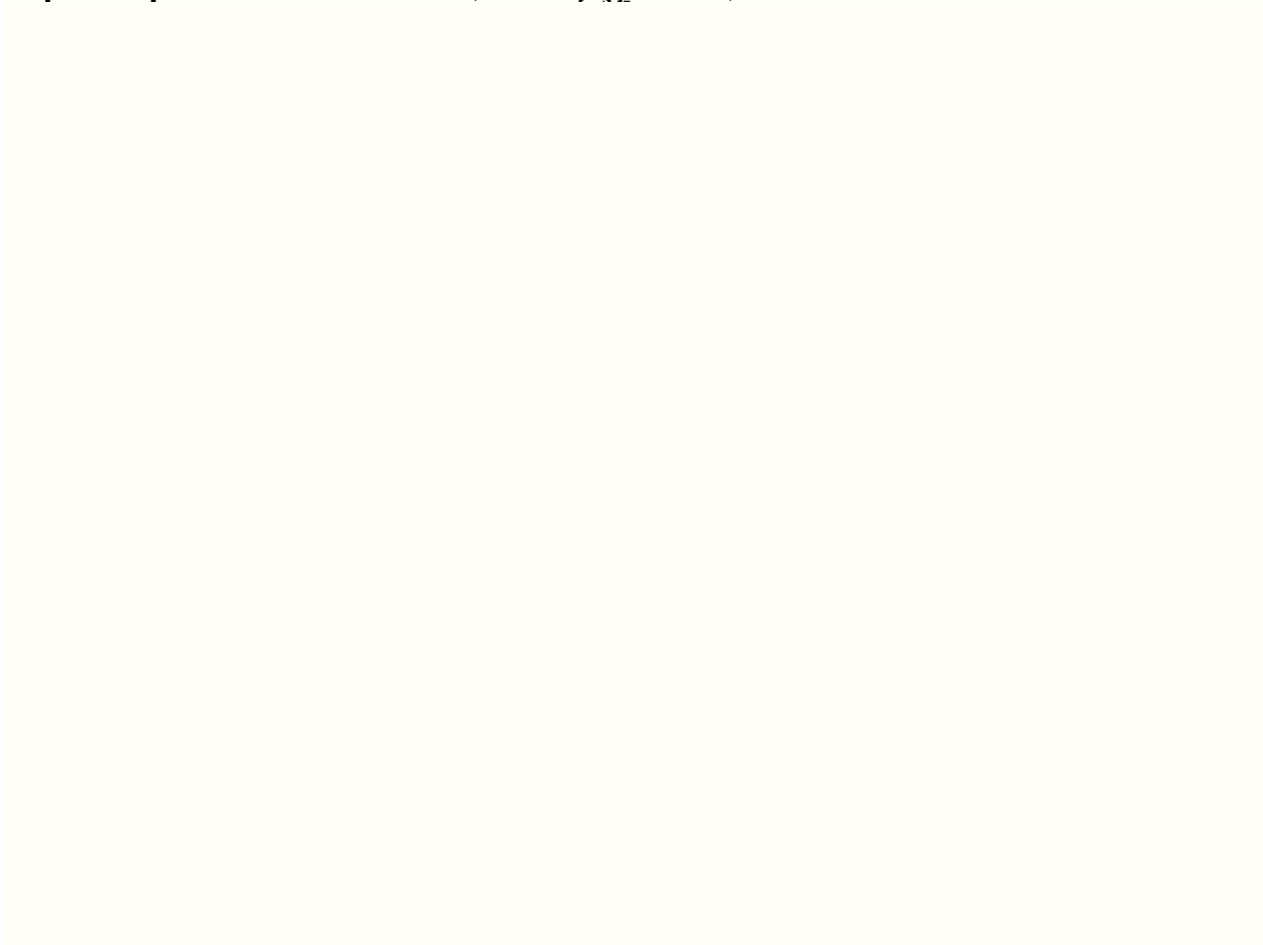
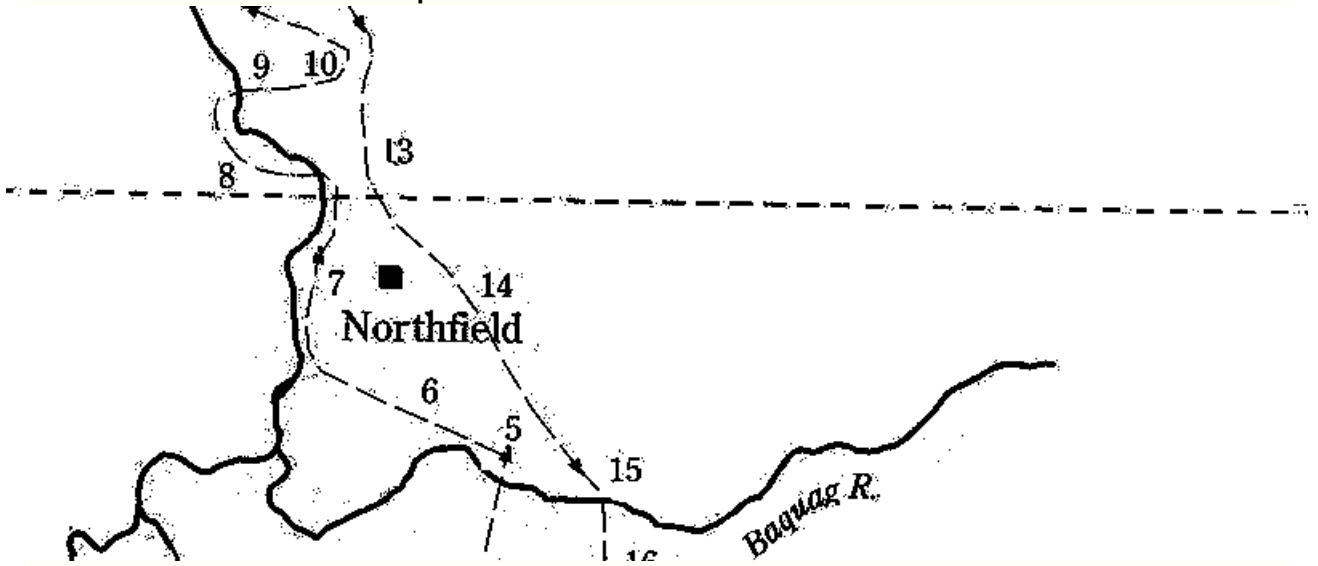


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**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

Refer to "15" on the map below:





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

The Sixteenth Removal: We began this remove with wading over Banquaug river: the water was up to the knees, and the stream very swift, and so cold that I thought it would have cut me in sunder. I was so weak and feeble, that I reeled as I went along, and thought there I must end my days at last, after my bearing and getting through so many difficulties. The Indians stood laughing to see me staggering along; but in my distress the Lord gave me experience of the truth, and goodness of that promise, "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee" (Isaiah 43.2). Then I sat down to put on my stockings and shoes, with the tears running down mine eyes, and sorrowful thoughts in my heart, but I got up to go along with them. Quickly there came up to us an Indian, who informed them that I must go to Wachusett to my master, for there was a letter come from the council to the Sagamores, about redeeming the captives, and that there would be another in fourteen days, and that I must be there ready. My heart was so heavy before that I could scarce speak or go in the path; and yet now so light, that I could run. My strength seemed to come again, and recruit my feeble knees, and aching heart. Yet it pleased them to go but one mile that night, and there we stayed two days. In that time came a company of Indians to us, near thirty, all on horseback. My heart skipped within me, thinking they had been Englishmen at the first sight of them, for they were dressed in English apparel, with hats, white neckcloths, and sashes about their waists; and ribbons upon their shoulders; but when they came near, there was a vast difference between the lovely faces of Christians, and fowl looks of those heathens, which much damped my spirit again.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

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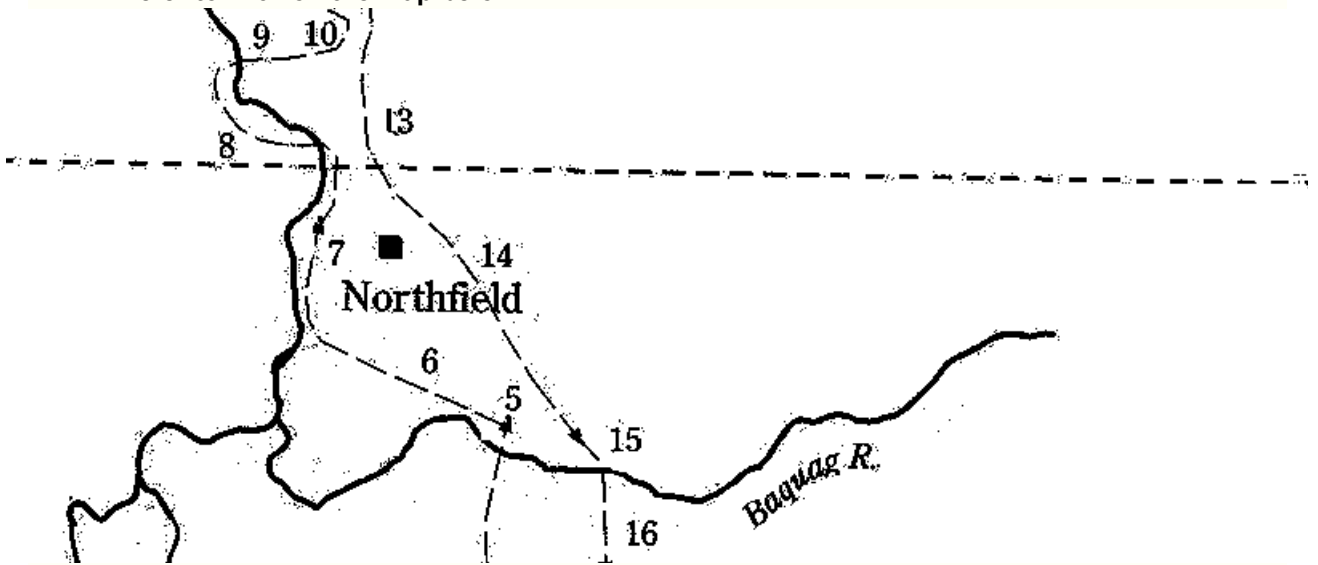
INDEX

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GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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Refer to "16" on the map below:





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

The Seventeenth Remove: A comfortable remove it was to me, because of my hopes. They gave me a pack, and along we went cheerfully; but quickly my will proved more than my strength; having little or no refreshing, my strength failed me, and my spirits were almost quite gone. Now may I say with David "I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. I am gone like the shadow when it declineth: I am tossed up and down like the locust; my knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness" (Psalm 119.22-24). At night we came to an Indian town, and the Indians sat down by a wigwam discoursing, but I was almost spent, and could scarce speak. I laid down my load, and went into the wigwam, and there sat an Indian boiling of horses feet (they being wont to eat the flesh first, and when the feet were old and dried, and they had nothing else, they would cut off the feet and use them). I asked him to give me a little of his broth, or water they were boiling in; he took a dish, and gave me one spoonful of samp, and bid me take as much of the broth as I would. Then I put some of the hot water to the samp, and drank it up, and my spirit came again. He gave me also a piece of the ruff or ridding of the small guts, and I broiled it on the coals; and now may I say with Jonathan, "See, I pray you, how mine eyes have been enlightened, because I tasted a little of this honey" (1 Samuel 14.29). Now is my spirit revived again; though means be never so inconsiderable, yet if the Lord bestow His blessing upon them, they shall refresh both soul and body.

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

HDT

WHAT?

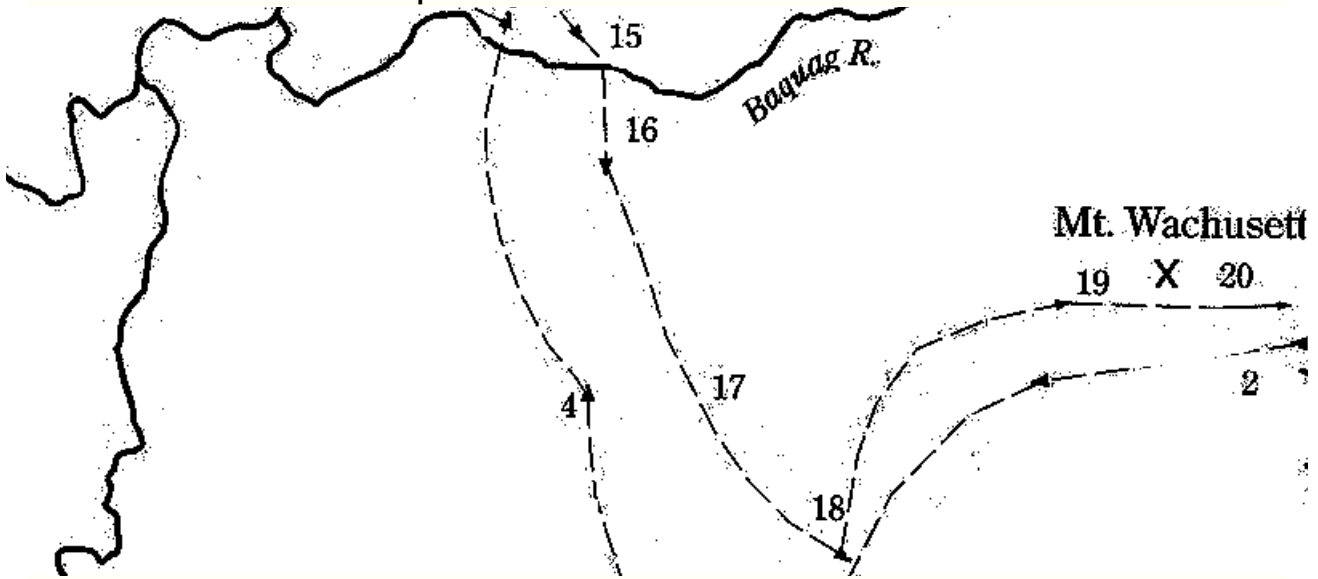
INDEX

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GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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Refer to 17 on the map below:





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**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

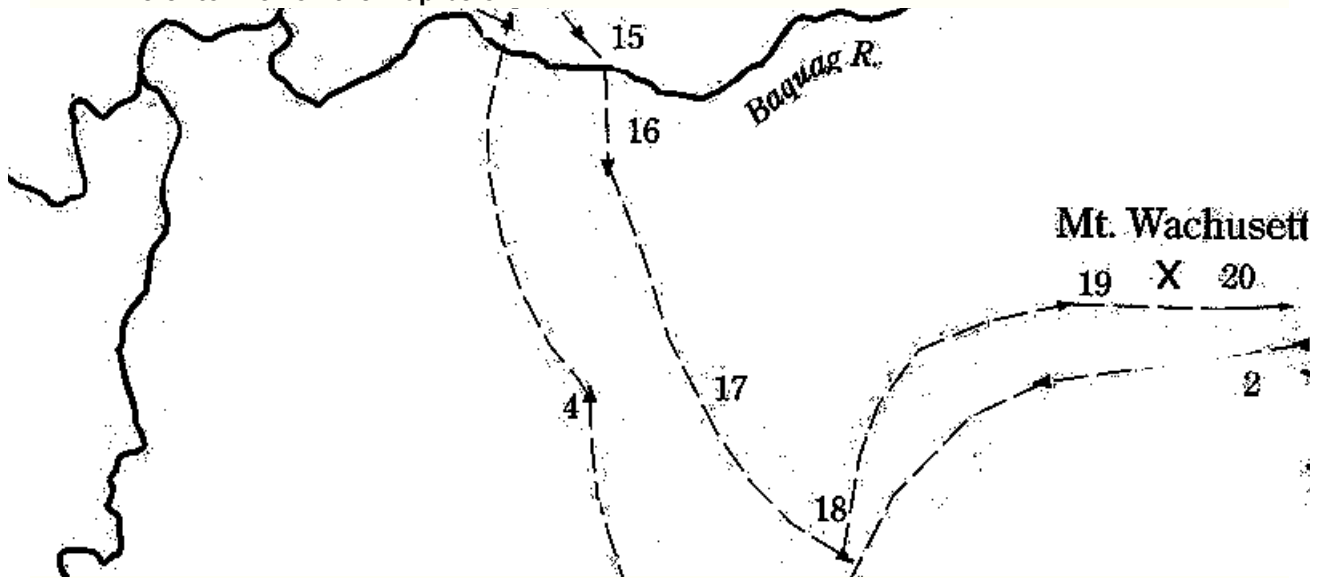
Later on in March: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was being hauled along with the Americans in their flight from the English army, clutching her Bible and her faith, attempting to deal as best she could with her distress and her hunger:

The Eighteenth Remove: We took up our packs and along we went, but a wearisome day I had of it. As we went along I saw an Englishman stripped naked, and lying dead upon the ground, but knew not who it was. Then we came to another Indian town, where we stayed all night. In this town there were four English children, captives; and one of them my own sister's. I went to see how she did, and she was well, considering her captive condition. I would have tarried that night with her, but they that owned her would not suffer it. Then I went into another wigwam, where they were boiling corn and beans, which was a lovely sight to see, but I could not get a taste thereof. Then I went to another wigwam, where there were two of the English children; the squaw was boiling horses feet; then she cut me off a little piece, and gave one of the English children a piece also. Being very hungry I had quickly eat up mine, but the child could not bite it, it was so tough and sinewy, but lay sucking, gnawing, chewing and slabbering of it in the mouth and hand. Then I took it of the child, and eat it myself, and savory it was to my taste. Then I may say as Job 6.7, "The things that my soul refused to touch are as my sorrowful meat." Thus the Lord made that pleasant refreshing, which another time would have been an abomination. Then I went home to my mistress's wigwam; and they told me I disgraced my master with begging, and if I did so any more, they would knock me in the head. I told them, they had as good knock me in head as starve me to death.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

Refer to "18" on the map below:



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.<sup>72</sup> Several of the native American guides from Cape Cod were able to escape alive by various subterfuges. Actually, it seems the American natives lost more warriors in this fight than the English. Supposedly, nine of the white warriors were captured and would be conveyed to a spot in [Cumberland](#) that now goes under the name “Nine Men’s Misery,” and there killed.<sup>73</sup>



A messenger had been sent to [Providence](#) for aid, before the ambush, but had been, according to tradition, too pious to interrupt a church service in progress when he arrived. After he had waited outside the church for

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

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

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

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

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

hours while the long service proceeded, his message was too late the relief force being able only to bury the scalped bodies. (A few days later Canonchet would be captured and executed.)

March 27, Monday: Nipmuc warriors attacked the English army near Sudbury.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

4. That the said towns have their own men returned, that are abroad, and their men freed from impress during their present state.

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

Another subject is embraced in the report from which the above is extracted. The committee were instructed to consider the propriety of erecting a "line of stockadoes or stone worke" across the county, to include Chelmsford, Concord, Sudbury and the other populous places; but they deemed this inexpedient, on account of the length of way to be fortified; the difficulty of crossing ponds and rivers, the peculiar season of the year and the scarcity of laborers. For these and several other reasons the project was abandoned. It would indeed have been a work of no small magnitude to erect such a barrier as would have been effectual against the incursion of savages. A line of garrison houses was, however, erected on the frontiers of all these towns; and it is probable that in fixing upon the location of the Christian Indian towns before the war, reference might have been had to the safety of the English in case of danger. They served, says Gookin, as a "wall of defence."<sup>74</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



March 29: At the beginning of King Philip's War, Providence had been neutral and this neutrality had been respected by the Wampanoag. However, whites from Providence and another Rhode Island town had joined the United Colonies army as it marched had through on its way to the "Great Swamp Fight" in which so many Narragansett and Wampanoag had been killed, and after which so many had starved because their winter supplies had burned. On this day, therefore, with only some 30 whites of the 500 residents of Providence remaining in the vicinity, the English settlement was raided. Only one man and one woman were killed during the general torching of the empty houses of the town. The man was named Wright. This resident had trusted in the power of the BIBLE to save him, and had remained in his house clutching this book. The native American torch party, encountering this intransigence, "ript him open, and put his BIBLE in his belly." The woman was a Quaker: Friend Elizabeth Sucklin. All the other 30-odd remaining residents had taken refuge in garrison houses and these garrison houses were not attacked. "Elizabeth Sucklin was preparing to goe from Her own Hous to A Fort but delaying they Killed Her." "The House of John Smith where the Town records were Kept, was burnt with about 26 Others, but the Record was mostly thrown into the Mill Pond, afterward carried to Newport for Safety and brought back the 27th of April next year 1677." The native attackers did not torch the

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

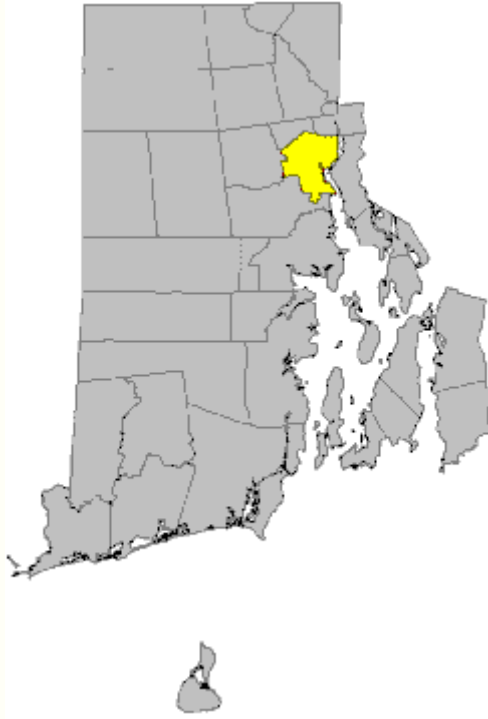


**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

house that had been erected by Samuel Whipple on the north side of Abbott Street to the east of the Town Street that is now North Main, possibly because they were aware that it had been being used for religious meetings. Allegedly, during this general torching, an exceedingly strange meeting took place. The Reverend [Roger Williams](#), age 77, allegedly walked out into the forest, with his home and 71 other homes in smouldering ashes behind him (another source says 54 houses were torched, another that 27 were torched: whatever, we know that of the entire town, only two houses survived), and allegedly he remonstrated with the [Narragansett](#) warriors.



To their claim that

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

the famous Reverend allegedly responded

“God had prospered **us** so that wee had driven the Wampanoag



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

with PHILIP out of his Countrie...."



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

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

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**  
**WAMPANOAG**




**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**APRIL 1676**

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

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

The month of April witnessed other horrible events to this county. Having destroyed most of the remote towns, the Indians looked to those remaining, and formed a determination to destroy them also. At this time they collected in great numbers, and approached nearest to Boston; and the colonists were called upon to make the most vigorous defence.<sup>75</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

April 5, Wednesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,<sup>76</sup> the governor of Connecticut died:

April 5, Wednesday, Governour Winthrop dyes.

April 10, Monday: In Woburn MA, Samuel Richardson's wife and children were killed by Indians.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall, on this day the governor of Connecticut was being buried:

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

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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





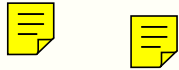


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**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

Six days before his death, Elder [John Clarke](#) had been summoned to attend a meeting of the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), which had written him that it desired “to have the advice and concurrence of the most judicious inhabitants in the troublous times and straits into which the colony has been brought.” On this day he died, but not so suddenly as to be unable to make out a last will and testament. He left a confession of his Calvinist doctrine “so clear and Scriptural that [it] might stand as the confession of faith of Baptists to-day, after more than two centuries of experience and investigation”; nowadays some refer to him as the “Father of American Baptists.”<sup>77</sup> His will has created a John Clarke Trust the income from which was to be used “for the relief of the poor or bringing up of children unto learning from time to time forever,” which may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in America and may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in the world. –So that you will know what to say if you want to get your hands on some of his beneficence: bone up on your Calvinist theology, as the document has instructed the three trustees and their successors in perpetuity to favor, in their distribution of the moneys, “those that fear the Lord.”

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

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

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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

Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton was then at Marlborough, having been left there to strengthen the frontiers on the return of the army from the interior. Understanding the situation of Sudbury, he marched with 32 soldiers to its relief. Capt. Broclebank, whose quarters had been at Marlborough, also accompanied him as a convoy to Boston, where he was intending to go to communicate with the Council. They marched in the night, and fell into an ambuscade early in the morning, when all but a few, who escaped to a mill, were slain. These unfortunate soldiers were buried the next day, principally by a company of Christian Indians, who had been organized and sent out the day before by direction of the English, under Capt. Hunting of Charlestown. Four dead Indians only were found.<sup>78</sup>

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

carried in the vicinity of Groton, Lancaster and Marlborough, whence they could easily make incursions to annoy the English.<sup>79</sup>

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

distress and hunger:

METACOM

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

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

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Early that morning a group of about a dozen [Concord](#) men, attempting to infiltrate Sudbury to reinforce it, had been intercepted on the river meadow. Some, it was said later, had been taken alive for torture.<sup>80</sup>



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

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

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

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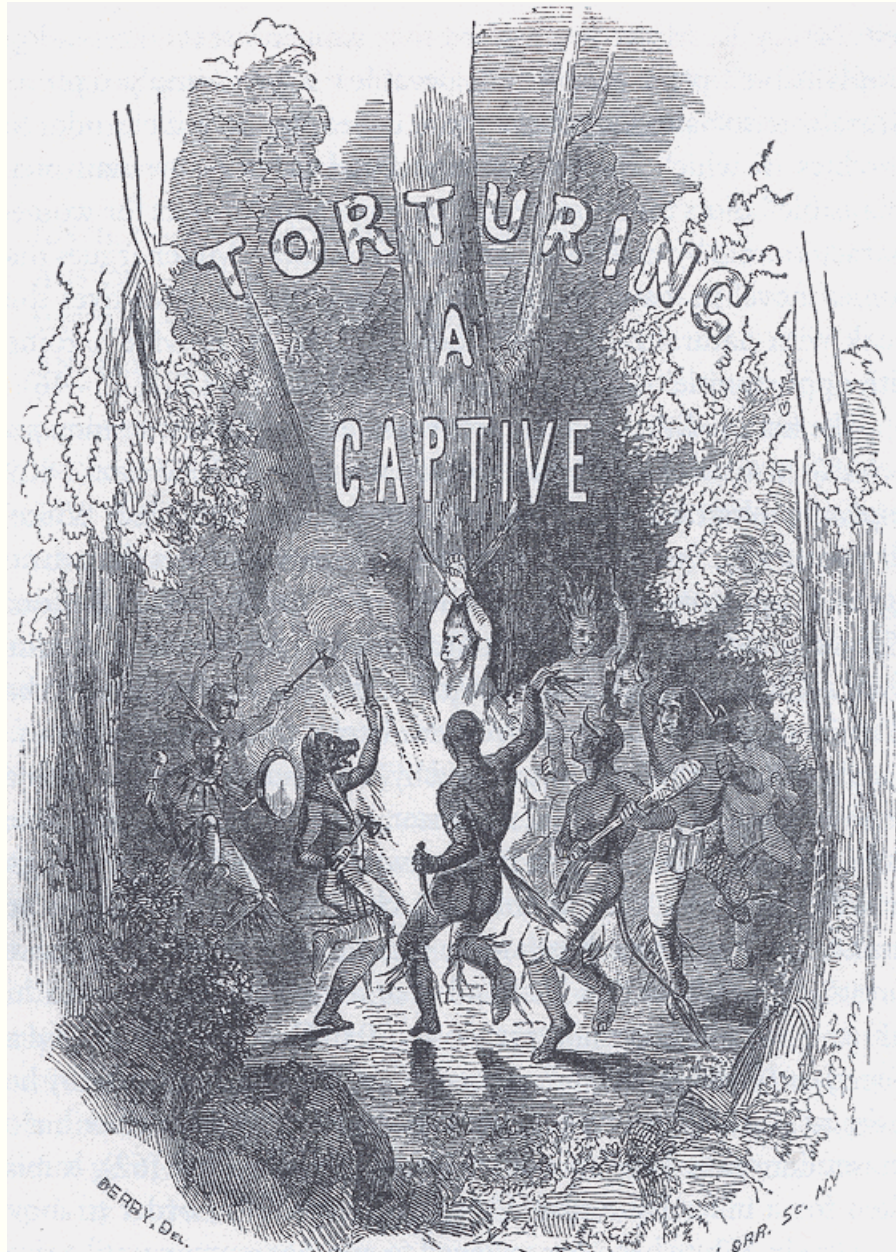
WHAT?

INDEX

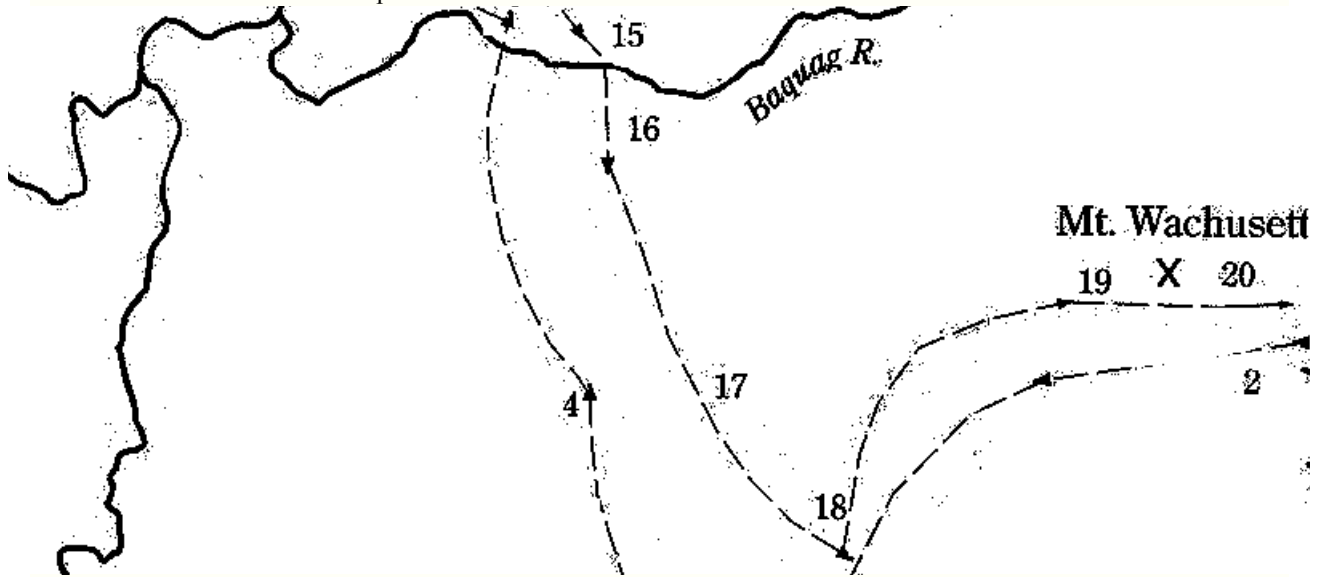
INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED



Refer to "19" on the map below:



April 22: A march upon Sudbury was organized:

On the 22d of April, the Council ordered 40 troopers out of Suffolk under the command of Cornet Jacob Eliot; and the same number from Middlesex under [Major Gookin](#), to march forthwith to Sudbury to make discovery, whether, "the motion of the enemy be either toward Concord or Medfield," by visiting the bounds of those towns, and scouting through the woods. An attack on Concord had been expected<sup>81</sup> and this was one of the effectual means which were promptly taken to prevent it.<sup>82</sup>

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

April 24, Monday: [Simon Willard](#) died of old age in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Monday 24, about 6 afternoon, a woman taken, and a man knocked in the head, at Menocticot, Braintrey.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



April 25: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

April 25 Tuesday, Major Willard dyes at Charleston, buryed 27th.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

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



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

MARY ROWLANDSON

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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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



April 29: Captain Daniel Henchman wrote from [Concord](#) to Governor John Leverett in [Boston](#):

"Concord, April 29, 1676.

"Hon'd Sir. - By reason that I had not a guide to go with me, it was yesterday in the forenoon ere I reached this place, where I found a few men; but ere night, all the commanders and most of the soldiers that yet appeare, were come up with the provision. This day we rendezvoused and find a great defect, an account of which is inclosed. Upon receipt of the Hon. Major General's letter, I have by advice of the commanders, as well for the ease of this town as the securing of as many as we can at present, ordered Capt. Sill to Chelmsford, Capt. Haughtorn to Bilrica and Capt. Holbrook to abide here, and proportioned the horse accordingly; and am going myself to Chelmsford about some Indians to be ready in order to what is in my instructions, and shall wait for further orders as commander. I have not yet taken any of our provision, supposing it to be for us when in motion; but it is expected by the inhabitants that we should spend thereof. I crave directions herein. Some things is much wanting and desired by the captains to be sent for, viz., flynts, tobacco, liquor, pipes. There is but 29



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

tnat appearetn or my troop, and not above / carbines among them. I desire there may be a supply thereof; as also a saddle and case of pistols for myself; having here borrowed a saddle and left the tree (?) and skinn that was pressed for me. Colours wanting also for the troop and one company and a trumpeter. Not any appearance of the 30 Norfolkmen. It is desired that some more of the Indians may be sent to us, hearing them at Chelmsford are fortifying about a fishing place there. A chyrurgeon with medicaments is much expected, also a minister; the which I hope may be procured here. All the commanders, officers and souldiers, express much cheerfullness and have hope that the defects will be made up; that we may be in a better capacity to serve the country. I shall not further inlarge, but to begg your honors prayers for us. Remaining Sir your humble servant.

D. Henchman.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

[Hoar](#) and [Tom Dubiety](#) (*Nepaner*, SA husband of [Sara Dubiety](#)) and [Boston's James Printer](#):

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

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

HDT

WHAT?

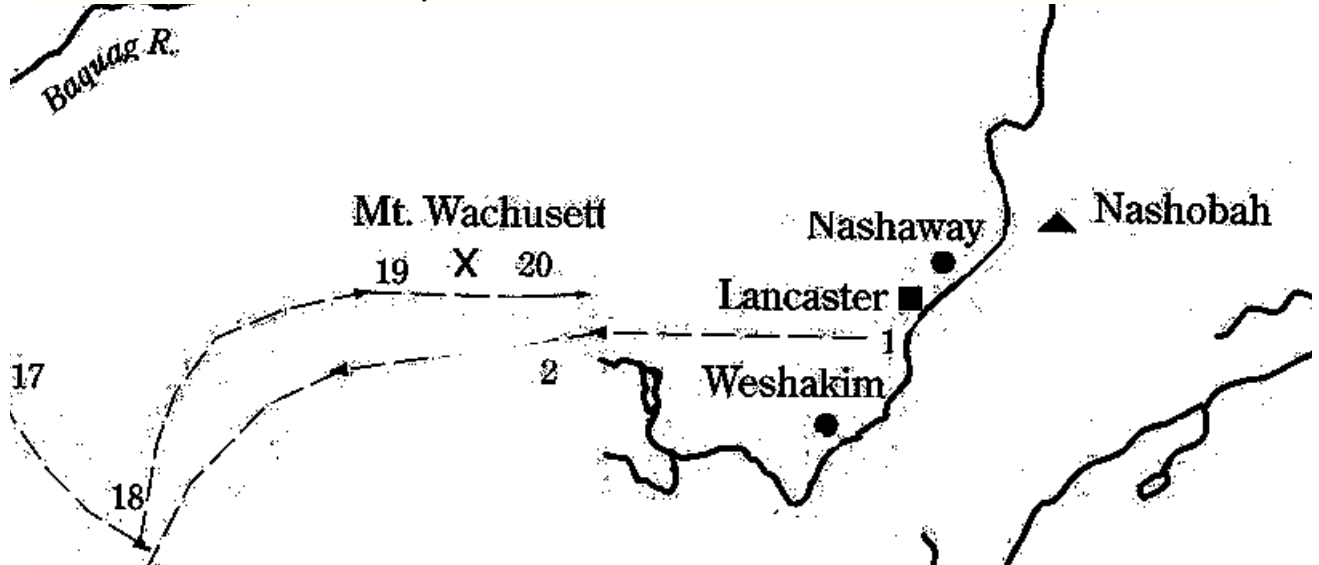
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Refer to "20" on the map below:





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**METACOM**

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

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

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**MAY 1676**

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

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

In consequence of the losses sustained by [Concord](#) and Sudbury, their taxes were abated, Concord having £50 abated in May 1676, and Sudbury £40.<sup>83</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

May 1: The Reverend Increase Mather was hard at work on his A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND. FROM JUNE 24. 1675. (WHEN THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN WAS MURDERED BY THE INDIANS) TO AUGUST 12. 1676. WHEN PHILIP, ALIAS METACOMET, THE PRINCIPAL AUTHOR AND BEGINNER OF THE WAR WAS SLAIN. WHEREIN THE GROUNDS, BEGINNING, AND PROGRESS OF THE WAR, IS SUMMARILY EXPRESSED:

*A.M. wrote Hist. of warr Indians  
Sic P.M.*



**SIC DURING PM**

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

*The meeting for the Trustees of the poore, we din'd together. 2: To Lond[on]*







**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
May 2: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was finally being ransomed by the English, and evidently she was preparing to return to civilization with as much military intelligence as possible as to the situation of the Americans, which would help to destroy them (immediately upon her rescue, and refreshment in [Concord](#), she would report to



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

and decriet nerselt at [BOSTON](#) upon both the ecciesiastical and the military authorities):

**METACOM**

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

1. Of the fair opportunity lost in the long march, a little after the fort fight, when our English army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the enemy, and so near as to take several and destroy them, and the enemy in such distress for food that our men might track them by their rooting in the earth for ground nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives. I say, that then our army should want provision, and be forced to leave their pursuit and return homeward; and the very next week the enemy came upon our town, like bears bereft of their whelps, or so many ravenous wolves, rending us and our lambs to death. But what shall I say? God seemed to leave his People to themselves, and order all things for His own holy ends. Shall there be evil in the City and the Lord hath not done it? They are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, therefore shall they go captive, with the first that go captive. It is the Lord's doing, and it should be marvelous in our eyes.
2. I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness, and dullness of the English army, in its setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English army would come after them? I told them I could not tell. "It may be they will come in May," said they. Thus did they scoff at us, as if the English would be a quarter of a year getting ready.
3. Which also I have hinted before, when the English army with new supplies were sent forth to pursue after the enemy, and they understanding it, fled before them till they came to Banquaug river, where they forthwith went over safely; that that river should be impassable to the English. I can but admire to see the wonderful providence of God in preserving the heathen for further affliction to our poor country. They could go in great numbers over, but the English must stop. God had an over-ruling hand in all those things.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**



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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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

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

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

[CONCORD](#)

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

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

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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

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

[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

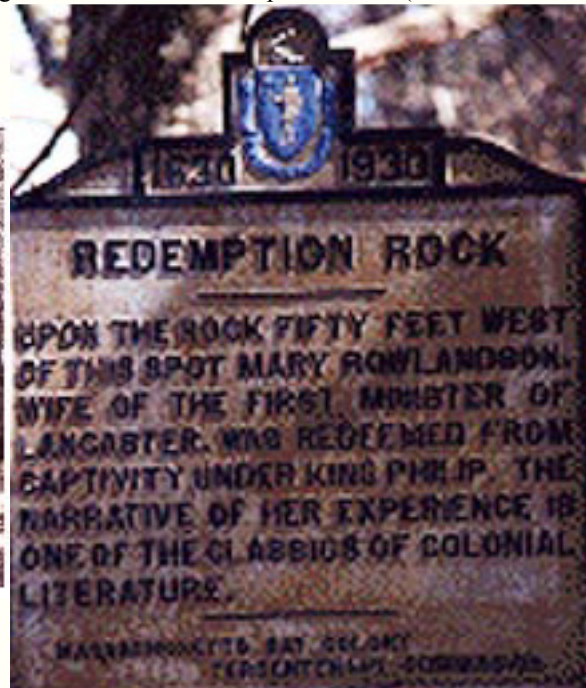
Our son being nearest, we went to him first, to Portsmouth, where we met with him, and with the Major also, who told us he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under seven pounds, which the good people thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the major, and all the rest, though unknown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

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION  
WILLIAM HUBBARD

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

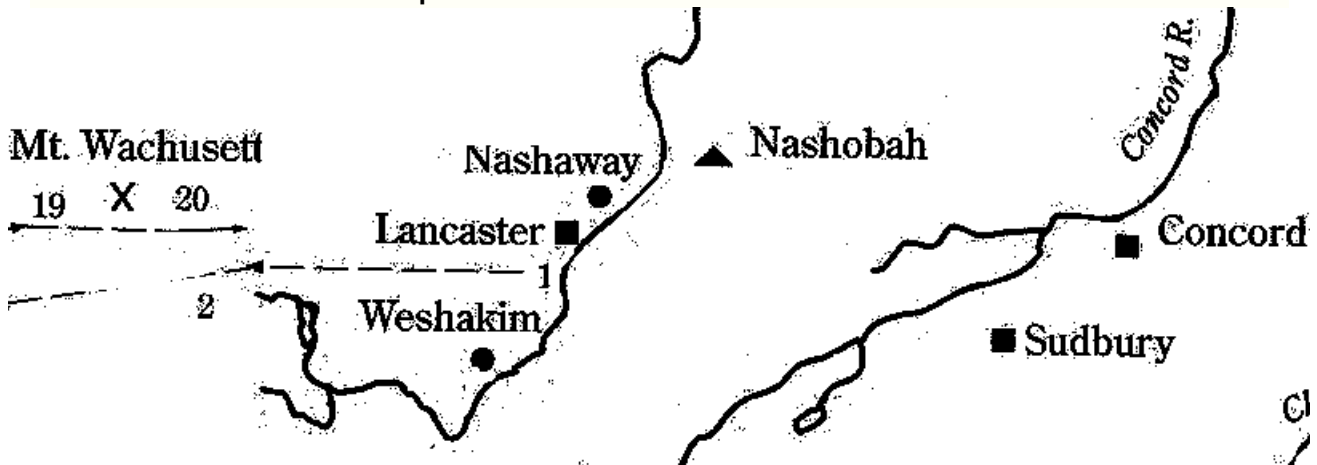



worn or trade goods, by [John Hoar](#), at an outcropping now known as Redemption Rock (near which the



town of Princeton MA eventually would be founded, after this decimation of the woodland natives had rendered it possible).<sup>84</sup> They made their way back to [Concord](#) and she would reunite with the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson and with their two surviving children.

Refer to “20” on the map below:



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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



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

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**

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

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

May 3: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) arrived in [Boston](#).

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

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



*Visited Mrs. Godolphin expostulated with her about the concealement, & was satisfied, it was not her intention:*

*May 11 (Old Style): I din'd with Mr. Charleton; went to see Mr. Montagues new Palace neere Bloomesbery, built by Mr. Hooke of our Society, after the French manner: Spake with my Lord Treasurer about Mony &c.*

May 5, Friday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

Peace negotiations began:

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

The detachments of soldiers for the relief of the frontier towns were frequent and heavy in May. Early in that month 80 from the troops of Essex, Suffolk, and Middlesex, were ordered to repair



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

to Concord for the country service.--

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



May 8, Monday: Wait Gould was born to Wait Coggeshall Gould and Daniel Gould.

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



May 9, Tuesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



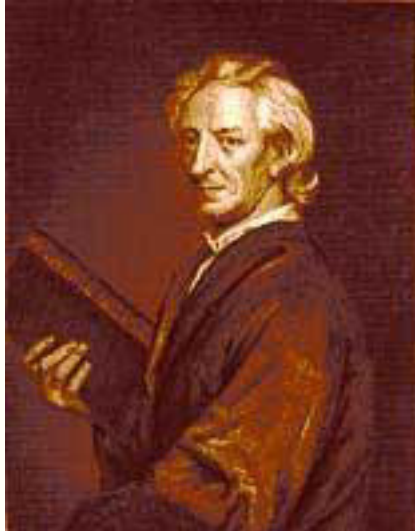
May 12, Friday: Per a letter by the Reverend Mr. Cobbet in the Mather papers, some white captives of the native Americans were brought to their freedom in [Concord](#):

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

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



Dind with my L[ord] Arlington.

May 13 (Old Style): returned home, & found my sonn returned out of France, praised be God; for my deare friend Mrs. Godolphin coming thence I had no desire he should stay there any longer for many reason[s]:



May 14, Sunday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



May 16, Tuesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



May 17, Wednesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,



HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

weanes: aiter. Mr. usner buried.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

May 18, Thursday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

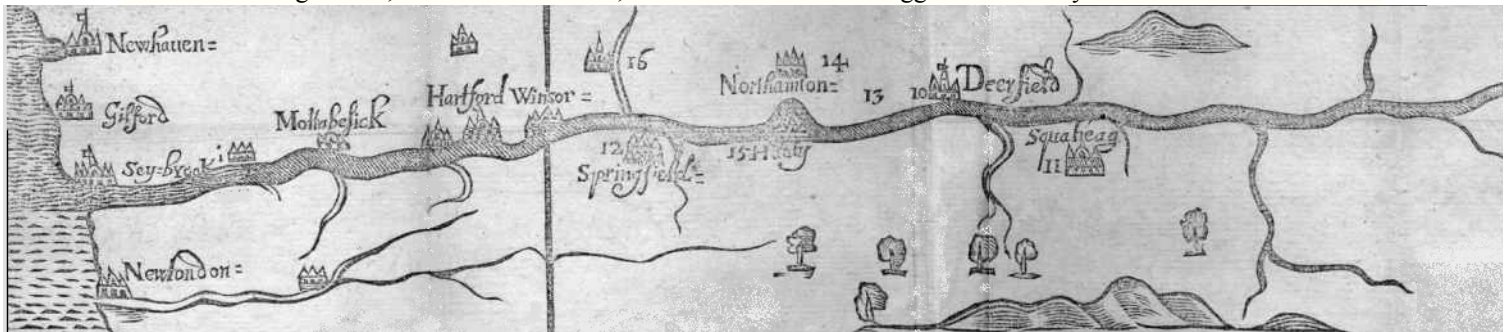
Three such Funerals, one after another, imediately, I never before saw. Mr. Atwater was at meeting in the forenoon and afternoon the Sabbath before. N.B. As we came from the Funeral, we saw an huddle of persons, who were bringing Jabez Eaton that died just then in the street.

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



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

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



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

On the night of May 13th a group of warriors had raided Hatfield and driven off some cattle, taking them to the campsite by the falls. Local inhabitants, some from as far south as Springfield, and a few garrison soldiers, had responded to the call, and a total of 150 men and boys had assembled in Hatfield. Turner led the group past Bloody Brook, site of the native ambush during September 1675, and the edge of Deerfield, where they crossed the Deerfield River. They then traversed a couple of miles of forest, crossed the Green River, and



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



May 19: Governor William Berkely wrote about Bacon's Rebellion.

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

19 May. Capt. Turner, 200 Indians.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



May 20, Saturday: The frontier towns were garrisoned:

On the 20th, 270 garrison soldiers from the same counties, were ordered to be stationed at the following "frontier towns for the better security of them from the incursions of the enemy." [Concord](#) 20, Sudbury 30, Chelmsford 20, Billerica 20, Andover 20, Haverhill 20, Bradford 10, Exeter 20, Medfield 30, Dedham 20, Milton 10, Braintree 15, Weymouth 15, Hingham 20. These soldiers were to be maintained at the cost of the several towns and to be under the direction of the committees of militia.<sup>86</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



May 22, Monday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

22 May, about 12 Indians killed by Troop.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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



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



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

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

QUAKERS  
"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"  
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

May 24, Wednesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

Mr. Willard preaches the Lecture.

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

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

*Bee it Encted* by y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gouer<sup>er</sup> Council & house of Representatives in this P<sup>re</sup>sent Sessions assembled & by y<sup>e</sup> Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y<sup>t</sup> aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Publication of this Act y<sup>t</sup> if any p<sup>er</sup>son or persons Listed Und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mand of any Cap<sup>t</sup> or Commad<sup>er</sup> in Cheif of y<sup>e</sup> Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz<sup>th</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers w<sup>th</sup> twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y<sup>e</sup> Precise Training Days already p<sup>re</sup>fixt as well as when there Rspective Cap<sup>ts</sup> or Co<sup>m</sup>mand<sup>ers</sup> in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth<sup>er</sup> time or times as Shall by their s<sup>d</sup> Command<sup>ers</sup> be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj<sup>ties</sup> Interest During y<sup>e</sup> Times of Warr & if any p<sup>er</sup>son or p<sup>er</sup>sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores<sup>d</sup> Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y<sup>e</sup> Days Appointed for Training or Oth<sup>er</sup> Meetings in Armes y<sup>e</sup> Sum of Thre Shillings in money w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y<sup>e</sup> Sum of five Shilling w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Due Fees Arising thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y<sup>e</sup> fines for non apperance on y<sup>e</sup> Training Days are to be Taken

....

*And Bee it Further Enacted*

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



May 25, Thursday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



May 30, Tuesday: An American attack was staged on Hatfield.

The white military commanders assembled in Concord:

Major Daniel Gookin succeeded Major Simon Willard after his death in April, in command of the military forces in Middlesex; Thomas Clark was commander in Suffolk, and Daniel Denison in Essex; all of whom were in Concord, May 30th.<sup>87</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

JUNE 1676

June: In Concord, Massachusetts –which had not in fact at any point in this race war which was already all but over been menaced in any way by any of the native Americans– several native women during this month eluded the custody of the white people. Therefore the Town Constable, John Heywood, warned the governor of the Bay Colony of the danger the white townspeople were supposing that these escapees posed to the security of the settlement. Although they were but squaws, they “may produce a great deale of damage to us that are resident in Concord; because we are affraid they are aquainted with the Condition of or [sic] towne, & what quantity of men we have gon out ... we are in dayly fear ... they will make an asault on or [sic] towne.” (Constable Heywood was, of course, making stuff up in an attempt to fan the embers of this race fight.)

RACISM

[Hey, I wonder, you don't suppose this has anything to do with the genocidal murders that would take place in Concord on August 6th of this year, do you? You don't suppose that these native women being complained of here, and their children, were going to be the berry-pickers who would be getting murdered at the Hoar farm on Mount Misery?]



THE HEYWOODS OF CONCORD  
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



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

There had been a company of 80 Christian Indians, friends of the English, who had acted as spies, messengers, scouts and soldiers during the war, whose officers were Capt. Andrew Pittimee (one of the owners of Concord Village); Quannahpohkit, *alias* James Rumney Marsh; John Magus; and James Speen. On the 1st of June, they petitioned for the release of “Capt. Thom, his son, Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuck, his wife and children, Waanum and her child,” who were prisoners of war. The women and children were released, but the others were executed. “Capt. Thom,” say the minutes of their trial, “was not only an instigator to others, over whom he was made a captain, but also was actually present and an actor in devastations of some of our plantations.”<sup>88</sup> Companies were sent from this town towards the Connecticut River in pursuit of Philip; and after traversing the country in various directions for nearly two months without finding him, they proceeded towards Rhode Island where, with the assistance of some other troops who joined them, [per Hubbard] they killed and captured 150 Indians. These and other instances





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

of success encouraged the English, and calmed the fury of the savages.<sup>89</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**



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

*Concord, June 2, 1676.*

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

*Sir, Your Honor’s humble servant,  
D. Henchman.*

Capt. Joseph Sill<sup>90</sup> commanded one of the companies which were at Concord several months, and was frequently sent out on scouts. His list was returned with those stated in the above letter.<sup>91</sup>

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

88. Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government. On the 6th of August, 3 squaws, and 3 children were killed while picking whortleberries on a hill in Watertown, now Lincoln. Two persons were executed for this murder. “Sept. 21, 1671, Stephen Gobble [Goble] of Concord was executed for the murder of Indians. Three Indians for firing Eame’s house and murder. The weather was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed. 4 others set on the gallows — two men and 2 impudent women; one of which laughed on the gallows, as many testified.”

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

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

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

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

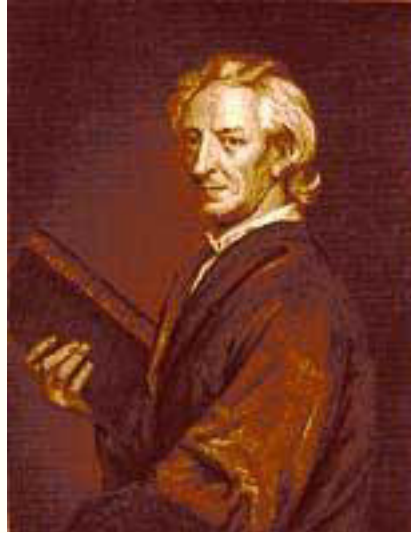
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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



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

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

["KING PHILLIP'S WAR"](#)

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

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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



June 6, Saturday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



June 7, Sunday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Wednesday, June 7., 5 Afternoon Mr. Bendal, Mrs, carried one after another, and laid by one another in the same grave. Eight young children.

Wednesday, June 7, Ninety Indians killed and taken by Conecticut ferry: 30 and odd by C. Henchman.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



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

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

June 10th., Received a Letter from Unckle St. Dumer, dated March





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

24, 1675 [b] 1. e. last march, for it was in answer to one wrote, Oct. 29. '75. Aunt Sarah died about a year and 1/2 before. Peace and plenty. Nothing of Father's buisness.



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

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED



June 12, Friday: An American attack on Hadley MA was repelled by the soldiers of Connecticut colony.



The Angel of Hadley

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

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



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

---

June 16, Tuesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

June 16, 1676. Went with my Father to Mr. Smith's, there to see the maner of the Merchants.

---

June 19, Friday: The Massachusetts Bay Colony declared a general amnesty for any native Americans who would now surrender to them.

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

~~June 20, Saturday: The Reverend John Eliot visited Captain Tom Indian, or *Watasocamponum*, at his place of confinement.~~

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

themselves since the beginning of the race war:

## AT A COUNCIL Held in CHARLESTOWN,

June 20, 1676.

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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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



June 21, Sunday: The Reverend John Eliot pleaded with the Bay Colony's governor for the life of Captain Tom Indian, or *Watasocomponum*.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



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



According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

June 22. Two Indians, Capt. Tom and another, executed after



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Lecture. Note, at the execution I delivered 2 Letters, one to Unckle Steph, another enclosed to unckle Nath, unto John Pike, to be by him conveyed. Last week two killed by Taunton Scouts, as they were in the river, fishing. Note. This week Troopers, a party, killed two men, and took an Indian Boy alive.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



June 27: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

*Father Sewall came Tuesday June 27. Went home Friday last of June.*

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



*My Marriage Anniversarie, I din’d with Mrs. Godolphin at Berkeley-house, being the first day of her house-keeping since her Marriage & returne into England.*

July 3 (Old Style): *din’d with my Lo[rd] Chamberlaine, & sealed the Deedes of Mortgage for security of 1000 pounds lent by my friend Mrs. Godolphin to my Lord Sunderland.*

July 19 (Old Style): *dind at L[ord] Chamb[erlain] Went to Sir William Sandersons funerall (husband to the Mother of the Maides, & author of two large, but meane Histories of KK. James & Charles the first): he was buried at Westminster:*





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

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



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

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

Major Samuel Sewall jotted in his diary:



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

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

Also according to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

On a Monday toward the end of June: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was continuing to reunite with all her surviving family, including her two surviving children, Joseph who was about 15, and Mary who was about 11: For a

On Monday we came to Charlestown, where we heard that the governor of Rhode Island had sent over for our daughter, to take care of her, being now within his jurisdiction; which should not pass without our acknowledgments. But she being nearer Rehoboth than Rhode Island, Mr. Newman went over, and took care of her and brought her to his own house. And the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate, in that He raised up passionate friends on every side to us, when we had nothing to recompense any for their love. The Indians were now gone that way, that it was apprehended dangerous to go to her. But the carts which carried provision to the English army, being guarded, brought her with them to Dorchester, where we received her safe. Blessed be the Lord for it, for great is His power, and He can do whatsoever seemeth Him good. Her coming in was after this manner: she was traveling one day with the Indians, with her basket at her back; the company of Indians were got before her, and gone out of sight, all except one squaw; she followed the squaw till night, and then both of them lay down, having nothing over them but the heavens and under them but the earth. Thus she traveled three days together, not knowing whither she was going; having nothing to eat or drink but water, and green hirtle-berries. At last they came into Providence, where she was kindly entertained by several of that town. The Indians often said that I should never have her under twenty pounds. But now the Lord hath brought her in upon free-cost, and given her to me the second time. The Lord make us a blessing indeed, each to others. Now have I seen that Scripture also fulfilled, "If any of thine be driven out to the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them which hate thee, which persecuted thee" (Deuteronomy 30.4-7). Thus hath the Lord brought me and mine out of that horrible pit, and hath set us in the midst of tender-hearted and compassionate Christians. It is the desire of my soul that we may walk worthy of the mercies received, and which we are receiving.

**CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION**  
**PROVIDENCE**  
**RHODE ISLAND**

year after their reunion, the Rowlandsons would remain in Boston, but at some point in 1677 the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson would accept a position in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and the family would resettle there. The husband would live not quite two more years.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**SUMMER 1676**

Summer: With Metacom’s alliance being destroyed and the fighting apparently coming to a halt, the Pennacook, as well as the Ossipee and Pigwacket (Abenaki), were feeling safe to return from Canada and begin peace negotiations with the English. This would turn out, however, to be premature. The English had suffered heavy enough losses during the war, and had succeeded so thoroughly, as to have acquired a contempt for everything native.

At some point at about the time of the King Phillip’s War farther to the south (I will position this item here for lack of any more definite place to position it), an English sailor captured twelve friendly Micmac at Cape Sable in order to sell them into slavery. This would cause the eastern Abenaki to go to war against the English.

**JULY 1676**

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

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

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

that knew Mr. Willet, were sorry for his death, mourned, combed his head, and hung peag in his hair.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**



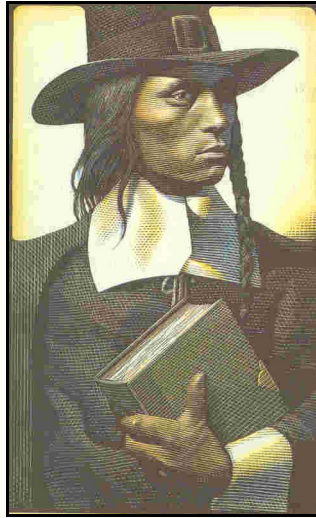
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

July 2: At Cambridge, [James Printer](#) took part in the proclaimed amnesty, an amnesty which had been extended to



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



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

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

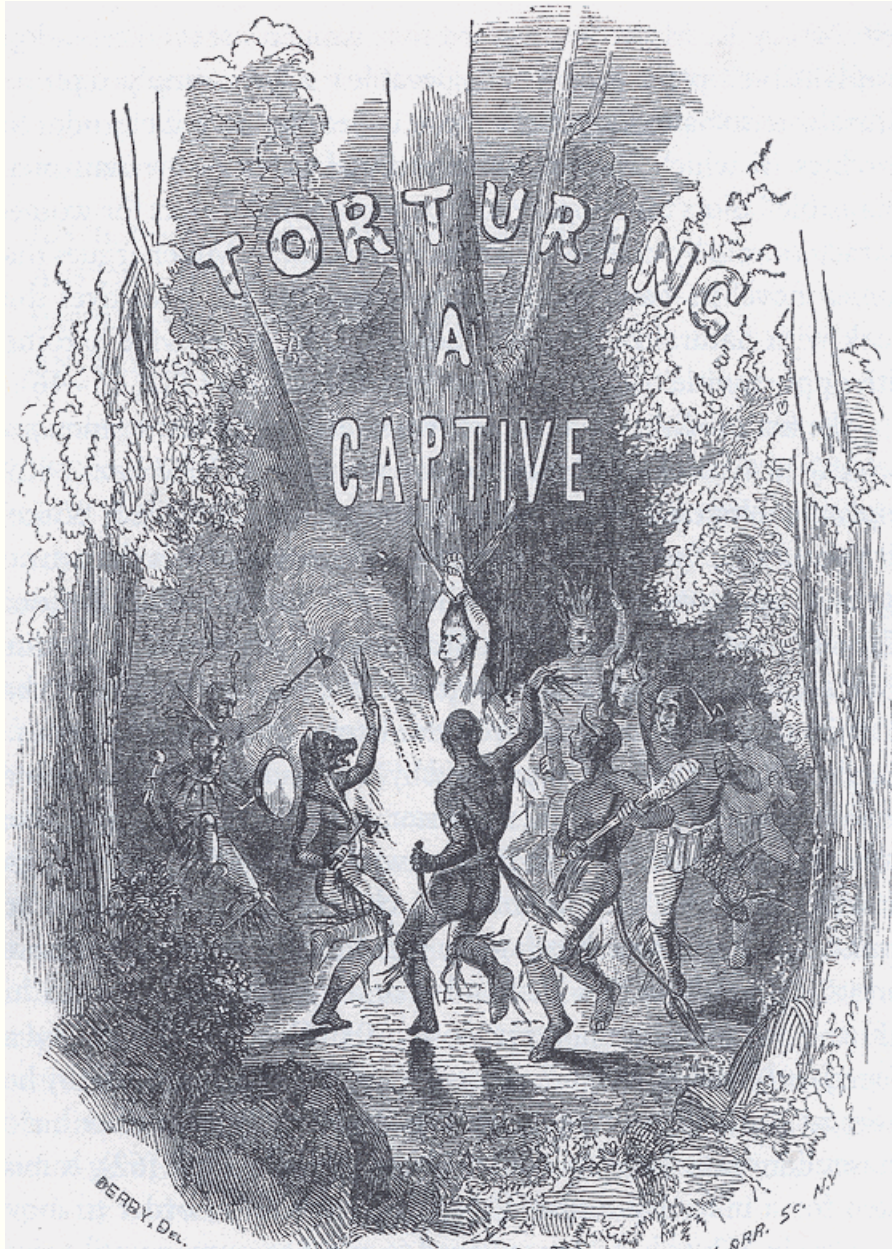
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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



As individuals were rounded up throughout this summer season, where convenient the English would be

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

kingly and sell them as slaves to be transported off the continent. Potock, however, knew a whole lot, as he had been a high-level counselor, and so he was carefully interrogated. Presumably this questioning was accompanied by serious torture for, at the completion of the process, he was summarily executed.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



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

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”







**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

July 8: Samuel Shrimpton wrote to his wife Elizabeth:

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



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



According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

July 9, Sunday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

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

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

July 11, Tuesday: American warriors assaulted Taunton but their attack was repelled.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

July 15, Saturday: From Major Samuel Sewall's diary in Boston:<sup>92</sup>After, heard of an hundred twenty one



Quaker marcht through the town, crying, "Repent, &c."



**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

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

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

July 21: The Connecticut colony progressed from weekly Fast Day to weekly feast days.



**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

July 22: The Council of War allowed that it would be OK for magistrates to assign native American children as household servants in the homes of white citizens, to serve them to the age of "24 or 25," as an alternative to killing them or selling them with their mothers into lifelong foreign slavery.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

July 27, Thursday: At Boston, in pursuit of the proffered amnesty, the surrender of a band of 180 starving Nipmuc led by Sagamore John. They brought with them in bonds the sachem Matoonas and his son. Since this man was reputed to have led the first attack of the war, grateful Bostonians tied him to a tree on Boston Common and suggested to the Nipmuc that they might consider using him for target practice.

While these sorts of going-on were going on in beautiful downtown Boston, the Plymouth colony had organized a company of 150 white men and about 50 friendly Indians to patrol its western boundary. After a skirmish at Bridgewater MA, Metacom's uncle had been found among the dead, leading to suspicions that the sachem of the surviving Wampanoag might have returned to the Mount Hope area.

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

July 27. Sagamore John comes in, brings Mattoonus and his sonne prisoner. Mattoonus shot to death the same day by John's men.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

AUGUST 1676

Anonymous: News from New-England, Being A True and last Account of the present Bloody Wars carried on betwixt the Infidels, Natives, and the English Christians, and Converted Indians of New-England, declaring the many Dreadful Battles Fought betwixt them: As also the many Towns and Villages burnt by the merciless Heathens. And also the true Number of all the Christians slain since the beginning of that War, as it was sent over by a Factor of New-England to a Merchant in London. Licenfed Aug. 1. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON, Printed for J. Coniers, 1676 (Boston MA: Reprinted for Samuel G. Drake, 1850)

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

August 2: On approximately this day there was a fight between Englishmen and native Americans at a place called Lockety Neck, now the town of Norton.

Captain Benjamin Church, leading the company of men he had chosen individually for their Indian hunting skills and motivation, intercepted *Metacom*, the designated culprit, as he was crossing the Taunton River, and captured his wife Wootonekanuske and their son, aged about nine years, and several other native women and children:



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

They decided that the boy was important enough as a pawn, being the future hereditary sachem of the tribe, that they should not off him right away.


“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



August 6: *Weetamoo*, the squaw sachem of *Pocasset* (now *Tiverton, Rhode Island*, and not to be confused with Pocasset, Massachusetts) who had allied with her kinsman *Metacom*, was captured by twenty men of Taunton at Gardiner's Neck in Swansea, along with her few remaining followers. She made a break for it on a hastily constructed raft, attempting to get across the Taunton River. When her drowned body was discovered the English mutilated it and, cutting off the head, carried it into Taunton where they mounted it atop a pole on the village green.<sup>93</sup>

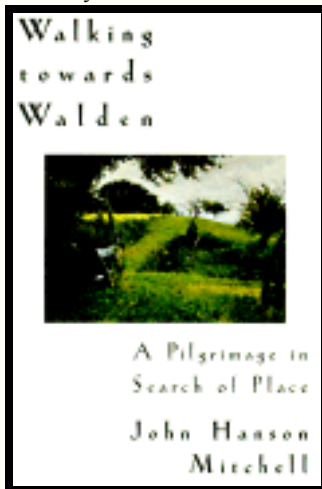


“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

In American history it is ordinarily, unfortunately, no accident when it is women and children of color who are the ones being offed. In fact the white colonists typically considered it to be of more long-term benefit to them, to kill off the women and children of the natives, than to kill off their adult males, their warriors. The reason for this attitude was simple: these warriors represented only the present of the group of color, whereas women and children of color represented the future of the breed. Thus it would come about that, when in one of the military actions only 52 adult red males had been offed but all of 114 red women and children had been offed, the Reverend *William Hubbard* would celebrate the statistics of this as a “*signal Victory, and Pledg [sic] of Divine Favour to the English*” — for these 114 defenseless women and children had been “*Serpents of the same Brood*” (fast forward, if you please, to November 29-30, 1864  and the Reverend John Milton Chivington of the Sand Creek reservation massacre just at the edge of Denver, and to the explanation that this lay reverend race murderer offered to us all, that “*nits breed lice*”).

On this same day, in *Concord*, according to the historian *Daniel Gookin*, superintendent of the native encampment at Deer Island, some white citizen sighted three of the local native American women with three of their children<sup>94</sup> wandering a bit too far from their official encampment on the shore of Flint's Pond, onto

93. In John Hanson Mitchell's WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995, page 259) there is a gratuitous reference to "...a raiding party under the control of Queen Weetamoo..." which would seem to suggest that this squaw sachem, although separated from her consort Quinnapin, had something to do with the hostilities. Such an imputation is of course utterly false. These tribal groupings on occasion did have female leaders, but a female leader would have functioned only in a peacetime context and would have had nothing whatever to do with warfare. After the race war Quinnapin would be tried and executed: he definitely had been a wartime leader.



94. Six people who of course had names, but their names would be no part of the record kept by the people who terminated them for having committed this extreme error.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

the Hurtleberry Hill just to the southwest of Walden Pond — the geographical feature that eventually would come to be known by the curious name Mount Misery. This little group, led by John Stoolmester (a native American, who was armed because he had just been released from military service with the whites and had not yet had an opportunity to turn in his weapon), was, presumably, merely out picking “hurtleberries” or huckleberries or whatever, but the countryside around and about Concord had been declared to be a Vietnam-style “free fire zone.” They had ventured than the permitted one mile, indeed they had gone as the crow flies about one and one half miles, from their recognized habitation, all the way to the other side of Walden Pond and onto the Hoar farm! So after the local white men had exchanged some bread and cheese for some of the berries, four of them, Lieutenant Daniel Hoar (a nephew of [John Hoar](#)), Daniel Goble and his nephew Stephen Goble (who had no wife or child and probably was no more than 22 years of age), Nathaniel Wilder, went out to make themselves the death of this pic-nic. The three women and three children were chased and then murdered on the north slope of the hill. Their bodies were stripped of their coats and left to lie exposed. When the bodies would be found, some would be noticed to have been “shot through” while others would be noticed to have had “their brains beat out with hatchets.”<sup>95</sup>



95. A brief but indicative record of this race atrocity has been preserved in [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) The form of Shattuck's record is more informative than its content. His record appears only in the 2d footnote on his page 62, indicating, quite clearly, that as far as he is concerned, any race atrocities which involve white perpetrators and nonwhite victims could be at best mere footnotes to the **significant** events of a town's past. His note is preceded by an invidiously false but intendedly exculpatory declaration, that “Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government.” He proceeds to refer to the murdered wives as “squaws” and to this racial mass murder of them and their children as their having been “killed.” Making no mention in such a context of the town of [Concord](#), he situates this act of genocide “on a hill in Watertown, now in Lincoln.” He makes no mention of the fact that the six Concordians who were thus executed had been Concordians, as if, after all, they had only been reds rather than real people, nor does he make any mention of the fact that the four perps had been Concordians or, for that matter, of the obvious fact that such an egregious atrocity could only have been constructed by construing it, at that time, as having constituted an official military engagement of the Concord Militia.

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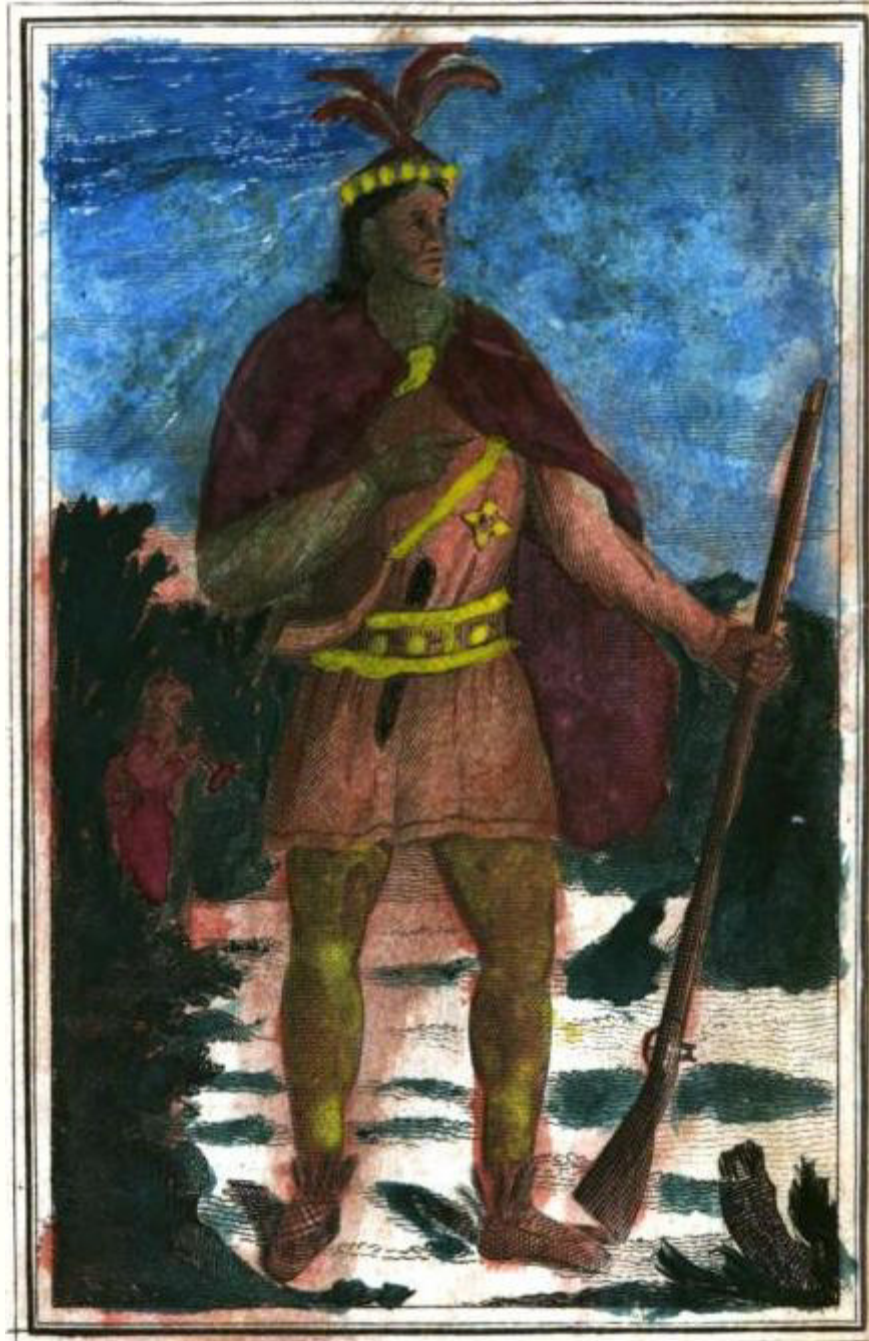
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

# KING PHILIP.

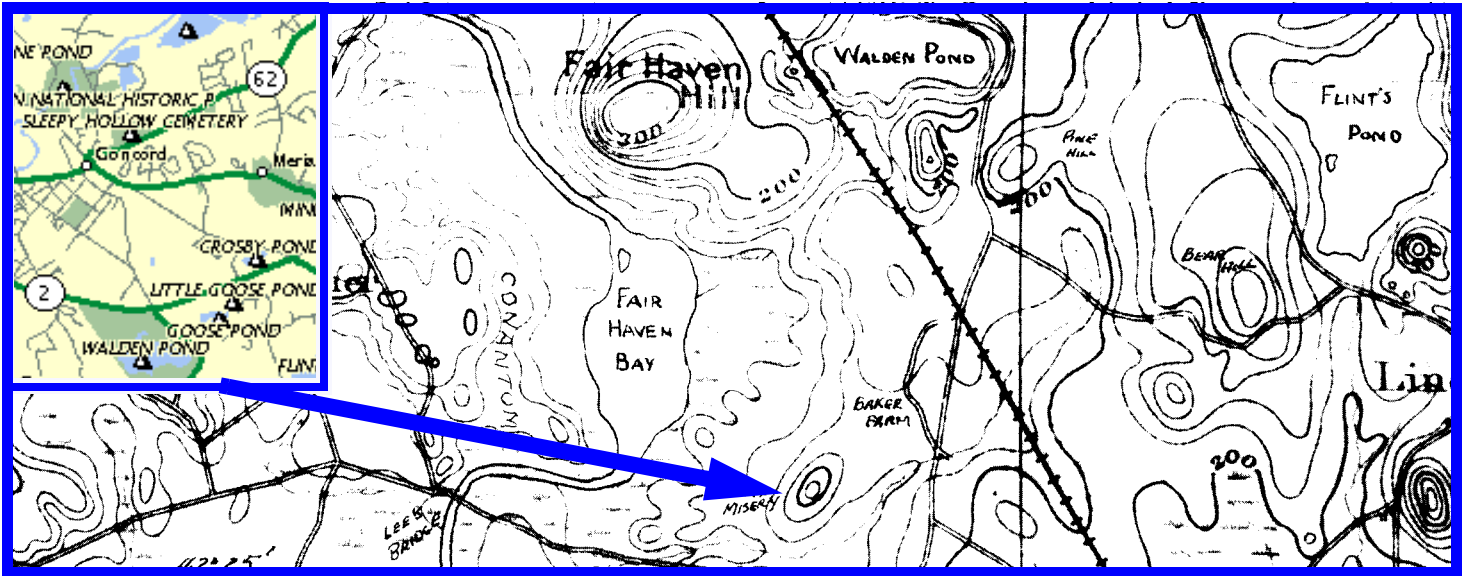


Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED



In the days of King Philip's War, the Indians had spared the town of Concord. They burned the neighboring settlements, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Stow, but one of their chieftains said, as they glanced over Concord from a hill-top, "We shall never prosper if we go there. The Great Spirit loves that town." This was an Indian legend, and one could well believe it. Plain, low, quiet, the village had no obvious distinction.



- Van Wyck Brooks, THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Later, when Andrew Pittimee, a local Native American who had been serving as a sergeant of the red guides for the white troops fighting in the race war, would return to Concord, he would not be able to find his family.<sup>96</sup> His wife had simply disappeared and was nowhere to be found. His two sisters also had disappeared; they were nowhere to be found. Inquiries revealed that three Indian women and three Indian children had been killed while out huckleberrying –where had they been buried — had their bodies even been buried– and Pittimee started going around making much trouble, talking of equal hanging for all. A lot of red men were being judged, why shouldn't some white men be judged? The white militiamen who had set up this afternoon's fun, Lieutenant Daniel Hoar (in charge, giving the orders, defending his family's farm), Stephen Goble and Daniel Goble, and Nathaniel Wilder, eventually found themselves judged, not only by red people whose opinions really did not count for much, but also by landowners, selectmen, white men whose opinions really did count, to be guilty of the crime of murder. But, gee whiz, weren't they just "following orders"?



[see next screen]

96. The fact that the white Concord soldiers were willing to be led through the forest by this Andrew Pittimee the red Concordian did not imply that they considered him human or of equivalent standing and rights with themselves, for according to the Reverend William Ames's (October 6, 1605-January 11, 1654, a Harvard College graduate) CONSCIENCE WITH THE POWER AND CASES THEREOF (pages 188-9), "as it is lawfull to use the helpe of beasts, as of Elephants, Horses, &c. So also is it lawfull to use the aid of beastlike men."





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

AT A COUNCIL Held in BOSTON,

August 30, 1675.

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

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

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

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

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

NOW more recently, on page 57 of JOHN HANSON MITCHELL'S TRESPASSING: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1998), an extrabogus version of the Concord genocide story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations and suppressions, no native children were involved and only one woman was offed, her innocent activities at the time remain unspecified, only one white perpetrator was involved, who had been a passing stranger, the offense had been against town laws, it not being mentioned whether this was a Concord town law or a Boston statute — and the local militia of course had nothing whatever to do with the incident. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:



**By the 1670s this Puritan concept of written law, of a higher doctrine, had become so established that during King Philip's War, when the wife of one of the sometime residents at Nashobah was killed by a passing Englishman at Hurtleberry Hill, the town fathers, finding the white man guilty under the aegis of town laws, felt compelled to hang him.**

**That is not to say that the native peoples of the Americas did not also have a concept of law or, for that matter, a concept of the division of land.**





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



"Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it's a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed."



- Iris Chang, author of THE RAPE OF NANKING (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was cancelled by Basic Books due to threats from Japan, on May 20, 1999.



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





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

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

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

- SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS
WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE
THE FLINTS OF CONCORD
NARRAGANSETT
JOHN FLINT
INDENTURE

In full:

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

A memorandum of Indian children put forth vnto seruice to the English, Beeing of those Indians that came in and submitted with John Sachem of Pakchoog; with the names of the persons with whome they were placed, and the names and age of the children, and the names of their relations, and the places they did belong to.

By mr. Daniel Gookin sen', Thomas Prentis, Capt., and mr. Edward Oakes who were a comittee appointed by the Council to manage yt affayr. The termes and conditions vpon wch they are to serue is to be ordered by the Gen» Coort who are to prouide yt the children bee religiously educated and taught to read the english tounge.

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

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

1 Boy. To Leift. Jonathan Danforth of Bilerekey, a boy aged twelue yeares, son to Papameck alius Daudid, late of Warwick or Cowesit.

2 Boyes. To Mathew Bridge of Cam Bridge, two boyes, the one named

NATIVE PLACE-NAMES



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Jabez agea about ten yeares, tne other named Josepn agea six yeares; their father named Woompsleow, late of Packachooge. One or both these boyes is run away wth his father. 8ber 17th 1676.

A boy and two Girls. To mr. Jeremiah Shepard of Rowly, A boy named Absalom, his father of the same nam late of Mamhage; aged about ten yeares. To him, a girle, sister to the Lad, named Sarah, aged eleuen yeares. These ar kindred to Peeter Ephram of Naticke. To him another girle aged about 8 yeares, her name Jane, her father and mother dead.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indian Children put to Service

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

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

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

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

22 wherof 14 male 8 femall

[Page 2]

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

1 Boy. To Beniamin Mills of Dedham, a boy aged about six yeares



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

named Joseph Spoonant late Marlborow.  
 1 Boy. To Mr. Edward Jackson, a boy named Joseph, aged about 19  
 yeares, Late of Magungook cosen to Pyambow of Naticke.  
 1 mayd. To widdow Jackson of Cambridge village a girle named  
 Hope aged nine yeares, her parents dead who were of Narraganset.  
 1 Boy. To old Goodman Myls of Dedham, a boy of fower yeares old,  
 son to Annaweeken Deceased, who was late of Hassanameset, his  
 rnother prsent.  
 1 Boy. To Capt. Thomas Prentis, a boy named Josoph son to  
 Annawekin deceased, Brother to the last mnd. aged about 11  
 yeares. This boy was after taken from Capt. Prentice end sent  
 with (?) Stoughton for England. Capt. Prentis is to be  
 considered about it for he has taken much care and paynes about  
 those indians.  
 1 Boy. To John Smith of Dedham, a boy aged about eight yeare;  
 his father dead, late Marlborow, hee is brother to James  
 Printers wife.  
 1 Mayd. To Mr. John Flint of Concord a mayd aged about feeten  
 yeares; her parents dead, late of Narragauset.  
 1 Boy. To mr Jonathan Wade of mistick, a boy named Tom Aged about  
 11 yeares sonne to Willam Wunukhow of Magunkog deceased.  
 1 Mayd. To mr Nathaniel Wade of mistick, a maid aged about ten  
 yeares daughter to Jame Natonint late of Packachook, her father  
 and mother aliue.

10 in this page  
 22 in the other page

---

32

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

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

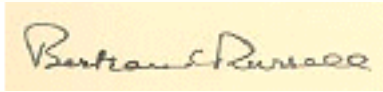
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"...THE CONFLICTS OF EUROPEANS WITH AMERICAN-INDIANS, MAORIS AND OTHER ABORIGINES IN TEMPERATE REGIONS ... IF WE JUDGE BY THE RESULTS WE CANNOT REGRET THAT SUCH WARS HAVE TAKEN PLACE ... THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE AMERICAN CONTINENT HAS BEEN ACQUIRED FOR EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION [WAS ENTIRELY JUSTIFIED BECAUSE] THERE IS A VERY GREAT AND UNDENIABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CIVILIZATION OF THE COLONIZERS AND THAT OF THE DISPOSSESSED NATIVES...."



- Bertrand Russell, THE ETHICS OF WAR, January 1915



August 11: Squando led an attack on Cleve's Neck at Falmouth (Portland ME) in which 34 English were killed or captured.

The four Concord race murderers found themselves being escorted to the Boston lockup.

WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



INVERTED

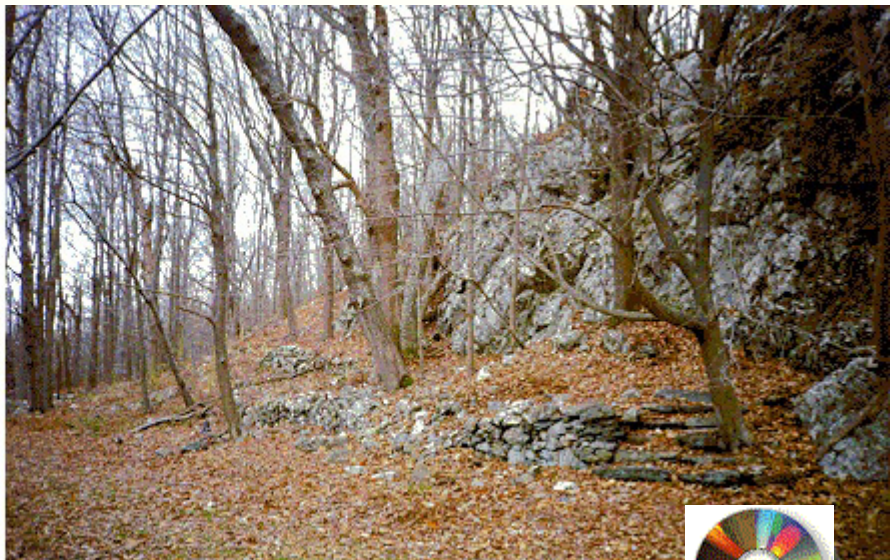
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

August 12, Saturday:<sup>97</sup> The word was out early that morning that King Phillip, with his wife Wootonekanuske and child having been taken captive, and with all his efforts to obtain help from other native tribes having proven to be totally fruitless, had given up and gone home to Pokanoket to await his fate:



The next news we hear of Philip was that he had gotten back to Mount Hope, now like to become Mount Misery to him and his vagabond crew.



97. William Harris wrote again to Sir Joseph Williamson, a letter which is a useful source of information





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

After a year’s absence Philip, reduced to a miserable condition, returned to his native place, near which he was killed, Aug. 12, 1676. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart. His death put an end to this most horrid and distressing war. About 3000 warriors were combined for the destruction of New England, and the war terminated with their entire defeat, and almost total extinction. About 600 of the English inhabitants, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed [according to Trumbell, vol. i, page 350, and Holmes’s Annals of America, i., page 384] and about 600 houses burned.<sup>98</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

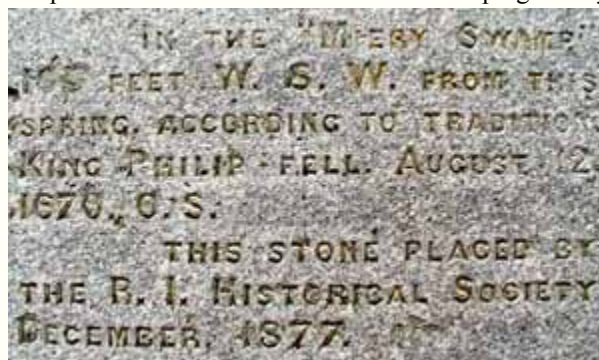
98. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835  
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



The warriors under Captain Benjamin Church, <sup>99</sup> write and read, crept up during the previous night and in the dawn they assaulted [Metacom](#)'s hilltop ceremonial center at [Mount Hope](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s Narragansett Bay.



Surprise was achieved. An English-allied native informant named Alderman hunted down and shot the fleeing leader in the nearby swamps where in better times he had been keeping his royal herds of pigs.



The first shot through the upper chest put Metacom on his face in the mud and water on top of his gun. Alderman apparently then poured more powder down the barrel of his gun, rammed down another ball, charged his pan—a process requiring a certain amount of time—and then shot Metacom again, this time delivering the *coup de grace* directly through the heart. Some five or six persons who were with Metacom also were killed while attempting to escape. The white army gave “three loud huzzas.” As the Reverend Increase

99. Benjamin Church would later be paid the going rate for [Metacom](#)'s head, 30 shillings, “scant reward, and poor encouragement,” when it was mounted atop a pole in Plymouth common.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Mather would later characterize the accomplishment,<sup>100</sup> the grand result had been brought about by a combination of the white people's righteous prayers to their God, and the red people's wicked remarks in disregard of God's wrath: the white warriors, he claimed, had prayed the bullet into Metacom's heart, whereas there was an unnamed "chief" present who had been a sneerer at the Christian religion, who "withal, added a most hideous blasphemy, immediately upon which a bullet took him in the head, and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment among the devils, and blasphemers, in hell forever."<sup>101</sup>



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

100. Reverend Increase Mather. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND (1676).

101. Since the Reverend Increase Mather's PREVALENCY OF PRAYER was well known, and since this is from page 7 in the front of the book, we may suppose that the initial audience for WALDEN well understood that Thoreau was taking an actual slap at the memory of the Reverend on page 182, where he made his preposterous remark that "this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty."

**WALDEN:** Some have been puzzled to tell how the shore became so regularly paved. My townsmen have all heard the tradition, the oldest people tell me that they heard it in their youth, that anciently the Indians were holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named.



The corpse of Metacom was pulled out of the mire to the upland, some tugging it by the stockings and others by the breechclout, the body being otherwise unclouted “and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like,” was quartered and **hanged** in four separate trees and the head and his trademark crippled hand were carried away.<sup>102</sup>No mention was made at the time, or later, about any pipe, any war club, or any wampum

[THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS](#)

belt associated with Metacom that had been sequestered either by Alderman or by Church as souvenirs of the event.

102. Note: The head would be mounted atop a pole in Plymouth and would remain there for a quarter of a century. The hand, recognizable as King Phillip’s because crippled (evidently a pistol had split while being fired), would be preserved by Alderman in a bucket of rum and displayed for pennies in taverns for many years. The horrible death and mutilation of the person who supposedly had caused these hostilities, however, would do little to bring these hostilities to an end. In western New England, and in Maine, this race war, which in actuality had always been an unplanned leaderless struggle between mutually antagonistic and intolerant groups, would continue unabated. The Abenaki of Maine (Penobscot) would be attacking the settlements of the English along the coastline well into 1677. The *Iroquois* and the Algonquian would be attacking in the inland regions for the next three generations, right up into the period of the French and Indian Wars.





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

Samuel Sewall lettered neatly alongside this date in his [almanac](#): *Philippus exit.*

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Here is how the scene would be depicted, from 1829 to 1881, on the American stage:



META. Embrace me, Nahmeokee – 'twas like the first you gave me in the days of our strength and joy – they are gone. [*Places his ear to the ground*] Hark! In the distant wood I faintly hear the cautious tread of men! They are upon us, Nahmeokee – the home of the happy is made ready for thee. [*Stabs her, she dies*] She felt no white man's bondage – free as the air she lived – pure as the snow she died! In smiles she died! Let me taste it, ere her lips are cold as the ice. [*Loud shouts. Roll of drums. Kaweshine leads Church and Soldiers on bridge, R.*]

CHURCH. He is found! Philip is our prisoner.

META. No! He lives – last of his race – but still your enemy – lives to defy you still. Though numbers overpower me and treachery surround me, though friends desert me, I defy you still! Come to me – come singly to me! And this true knife that has tasted the foul blood of your nation and now is red with the purest of mine, will feel a grasp as strong as when it flashed in the blaze of your burning dwellings, or was lifted terribly over the fallen in battle.

CHURCH. Fire upon him!

META. Do so, I am weary of the world for ye are dwellers in it; I would not turn upon my heel to save my life.

CHURCH. Your duty, soldiers. [*They fire. [Metamora](#) falls. Enter Walter, Oceana, Wolfe, Sir Arthur, Errington, Goodenough, Tramp and Peasants. Roll of drums and trumpet till all on.*]

META. My curses on you, white men! May the Great Spirit curse you when he speaks in his war voice from the clouds! Murderers! The last of the Wampanoags' curse be on you! May your graves and the graves of your children be in the path the red man shall trace! And may the wolf and panther howl o'er your fleshless bones, fit banquet for the destroyers! Spirits of the grave, I come! But the curse of *Metamora* stays with the white man! I die! My wife! My queen! My Nahmeokee! [*Falls and dies; a tableau is formed. Drums and trumpet sound a retreat till curtain. Slow curtain*]

August 13: Richard Hammond's trading post was raided in what is now Woolwich. Hammond was killed and a number of other English were captured.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

August 14: The fortified trading post of Thomas Clarke and Thomas Lakes at Arrowsic was destroyed.

According to the ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE, surviving [Narragansett](#) and [Wampanoag](#) captives were being offered for sale of their labor in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by a list of slavetraders which startlingly includes some famous names, and were being offered into this temporary human slavery at remarkably affordable prices:

A town meeting was held before Thomas Fields's house, under a tree, by the water side, on the 14th of August, 1676. A committee was appointed to determine in what manner the Indians should be disposed of. They reported as follows:

Inhabitants wanting, can have Indians at the price they sell at the Island of Rhode Island or elsewhere. All under five, to serve until thirty, above five and under ten, till twenty eight; above ten to fifteen, till twenty seven; above fifteen to twenty, till twenty six; from twenty to thirty, shall serve eight years; all above thirty, seven years.

We whose names are underwritten, being chosen by the town to see to the disposal of the Indians now in town, we agree that Roger Williams, N. Waterman, T. Fenner, H. Ashton, J. Morey, D. Abbot, J. Olney, V. Whitman, J. Whipple, sen.; E. Pray, J. Pray, J. Angell, Jas. Angell, T. Arnold, A. Man., T. Field, E. Bennett, T. Clemence, W. Lancaster, W. Hopkins, W. Hawkins, W. Harris, Z. Field, S. Winsor, and Capt. Fenner, shall each have a whole share in the product. I. Woodward and R. Pray, three fourths of a share each. J. Smith, E. Smith, S. Whipple, and T. Walling each half a share.

Signed,  
[Roger Williams](#)  
Thomas Harris, sen.  
[Thomas Angell](#)  
Thomas Field  
John Whipple, Jr.

We have an additional document dating to this period, on this same topic:

- To Anthony Low, five Indians, great and small eight pounds
- To James Rogers, two, for twenty bushels of Indian corn
- To Philip Smith, two, in silver, \$4.10
- To Daniel Allen, one, in silver, \$2.10
- To C. Carr, one, twelve bushels of Indian corn
- To Elisha Smith, one, in wool, 100 lbs.
- To Elisha Smith, one for three fat sheep

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



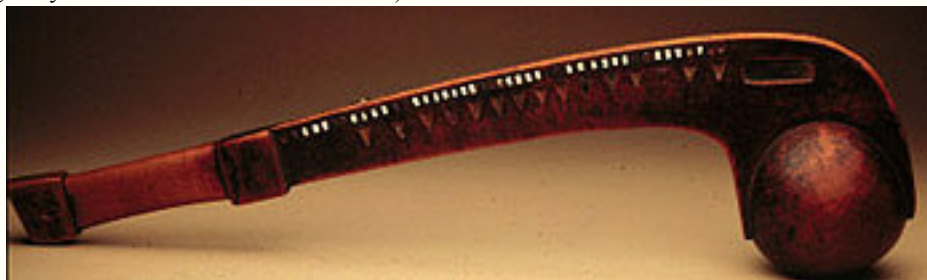
August 17: The Plymouth colony was observing this day as a day of Thanksgiving.



Shortly after the Reverend John Cotton had completed his Lecture sermon, Captain Benjamin Church rode into town with the severed head of [Metacom](#), the last surviving son of *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (*Massasoit*) of [Pokanoket](#) who had been the colony’s benefactor, to whose friendship the white settlers owed so much. (To put an end to this line of succession, *Metacom*’s son –*Massasoit*’s grandson– would be sold into foreign slavery.) Church would receive a prize of 30 shillings for the body part, which he would characterize as “scanty reward, and poor encouragement,” but nevertheless the body part would be mounted atop a pole to serve as the centerpiece of the post-Lecture celebration.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Presumably, also on display at that time would have been [Metacom](#)’s crippled hand, in the possession of his killer, Alderman, and the war club, large pipe, and belt of beads, shells, and bones that (it would much later be alleged) had been found in the camp and had been presumed to have been *Metacom*’s. (Actually, we don’t know these items to have been *Metacom*’s, as five or six natives had been killed of that encampment, and anyway, no mention was made at the time of any such objects. — All we really know is that the Reverend [John Checkley](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would in a much later timeframe obtain some such items –allegedly from Alderman although we do not know that, allegedly by offering him his gold watch although we do not know that– and that two of the three items allegedly from the Checkley collection having disappeared, the club from his collection, whatever its real provenance, is presently at the Fruitlands Museum in Harvard MA after having for years been stolen and unlocated.)<sup>103</sup>







INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



"That [John Checkley](#) accumulated important and perhaps unique Native American artifacts is likely, that he bought them from Alderman with Benjamin Church's assistance unlikely, and that he traded for them at the time of Philip's death impossible."



– Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougas,  
KING PHILIP'S WAR: THE HISTORY AND LEGACY OF AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN CONFLICT, Woodstock VT:  
The Countryman Press, 1999, page 296

103. Nowhere in Captain Benjamin Church's HISTORY is there any mention of any artifacts relating to [Metacom](#), other than his mutilated hand, his head, the four quarters of his body, his gun, his small breeches, his "petunk," his stockings, and his powderhorn. At one point there was, allegedly, some sort of receipt from an Indian, who allegedly was selling a club, a belt, and a pipe to the Reverend [John Checkley](#), but there does not seem to be an indication that the signature was that of Alderman, nor has such a receipt been seen for many years, nor do we have any idea what might have happened to it.

August 24: The Reverend Increase Mather delivered the manuscript for his A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND to the print shop.



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



Washington Irving would comment, in a later timeframe, that the Reverend had lingered:

with horror and indignation on every hostile act of the Indians, however justifiable, whilst he mentions with applause the most sanguinary atrocities of the whites. Philip is reviled as a murderer and a traitor without considering that he was a true born prince, gallantly fighting at the head of his subjects to avenge the wrongs of his family; to retrieve the tottering power of his line; and to deliver his native land from the oppression of usurping strangers.



"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

THE SCARLET LETTER: Next in order to the magistrates came the young and eminently distinguished divine, from whose lips the religious discourse of the anniversary was expected. His was the profession at that era in which intellectual ability displayed itself far more than in political life; for -leaving a higher motive out of the question- it offered inducements powerful enough in the almost worshipping respect of the community, to win the most aspiring ambition into its service. Even political power -as in the case of Increase Mather- was within the grasp of a successful priest.



August 27: From Major Samuel Sewall's diary: "We hear of Major Talcots coming on Indians traveling towards Albany, to dwell on this side Connect. river. He slew some, took others with most of the plunder."

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

August 30: The Connecticut colony observed this day as a special day of Thanksgiving.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



SEPTEMBER 1676

September: The whites thought it wise to place an English man in each of the Christian Indian villages, to keep an eye on their activities. It was very difficult to get anyone to accept this duty. John Watson, Sr. of Cambridge accepted the assignment because he was an Indian hater and was certain that he would be able to uncover hostility and cause it to be punished. After he had lived for some time in the [Natick](#) village, however, he found he had undergone a change in heart, and had become convinced that his new neighbors were a deeply religious people who desired only to live at peace with all. When he attempted to explain his change in heart to the other white people, however, he found himself being characterized as either a fool or a traitor. By the end of this month the white people living near Natick had come to believe that it must have been the Christian Indians who had set fire to an old empty barn in Dedham, and having done this dirty deed, they must be planning more such mischief. At this point, perhaps in part for the safety of the Indians themselves, [Major Daniel Gookin](#) was

ordered to relocate them to Deer Island. A troop under Captain Thomas Prentice went to the village within the



hour, and moved the natives to the waterfront, where they were loaded into a flotilla of boats to convey them to their new home. Immediately that the natives exited their Natick village, the surrounding white families swooped down on the location and liberated everything the inhabitants had been forced to leave behind by the soldiers, such as guns, ammunition, stored foodstuffs, hunting gear, and clothing. Of course, none of these materials would ever be recovered by their owners.

Per their treaty agreements with the whites, the Narragansett brought to Richard Smith of Wickford, Rhode Island sixteen native American heads, supposedly of Phillip’s warriors. They received, for these grisly trade items, two yards of “trucking” cloth per each.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



September 3: A group of whites who had ventured to Munjoy’s Island (Peaks Island) after sheep were intercepted and killed by native Americans.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE



September 4: The Boston Court of Assistants heard the case of the four Concord race murderers. There was no questioning the evidence which was presented as to the murders or their circumstances, nor was there even any attempt on anyone’s part to question any part of it. The witnesses included Thomas and John Wilder, Thomas Goble, Sr., Thomas Goble, Jr., William Keene, Stephen Matcock, Philip Negro, two illegible names, and the Concord resident Daniel Deane. The concerned father, and attorney, John Hoar may also have testified. Instead of challenging any element of the evidence, the four defendants simply pleaded innocent — on the ground that they had, in offing these three defenseless women and these three defenseless children, in fact violated no law. Guilty? —Please advise us, guilty of precisely what?

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE



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

- Declaration of Independence



September 6: The "black sachem" of the Namasket, Tuspaquin, had been offered an amnesty by Captain Benjamin Church, who had just captured his wife "Amie," Metacom's sister, and Tuspaquin's and Amie's children. When Tuspaquin turned himself in at Agawam (today's Wareham MA), however, agreeing to switch sides and fight with the English, Captain Church was not present. He would be taken to Plymouth and beheaded, and his wife and son would be sold into slavery. Church would profess to be grieved upon finding out that this had happened.



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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

with several hundred native survivors of King Phillip's war having fled to the Cochecho area and having mingled with the Abenaki there, it fell to the lot of Major Richard Waldron to capture them and turn them over to visiting Boston authorities. This was a tricky situation, since he had just renewed a peace treaty with the Sagamore Wonalancet of the local Abenaki, and since 200 local treaty warriors were just then gathered in the Dover NH mill area. The major's inspired solution was to suggest a "sham battle" in which white soldiers and Indian warriors could participate. In what is today a drugstore parking lot, Cochecho and Boston militia surrounded the Indians after they had on cue discharged their weapons in a volley into the air and, likely without loss of life, separated the local natives from the refugees. These 200 refugees were marched to Boston, where some were hanged and some sold into slavery.<sup>104</sup> After this, the Abenaki would be required to lay down their firearms as soon as they sighted any English person, and no native American would be able to travel on any path east of the Merrimack River without a written pass from Major Richard Waldron.

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

A few Nashua would take refuge in the Pennacook villages, but this would be all the excuse the English would need, and an expedition under Captain Samuel Mosely would be sent out after them. The Pennacook would withdraw before the English reached them, but Mosely's men would burn their village. A similar unprovoked attack would be made against the Ossipee and would draw the Penobscot and Kennebec into the fighting. Wonalancet still wanted to avoid a war with the English, so at this point he led his people to St. Francois in

104. Imagine, if you will, a celebratory sham battle of Civil War survivors, in which the men dressed in Southern gray would be encouraged to fire off their rifles in volley — and would then be disarmed and marched away by the Civil War survivors in blue, to be executed or sold into slavery.



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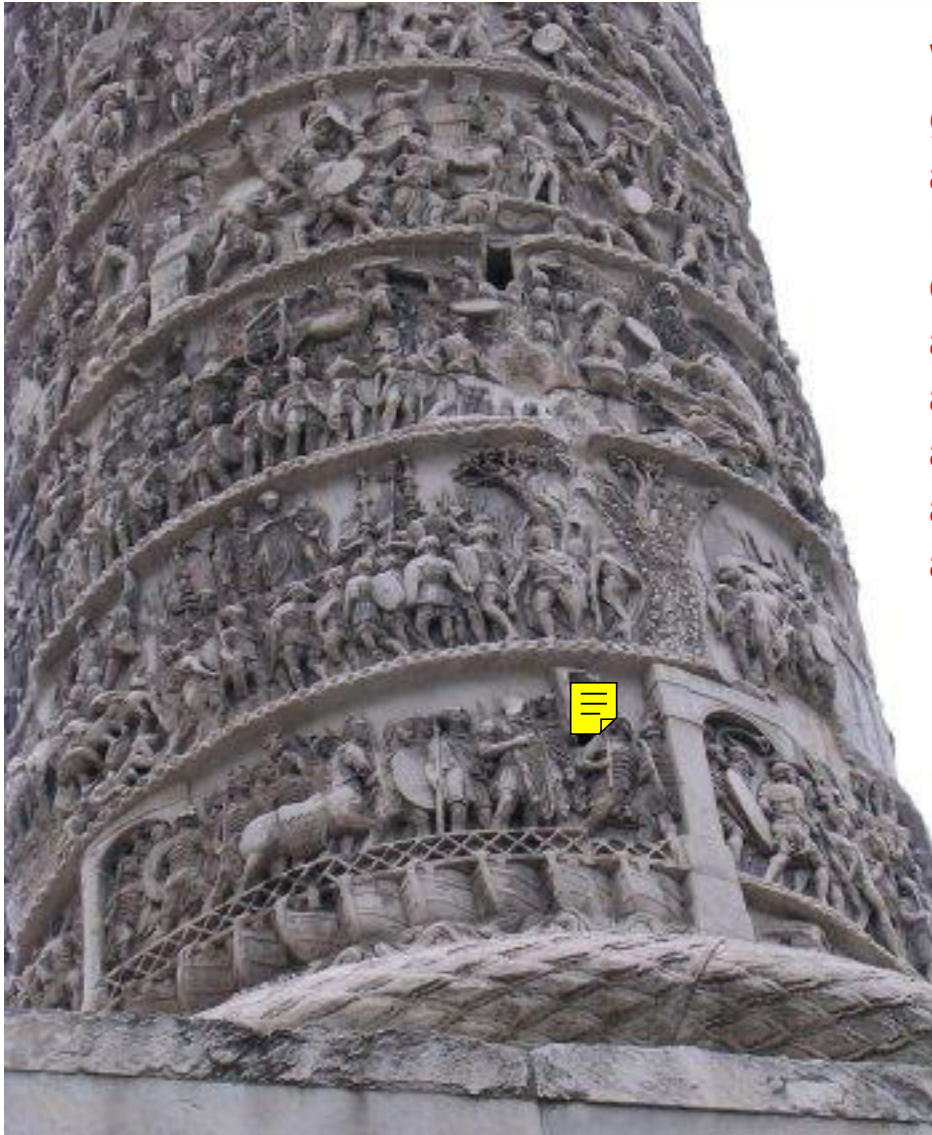
INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Canada, taking the Inashua survivors with him.



What goes around keeps coming around and around and around...



From Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s beloved 1866 poem "Snowbound":

Told how the Indian hordes came down  
At midnight on Cochecho town,  
And how her own great-uncle bore  
His cruel scalp-mark to fourscore.

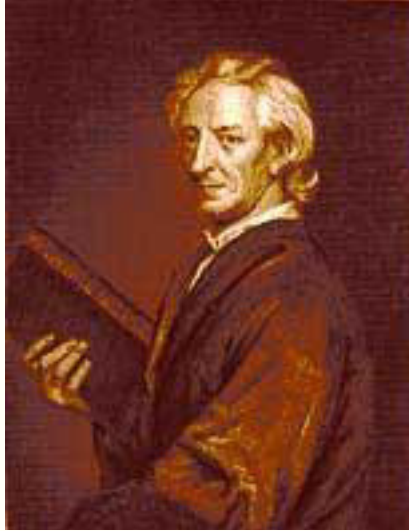
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

INVENTED

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



*Supp'd at L[ord] Chamberlains, where also supped the famous beauty & errant Lady, the Dutchesse of Mazarine (all the world knows her storie) the Duke of Monmouth, Countesse of Sussex, both natural Children of the Kings, by that infamous Adulteresse the Dut[chess] of Cleaveland: & the Countesse of Derby a vertuous Lady, daughter to my best friend, the Earle of Ossorie; I returned next day:*

September 12 (Old Style): *To Lond[on] to take order about the building of an house, or rather an appartment, which had all the conveniences of an house; for my deare friend Mr: Godolphin & Lady: which I undertooke to Contrive, & Survey, & employ workmen in, til it shold be quite finished: It being just over against his Majesties Wood-yard, by the Thames side, leading to Scotland yard: I din'd with P[ri]vately [returned.]*

September 17 (Old Style): *Viccar on 3.Joh[n]16: There dined with me Mr: Flamested the learned Astrologer & Mathematitian, whom now his Majestie had established in the new Observatorie in Greenewich Park, and furnish'd with the choicest Instruments: an honest, sincere man &c: Pomerid: Curate, as before:*

September 18 (Old Style): *18 To Lond, to survey my Workemen, dined with P[ri]vately and [19] then with Mrs. Godolphin to Lambeth, to that rare magazine of Marble, to take order for chimney-pieces &c: The Owner of the workes, had built him a pretty dwelling: This Dutchman, had contracted with the Genoezes for all their Marble &c: We also saw the Duke of Bouckingams Glasse worke, where they made huge Vasas of mettal as cleare & pondrous & thick as Chrystal, also Looking-glasses far larger & better than any that come from Venice: I din'd with Mr. Godolphin & his Wife:*



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

September 13: Eight Native Americans were executed on Boston Common, by shooting.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

September 15, about: Three Native Americans were **hanged** on Boston Common.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

Daniel Goble of **Concord**, in his prison cell in Boston, condemned to be **hanged** for his part in the killing of three innocent natives on Mount Misery, made his will on this day, naming his wife Hannah and their four children Hannah who had been born on November 3, 1666 and was thus nine years of age, Daniel who had been born on March 21, 1669 and was thus seven years of age, John who had been born on July 20, 1671 and was thus five years of age, and Elsey who had been born during 1673 and was thus two or three years of age

The convictions by the General Court of the colony, of these white warriors for the murders of six Christian Indians, convictions, of white men for the mere killing of red women and children, that were so utterly unique in the history of this bloody race conflict, had enraged many of the colonists. For instance, William Marsh was going around the colony blowing hard, telling all and sundry that “there was no feare of those being hanged for there were three or foure hundred men what wold gard them from the gallows.” The prisoners had evidently been contacted in the jail, for we find a record also that “There was a nough wold stand to what he had said hoo ... had been att prison to and spoke with those men.”



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

September 21: On Boston Common, Stephen Goble, one of the white Concordian militiamen who had murdered the three nameless Native American women and their three nameless children on Mount Misery, was

hanged till thou beest dead and the Lord be merciful to thy soul.



On the same platform on this occasion, a woman who was there to be publicly whipped for adultery<sup>105</sup>

105. We may note that the punishment of this Boston adulterer, name not of record, was public whipping, Nathaniel Hawthorne's THE SCARLET LETTER to the contrary notwithstanding.





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

mocked this Concordian instigated by the devil.



*Stephen Goble of Concord, was executed for murder of Indians: three Indians for firing [Thomas] Eames his house [at Sherborn], and murder [of Eames's wife and some of his children]. The wether was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. [Reverend Thomas] Mighil prayed: four others sate on the Gallows, two men and two impudent Women, one of which, at least, Laughed on the Gallows, as several testified.*

Presumably, the body of Stephen Goble was then buried. The bodies of the Native Americans of course were not buried, and presumably it was the practice to give the bodies of “tawny Serpents,” when they were not needed for medical training, to the Boston pigs — although I do not know of this for sure.<sup>106</sup> Stephen Goble

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

left no wife or child.

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

In this history of Concord the matter is handled in its totality in a footnote by quoting, allegedly verbatim, from the manuscript of Sewall's journal, as follows:

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

September 22: Major Samuel Sewall participated in what may have been an attempt to discover whether Native Americans are human beings:



*Spent the day from 9 in the M[orning] with Mr. [Dr. Samuel] Brackenbury, Mr. [Benjamin] Thomson, Butler, [Richard] Hooper, Cragg, [Thomas] Pemberton, dissecting the middlemost of the Indian executed the day before. [Richard Hooper] ... taking the [heart] in his hand, affirmed it to be the stomach.*



We can be quite assured that these men did not cook any part of the body, their interest being scientific. Scientific investigation was, however, only in its beginning stages in these English colonies: for instance, in the late summer of the previous year, to find out whether it was true as rumored that Native American children, little animals, could swim at birth, you will remember that some sailors had upset a canoe in the mouth of the Saco River. The white men had disproved their hypothesis, but they had also gotten into trouble, because the mother of the child managed to retrieve her child and escape, and the child died, and was the child of the sagamore [Squanto](#) in Maine.



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

Were these white sailors [hanged](#) for such conduct? We don't know, of course our histories are silent on such points, but my guess would be, no.<sup>107</sup>

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

September 25: From June 25th up to this point in time, the receipts of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for the sale of 188 Algonquian “prisoners of war” into foreign slavery amounted to £397.13, or about £3 per head.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

107. It has recently been pointed out that, although it is commonly assumed in history books that the period of hostilities began with sneak attacks by red warriors upon defenseless isolated farming families, in fact the peace treaty of the time was arranged in such a way that the native American peoples and cultures would be exterminated whether in their desperation they held to these treaties, and were humiliated and abused individually, or violated these treaties, and made themselves subject to punitive expeditions against entire groupings. Noticing that the situation was constructed in such a manner as to make it a win-win situation for the white people and a lose-lose situation for the red people, one may legitimately infer that it was not constructed in that manner by any accident.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**


**INVENTED**

September 26: Another of the **Concord** murderers, Daniel Goble, was taken, unable to stand due to some illness, “upon bed cloaths,” to be **hanged** on Boston Common (or at least near this common in a square where a gallows tree had been raised), along with five more Native American men found guilty of taking the wrong side in the uprising.



Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Goble is drawn in a Cart upon bed Cloaths to Execution.... One ey'd John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quapaug, General at Lancaster, &c, Jethro (the Father) walk to the Gallows.

One William Marsh, who has sworn he would prevent these hanging of English men, had been being held safe in prison for more than a week.

Daniel was perhaps the uncle of the unmarried youth Stephen Goble of **Concord**, who had already been executed on September 21, 1676  for this murder. He left a will, made by him six days before his execution, disposing of an estate amounting to £176, naming his wife Hannah of **Concord** and their four children Hannah who had been born on November 3, 1666 and was thus nine years of age, Daniel who had been born on March 21, 1669 and was thus seven years of age, John who had been born on July 20, 1671 and was thus five years of age, and Elsey who had been born during 1673 and was thus two or three years of age

Another record has it that the natives who were hanged in Boston on this day included “One-ey’d John, Maliompe the Sagamore of Quapaug, and Old Jethro,” the father who had been turned in by his own son Peter Jethro.

Another record has it that the natives who were hanged in Boston on this day included Monoco, who had surrendered to Major Richard Waldron of New Hampshire upon a promise of amnesty, and Muttawmp, and Shoshonin. (I don’t know how to account for the difference in names, but I note that xxxx alleges that Daniel Goble was hanged on Thursday, September 21st.)

We of course notice that this is prior to our signing of the Geneva Convention that specified the treatment which was to be accorded to prisoners of war.<sup>108</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

108. Lemuel Shattuck’s A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;... handles this matter in its totality in a footnote by quoting, allegedly verbatim, from the manuscript of Sewall’s journal, as follows:

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





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**FALL 1676**

Fall: One of the last Native Americans to be brought in from the forest told his white captors that his name was Conscience. When the soldiers communicated this to their officer, Captain Benjamin Church commented, or, he alleged later that he had commented,<sup>109</sup>



Conscience, then the War is over, for that was what they were searching for, it being much wanting.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

**OCTOBER 1676**

October: Thomas Cobbet, Junior, son of the Reverend Thomas Cobbet of Ipswich, who had been taken hostage more than nine weeks before, was ransomed for a coat:



This was done by the influence of Mug, an Indian chief, who stopped, while on his way to Boston for negotiating a peace, at Ipswich, and then promised Mr. Cobbet, the father of the young man, that he would send him home.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

109.Church, Thomas, “Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip’s War which began in the Year 1675,” reprinted in Slotkin, Richard and James K. Folsom, eds., SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT: PURITAN RESPONSES TO KING PHILIP’S WAR, 1676-1677 (Middletown OH: Wesleyan UP, 1978), pages 463-4.

October 11: [John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*I went to Lond[on] with Mrs. G[odolphin]*

Although Stephen Goble and Daniel Goble had been [hanged](#) on Boston Common, the death sentences of the other two [Concord](#) race murderers, the youth Nathaniel Wilder and his commanding officer, militia Lieutenant Daniel Hoar, were commuted to time served and a small fine (“on payment of cost, and some £10. each to the Indians,” “payment of a sum of money to the Indians and costs of prosecution” — see COLONIAL RECORDS V)



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Nathaniel Wilder would go on and, in Sudbury and back in Lancaster, with his wife Mary, have seven children between 1677 and 1694, including Ephraim Wilder, born on April 16, 1677, Mary Wilder, born on May 12, 1679, and Elizabeth Wilder, born on February 14, 1681. The couple would open an inn in Lancaster and accumulate a sizeable estate. He would have risen to the rank of lieutenant in the local militia when killed by native Americans during an attack upon the garrison, on July 31, 1704.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Daniel Hoar, a nephew of the troublesome attorney [John Hoar](#) of Concord, would marry on July 19, 1677 with Mary Stratton, daughter of Samuel Stratton, and they would have a son John Hoar, born on October 24, 1678, Daniel Hoar, born about 1680, Leonard Hoar, Jonathan Hoar, Joseph Hoar, Benjamin Hoar, Mary Hoar, born on March 14, 1689, Samuel Hoar, born on April 6, 1691, Isaac Hoar, born on May 15, 1695, David Hoar, born on November 14, 1698; and Elizabeth Hoar, born on February 22, 1701. He would thus become a grandfather of Concord's righteous Squire Samuel Hoar and a great-grandfather of Edward Sherman Hoar, George Frisbie Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Elizabeth Sherman Hoar, etc. Having pumped eleven children through his 1st wife Mary Stratton Hoar, he would then on October 16, 1717 take a Mary Lee as his 2nd wife.

Anonymous: **A TRUE ACCOUNT** Of the Moft **CONSIDERABLE OCCURRENCES** That have hapned in the **WARRE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH and the INDIANS IN New-England,** From the Fifth of *May, 1676,* to the Fourth of *Auguft* laft; as alfo of the Succeffes it hath pleafed God to give the *Engliffh* againft them : As it hath been communicated by Letters to a Friend in *London.* The moft Exact Account yet Printed. ... Licenfed, *October 11. 1676.* *Roger L'Estrange.* *LONDON,* Printed for *Benjamin Billingsley* at the Printing-Prefs in *Cornhill, 1676.* March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

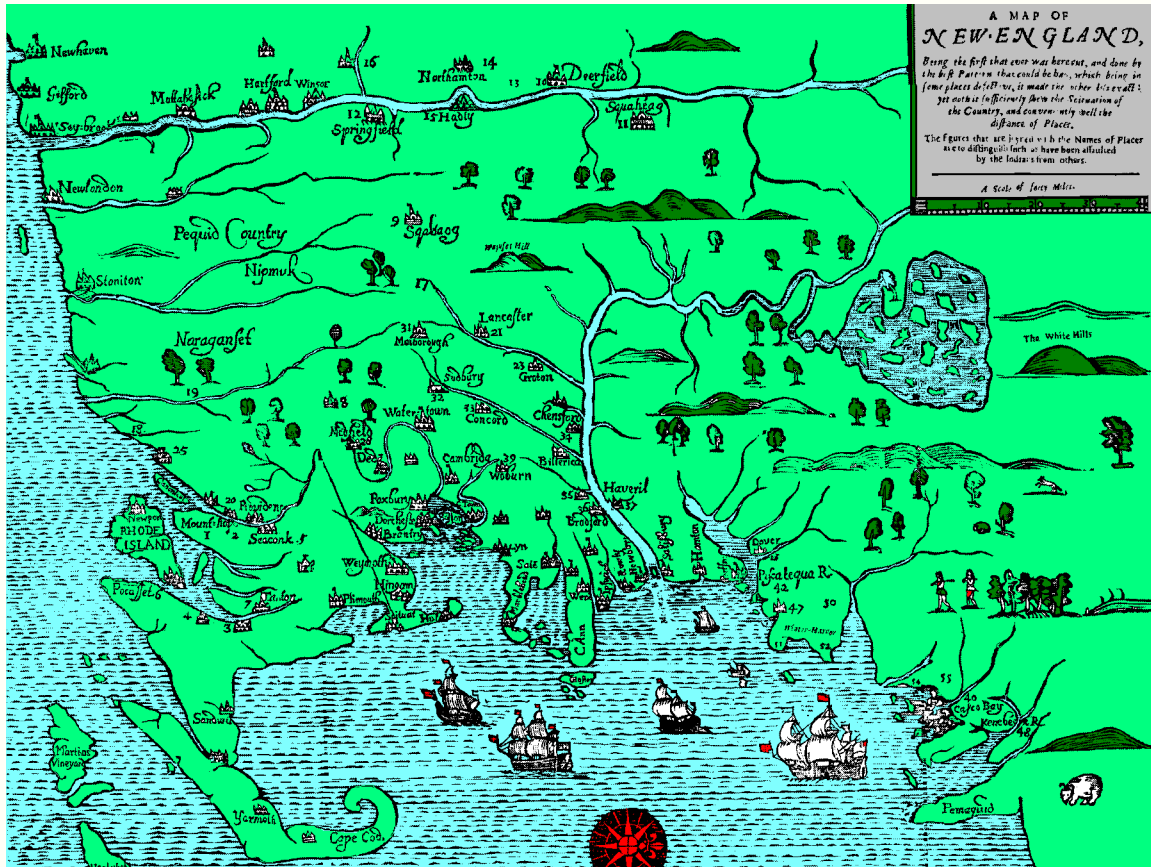
**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

October 12: Two Native Americans were executed on Boston Common.



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

slavery. 110



“Land! Land! Hath been the idol of many in New England!”–Increase Mather

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

I, Concord, have power, take notice  
To carry towns and move millstones  
Yes, I am an invincible one for all enemies  
But sighing and weeping will overwhelm those who crush my followers  
And they will lose their refuge with great shame  
As has become clear in various lands  
But whoever loves me and keeps me in mind

110. Wheeler, Ruth R. CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM. Concord MA: The Concord Antiq. Soc., 1967, page 54:



After a successful search for Biblical precedents, these poor Indians were sold into slavery.

New England Native Americans of the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Nipmuc groups were sold into slavery not only in Virginia and Bermuda and the islands of the West Indies such as Jamaica, but also in the Azores, and in Spain and Portugal. By 1775, there would be only 1,500 Nipmuc left – and by Thoreau’s time there would be none at all. Generally, with exceptions, adult males were hanged on suspicion of having been warriors, and it was only women and children who were sold as slaves. The slavery situation was particularly difficult due to the well-deserved reputation of Americans, that they made difficult slaves. One of the slave vessels was turned away in port after port, and had to dispose of its cargo finally in Tangier.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

he must lock up DISCORD  
Or otherwise he'll find himself deceived in the end.<sup>111</sup>



The Reverend John Higginson declared the hostilities to be a test, to probe “whether, according to our profession and [God’s] expectation, we would keep his commandments, or not.”<sup>112</sup> The Concord murders indicate that war is not the best way to incite people to keep the commandment “Thou shalt not kill.”

Of course, one might have anticipated some such finding.

111. Translated from this woodcut prepared by Cornelis Anthonisz, “The Misuse of Prosperity.” (The Increase Mather quote on the previous page is cited in Slotkin & Folsom, *SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT*, pages 71-2.)

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

October 13: [John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



*supped with P:*

Although Daniel Hoar protested his fine for killing the six native American women and children, and although his father John Hoar, a lawyer, would argue before the court that “as I humbly conceive [Daniel] has not broken any law,” and although in fact no law had been broken since the law specifically allowed the summary execution of any natives found more than a mile from the center of a native village or from the coastal island of their wartime isolation “as our enemies,” and “the Council do hereby declare that they shall account themselves wholly innocent, and [the Indians’] blood ... will be upon their own heads,” and although there were several testimonies that the culprits had not heard anyone say that the natives had [Major Daniel Gookin](#)'s official permission to be out in that manner “to ... go for berries,” the fine would not be forgiven. (Presumably this fine was to be paid to Andrew Pittimee and Thomas Speen (or “Swagon”), among others, since they were not only husbands of two of the murdered women, and Thomas Speen the father of the three slain children, but also had been the ones to bring charges at law.)<sup>113</sup>

113. Are we to presume this to have been, in the face of this unexpected race slaughter of innocents, an early admission of the existence of “Higher Law”? Or, were the magistrates simply alarmed by the popular clamor in defense of these four murderers, and determined that they would not tolerate any of this sort of democracy?





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

October 30 (Old Style): *to Lona[on] about the building; Mrs. Ann Howara maye of honor to the Queene, whom I went to Visite, related to me the strang[e] Vision she saw: which was thus: One of her maides being lately dead & one whom I well knew, had in her life time told her Mistris, that when she died she would certainly appeare to her: This Wench, being deeply in love with a young man, dying, a little while after appeared to her Mistris, as she lay in [bed], drawing the Curtaine, siting downe by her, & beckning to her; her Mistris being broad awake, & sitting up at the affright, called alow'd for her maid to come to her, but no body came; The Vision, now going from her, she still continued to call her Maid, who lying in another chamber next to her, rose & came at last to her Mistris: begging her pardon that she did not come at her first call; for said shee, I have ben in a most deadly fright, & durst not stirr for Mistress Maundy (for so was her name) who has appear'd to me, and looked so wistly on me, at the foote of my bed, that I had not the power to rise or answer: These two, Mistris Howard & her Woman Davis, affirming it so positively, & happning to see it, neere the same time, & in severall chambers, is a most remarkable thing: & I know not well how to discredit it, Mrs. Howard being so extraordinary a virtuous & religious Lady.*

October 31 (Old Style): *Being my Birthday, & 56 yeare, I spent the morning in Devotion, surveying my accompts & imploring Gods protection, with solemn thanksgiving for all his signal mercys to me, especaly for that escape which concern'd me this Moneth at Blackwall: I din'd with Mrs. Godolphin & return'd home this Evening, thro a prodigious & dangerous Mist &c:*

November 16 (Old Style): *My sonn & I dining at my Lo[rd] Chamberlaines, he shewed us, amongst others, that incomparable piece of Raphaels, being a Minister of state dictating to Guicciardine, the earnestness of the Secretary looking up in expectation of what he was next to write, is so to the life, & so naturall, as I esteeme it for one of the choices[t] pieces of that admirable Artist: There was an other womans head of Leonardo da Vinci; a Madona of old Palma, & two of Van-Dykes, of which one was his owne picture at length when young, in a leaning posture, the other an Eunuch singing; but rare pieces indeede:*

November 30 (Old Style): *Was our Anniversarie Elections at the R[oyal] Society, where I was againe chosen of the Council: having in the morning before ben to visite & Com: with a poore sick person:*

December 6 (Old Style): *I visited my L[ord]Vic[ount] Mordaunt at P[arsons] Greene with my Wife, returned to Says-Court next day:*

December 10 (Old Style): *Fell so deepe a Snow, as hindred us from Church &c:*



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Anonymous: A NEW AND FURTHER NARRATIVE OF THE STATE OF NEW-ENGLAND, BEING A Continued ACCOUNT of the Bloody Indian-War, From March till August, 1676. Giving a Perfect Relation of the Several Devastations, Engagements, and transactions there ; As also the Great Successes Lately obtained against the Barbarous In-dians, The Reducing of King Philip, and the Killing of one of the Queens, &c. Together with a Catalog of the Losses in the whole, sustained on either Side, since the said War began, as near as can be collected. Licens'd October 13. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON, Printed by J.B. for Dorman Newman at the Kings Armes in the Poultry, 1676. March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 27: The Rhode Island General Assembly took jurisdiction over the lands which had pertained to the Narragansett — not to take them from natives who by this time were powerless to object but to keep them from the white Connecticut settlers who had invaded the rez lands nearly a dozen times in the preceding year.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

NOVEMBER 1676

November 1, day: The Connecticut colony observed this day as a special day of Thanksgiving.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

November 2, Thursday: On the basis of reports from Richard Smith of [Wickford, Rhode Island](#), the commissioners of the United Colonies prepared a bill of indictments against the Narragansett. One of the accusations was that when the people of this tribe had heard about the attack on Hadley MA, they had “in a very Reproachfull and blasphemouse manor triumph and Rejoyce thereatt.”

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

November 9, Thursday: The Reverend Edward Bulkeley declared that

God hath been pleased to look with favor on his people, helping them to repel the heathen that had burst like a flood upon so many of our towns. Of the several tribes risen against us, there now scarce remains a name or family in their former habitations but are either slain, captive, or fled into remote parts of this wilderness. Let us give praise to God for His singular and fatherly mercies.

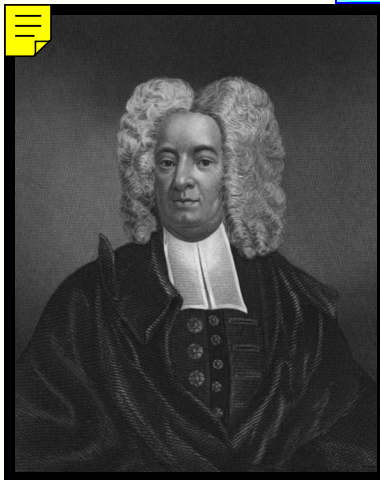


“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The Reverend Cotton Mather’s comment, later, was, at the very least, heartily Un-Christian, or headily Christian:

God sent ‘em in the head of a Leviathan for a **thanksgiving feast.**

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



How similar this comment, by the right Reverend, to the cynical 20th-Century comment heard so frequently on sportscasts, “Lo, how the mighty have fallen!” Was our founding father serving for his time and place the function now filled by the TV news commentator? –One might suggest that the divine seems to have missed the difference between praying and preying.<sup>114</sup> We will notice in this incident that people were not so

114. Actually, that pun is from the period in question, offered to history by (among others) a New England racist named Nathaniel Saltonstall:



They that wear the Name of Praying Indians have made Preys of much English Blood.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

astidious then as they now are, for the severed head of the Native American leader had been on display on a gibbet in Plymouth for 20 years when Reverend Mather saw it, and by that point had evidently stopped rotting and stinking — so he was able to reach out his hand and tear the jawbone away from the skull and take it home as a souvenir.<sup>115</sup>



*... the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous leviathan.*

That pagan was “blasphemous,” it seems, because before Christians killed him he had commented to the Reverend John Eliot that he cared no more for the Gospel than he did for a button upon his coat.



“We despite all reverences and all the objects of reverence which are outside the pale of our own list of sacred things. And yet, with strange inconsistency, we are shocked when other people despise and defile the things which are holy to us.”



— Mark Twain

It has recently been pointed out that, although it is commonly assumed in history books that the period of hostilities began with sneak attacks by red warriors upon defenseless isolated farming families, in fact the peace treaty of the time was arranged in such a way that the Native American peoples and cultures would be exterminated whether in their desperation they had held to these treaties, and had been humiliated and abused individually, or had violated these treaties and thereby rendered themselves liable to punitive expeditions against entire groupings. Noticing that the situation was constructed in such a manner as to make it a win/win situation for the white people and a lose/lose situation for the red people, one may legitimately infer that it was not constructed in that manner by any accident.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

115. Refer to “Brief History,” page 197.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

According to one commentator, taking into account the small population figures for the time, this race war that broke out in New England in the 1670s inflicted a greater proportion of casualties than any other war in United States history, more than even the Civil War. We may legitimately assume, however, on the basis of the fact that these comments were made in the 1950s, that the population figures the white scholar was referring to were the population figures for white people, and that his use of the word “our” in this context can be expanded to mean precisely “we white folks.” Because the casualty rate among non-whites, in this combat which spared not the noncombatant, nor the woman nor the child, –and in the period of ethnic cleansing which followed, in which any Native American of the New England region who could not get a white person to vouch for him or her was sold into slavery<sup>116</sup> with the proceeds of the sale going either to the nearest white man or to the government– must most assuredly have been vastly higher. Another historical commentator, commenting in a more recent period, and this time actually paying attention to the recorded names of white people who had been killed in the fighting or who had died of wounds shortly afterward, has concluded that the white “body count” was vastly exaggerated by the rumor mill that was of course grinding in that era, and that in actual fact the desperate native Americans only managed to kill approximately 100 white people, or at most somewhat less than 200, before they were hunted down in the forest.

*So let all thine Enemies perish, O Lord!*

Another interesting statistic is that, with the forest cleared of “tawny Serpents,” there was a great resurgence of game species. When the white hunters found it safe to venture again into the forests, they found New England just teeming with things they could kill. Only the local beaver, which had been hunted virtually to extinction by 1670 in order to obtain trade goods from Europe, would fail to make a significant comeback after this race slaughter.

November 10, Friday: The count on this day was that there were a total of 567 Praying Indians in all of New England, of which total 450 were women and children, with only 117 at most being males capable of engaging in warfare. Specifically in the vicinity of [Concord](#), there were but 60 only, and only 10 of these were males capable of engaging in warfare — not much of a threat.

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

The missionary labors of Eliot [the Reverend [John Eliot](#)] and his associates were attended with considerable success. At [Natick](#) was a kind of theological seminary, where natives were educated and sent forth to be rulers and teachers in other places. The Bible and several other books were translated and printed in their language, which requires the word: *Kummogkodonatoottummootiteaongannunnonash* to express in English “our question.” This was indeed a Herculean task. In 1674, Eliot

116. One of these 10-year-old Native American booties of war would provide service in the home of the family of the Reverend Roger Williams. Since this Reverend is now generally held to have been a really great guy (champion of religious liberty and all that), let us piously hope that this young charge was able to take full advantage of the opportunity of having such a fine role model so early in life — and that in consequence he grew up to be a really decent person.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

had organized two churches and fourteen towns, containing 1100 inhabitants [1 Historical Collections vol. i, page 195.] who had ostensibly embraced Christianity. A part of them only, however, appear to have been influenced by Christian principles. During Philip's War, this number was very much reduced. Many of them became treacherous, and were among the worst enemies of the English.

Some of them suffered death for their defection. [Mattoon, constable at Pakachoog, was executed.] The remainder were gathered in English towns, behaved like exemplary Christians, and were of essential service to the English in Philip's War. The whole number on the 10th of November 1676, was 567 only, of which 117 were men and 450 women and children. The Nashobah or [Concord](#) Praying Indians, who remained friendly to the English were 10 men and 50 women and children; and they then lived in Concord under the inspection of the committee of militia and the selectmen of the town.

The other places where the Praying Indians met on the Sabbath for religious worship at this time, were Medfield, Andrew Deven's Garrison, near [Natick](#), Lower Falls, Nonantum and Dunstable.<sup>117</sup>

Some other notices of the Nashobah Indians, while resident in [Concord](#) will be given when the events of Philip's War are treated of. After this time, they appear to have nearly abandoned their plantation, and to have removed to [Natick](#). May 19, 1680, 23 inhabitants of Concord petitioned the General Court that the lands belonging to those Indians might be granted to them, but it was refused; because there were "debts due from the country which might be provided for by the sale of the land, if the Indians have no right or have deserted the place."

In reply the petitioners say, "There never were any lands purchased of the country for townships." The petition was ineffectually renewed in 1691. It appears, however, that the Honorable Peter Bulkeley of [Concord](#) [not the Reverend Peter Bulkeley, who had died in 1659, but a descendant] and Major Thomas Henshaw of Chelmsford on the 15th of June, 1686, bought the easterly half of the Nashobah Plantation for 70 pounds sterling.

The Indian grantors were as follows:

"Kehonowsquaw, *alias* Sarah, the daughter and sole heiress of John Tahattawan, sachem, and late of Nashobah, deceased.

Naanishcow, *alias* John Thomas.

Naanasquaw, *alias* Rebeckah, wife to the said Naanishcow.

Naashkinomet, *alias* Solomon, eldest son of said Naanishcow and Naanasquaw, sister to the aforesaid Tahattawan.

Weegrammomet, *alias* Thomas Waban.

Nackcominewock, relict [widow] of Crooked Robin.

Wunnuhew, *alias* Sarah, wife to Neepanum, *alias* Tom Doublet.

117. I have communicated to the American Antiquarian Society for publication, among other papers, a document in the hand writing of [Major Gookin](#), giving a particular account of the disposition of all the Praying Indians at this time, from which the above facts are taken.





INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

This tract of land was bounded by land sold by the aforesaid Indians to

Robert Robbins and

Peleg Lawrence

both of Groton towne, which land is part of the aforesaid Nashobah Plantation, and this line is exactly two miles in length and runs east three degrees northerly, or west three degrees southerly, and the south end runs parallel with this line; on the westerly side it is bounded by the remainder of said Nashobah Plantation and that west line runs south seven degrees and thirty minutes east, four miles and one quarter.

The northeast corner is about four or five poles southward of a very great rock that lieth in the line between the said Nashobah and Chelmsford plantation. [Registry of Deeds, vol. x., page 117].

The remaining history of Nashobah properly belongs to Littleton. It may be well, however, to remark that in 1714 when that town was incorporated, 500 acres of land were reserved for the Indian proprietors. Sarah Doublet, an Indian, was the only heir to it in 1734, being then old and blind, and committed to the care of Samuel Jones of Concord. She then petitioned for liberty to sell it to pay her maintenance and it was granted for the purpose to Elnathan Jones and Mr. Tenney. One corner was near the southeast part of Nagog Pond; then across the pond, north ten degrees west, 133 rods north of said pond to a point, and then making a right angle, it ran 286 rods, and then across Nagog Pond to the first place mentioned.<sup>118</sup>

November 27: There occurred a fire in Boston that would be described, in an almanac shortly afterward, as “Bostons greatest fire.” Well, this wasn’t actually as great as the later fires, to be lovingly portrayed in Currier & Ives lithographs, but all buildings along a stretch of the waterfront were indeed destroyed. It being said that this was evidence of God’s displeasure at the violation of the Sabbath day — a roundup of Quakers was promptly initiated.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

**WINTER 1676/1677**

**DECEMBER 1676**

December 12: The proprietors of Groton held a meeting in [Concord](#), in which many of them made a commitment to return to the site of their previous efforts, and rebuild their destroyed town (they would commence this task in the following year).<sup>119</sup>

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

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



119. The Reverend William Hubbard’s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, would indicate that on March 2, 1676,

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



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

*to Lond[on] in so greate a snow, as I remember not to have ever seene the like: supped with Mrs. Godolphin:*

December 16 (Old Style): *Went againe to my La[dy] Mordaunt about buisnesse: dind with Lo[rd] Clarendon, Lady Henrietta Hyde, Mr. Andr[ew] Newport, & with much a doe got home through the snow:*

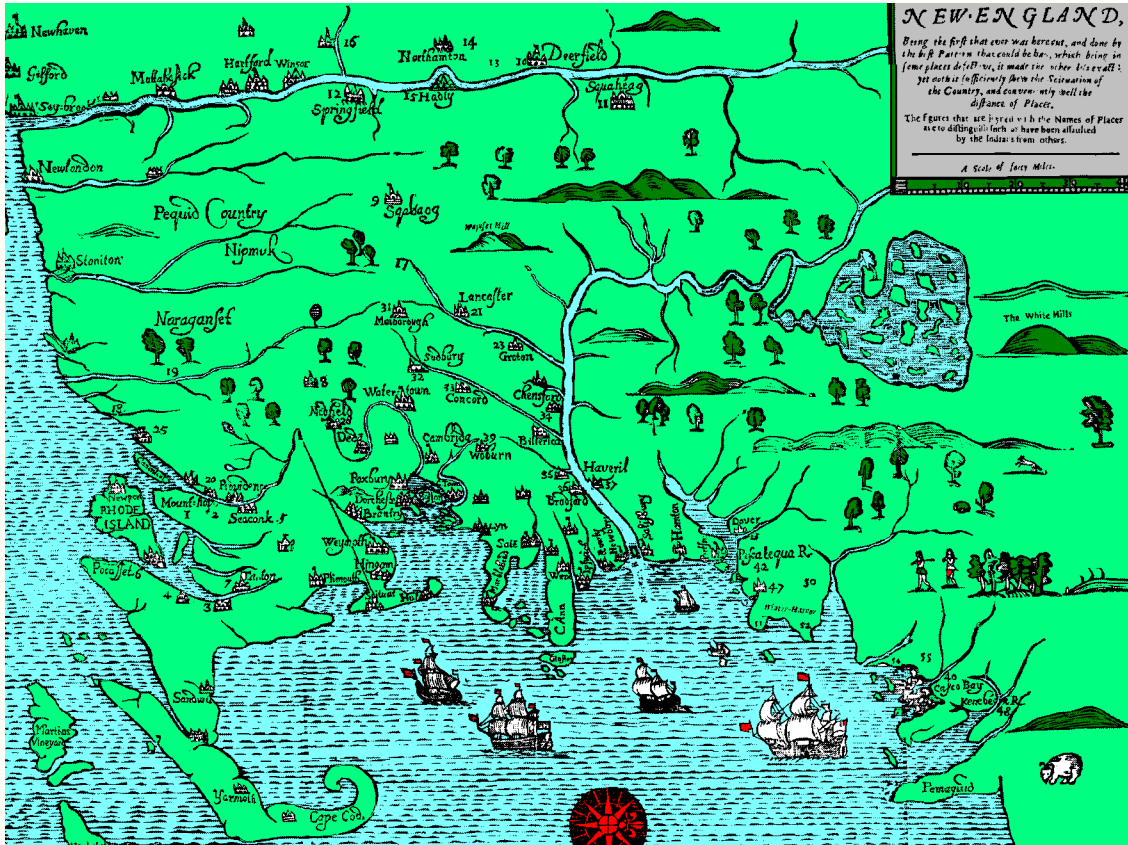
December 17 (Old Style): *More Snow falling, I was not able to get to church &c:*

December 19 (Old Style): *To Lond[on] about buisnesse: dind at Mrs. Godolphins; fell ill of a feavorish distemper &c: which confin'd me to bed two daies:*

December 23 (Old Style): *I returned home:*

December 24 (Old Style): *The extream cold kept me within:*

Later: Some of the surviving local tribespeople returned to Concord as indentured servants, to see white farmers in their fields. Any runaways from this period of indenture, if recaptured, could under the laws of the time be sold by their employers into lifelong foreign slavery.<sup>120</sup>



“Land! Land! Hath been the idol of many in New England!” –Increase Mather

I, Concord, have power, take notice  
To carry towns and move millstones  
Yes, I am an invincible one for all enemies  
But sighing and weeping will overwhelm those who crush my followers  
And they will lose their refuge with great shame

120. Wheeler, Ruth R. CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FLKFREEDOM. Concord MA: The Concord Antiq. Soc., 1967, page 54:



After a successful search for Biblical precedents, these poor Indians were sold into slavery.

New England Native Americans of the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Nipmuk groups were sold into slavery not only in Virginia and Bermuda and the West Indies, but also in the Azores, and in Spain and Portugal. By 1775, there were only 1,500 Nipmuks left – and by Thoreau’s time there were none at all. Generally, with exceptions, adult males were hanged on suspicion of having been warriors, and it was only women and children who were sold as slaves. The slavery situation was particularly difficult due to the well-deserved reputation of Americans, that they made poor slaves. One of the slave vessels was turned away in port after port, and had to dispose of its cargo finally in Tangier.

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED



As has become clear in various lands  
 But whoever loves me and keeps me in mind  
 He must lock up Discord  
 Or otherwise he'll find himself deceived in the end.<sup>121</sup>

John Higginson declared that the hostilities were a test, to prove “whether, according to our profession and [God’s] expectation, we would keep his commandments, or not.”<sup>122</sup> The Concord murders indicate that war is not the best way to incite people to keep the commandment “Thou shalt not kill.”

Of course, one might have anticipated some such finding.

121. Translated from this woodcut prepared by Cornelis Anthonisz, “The Misuse of Prosperity.” (The Increase Mather quote on the previous page is cited in Slotkin & Folsom, *SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT*, pages 71-2.)

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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

By the end of the year of our Lord 1676, fewer than 70 Narragansett tribespeople remained or an estimated 4,000-5,000 at the start of this race war. The balance had been killed, had starved, or had been sold into slavery at a foreign port.

**1677**

Anonymous: **THE WARR IN NEW-ENGLAND VISIBLY ENDED.**  
 King PHILIP that barbarous Indian now Be-headed, and moft of his Bloody Adherents fubmitted to Mercy, the Reft fled far up into the Countrey, which hath given the Inhabitants Encouragement to prepare for their Settlement. Being a True and Perfect Account brought in by *Caleb More* Mafter of a Veffel newly Arrived from *Rhode-Ifland*. And Publifhed for general Satisfaction. Licenfed, *November 4. 1676. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON*, Printed by *J.B.* for *Francis Smith* at the Elephant and Cattle in *Cornhill, 1677.*  
 March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

**RHODE ISLAND**

January 22: Foodstuffs contributed by the residents of Dublin, Ireland, known as "Irish Charity," were being distributed to the white people who had suffered during the New England race war.

On the 22d of January, 1677, the government made allowance to the people distressed by the war in Massachusetts; and allotted to the selectmen of the several towns in proportion to their losses, out of the "Irish Charity," in "meal, oatmeal, wheat, malt at 18s per ball. Butter, 6d. and cheese, 4d per pound." In the list accompanying this order the following towns appear.<sup>123</sup>

**"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"**

Town	Families	Persons	Amount
Charlestown	29	102	£15. 6s.
Watertown	19	76	£11. 8s.
Cambridge	14	61	£9. 3s.
Concord	18	72	£10. 16s.
Sudbury	12	48	£7. 8s.
Woburn	8	43	£6. 9s.
Billerica	1	4	£0. 12s.
Boston	125	432	£66. 6s.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

March 9: From a Boston diary we learn that after considering execution, it has been determined to sell the innocent minor orphan of the former sachem [Metacom](#) into a life of slavery on a foreign isle:

*“Philips boy goes now to be sold.”*

**“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”**

July: [Metacom](#)’s head had been rotting atop a pole in Plymouth for almost a year. His teenage son, the next in line to be sachem of the [Wampanoag](#), this grandson of [Ousamequin](#) Yellow Feather (the *Massasoit*), had been sold and transported into overseas slavery.<sup>124</sup> [“King Phillip’s War”](#) was a matter of memory. At this point two native Americans were led into the town of Marblehead, and there, according to the deposition we have from Robert Roules, they were stomped by a group of Christian women until “their heads [were] off and gone, and their flesh in a manner pulled from their bones.”

123. The whole list is published in the New Hampshire Collection, vol. iii, pages 102, 103.

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

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

124. In all likelihood the teenager had been disposed of in the West Indies for approximately £3.






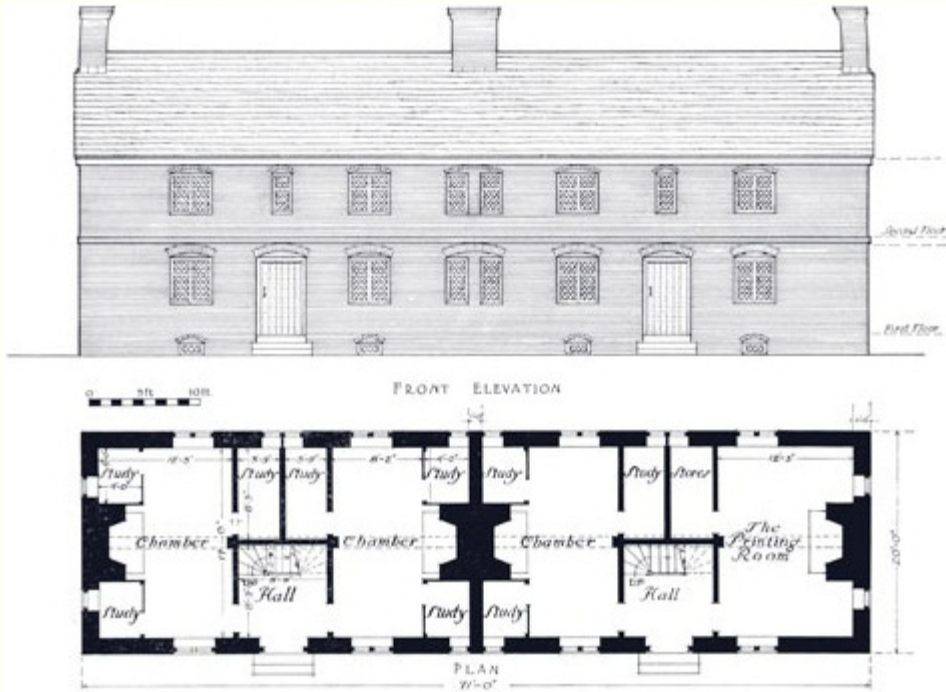
INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

The Reverend William Apess would observe, in 1836,  that "Every white that knows their own history, knows there was not a whit difference between them and the Indians of their days."

By this point, for obvious reasons, the sole function of Harvard's "Indian College" building had become the housing of the Cambridge Press.



CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE INDIAN COLLEGE, BY H. R. SHURTLEFF, ESQ.



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



\* \* \*



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

We see that another portion of this newspaper account in The Middlesex Gazette of August 11, 1821 –that, when Walden inverted, it “continued to sink to such an amazing depth, that the bottom dropped out”– came forward in Thoreau’s chapter on “The Pond in Winter,” where he asserts that there “have been many stories told about the bottom, or rather no bottom, of this pond”:

As I was desirous to recover the long lost bottom of Walden Pond, I surveyed it carefully, before the ice broke up, early in '46, with compass and chain and sounding line. There have been many stories told about the bottom, or rather no bottom, of this pond, which certainly had no foundation for themselves. It is remarkable how long men will believe in the bottomlessness of a pond without taking the trouble to sound it. I have visited two such Bottomless Ponds in one walk in this neighborhood. Many have believed that Walden reached quite through to the other side of the globe. Some who have lain flat on the ice for a long time, looking down through the illusive medium, perchance with watery eyes into the bargain, and driven to hasty conclusions by the fear of catching cold in their breasts, have seen vast holes “into which a load of hay might be driven,” if there were any body to drive it, the undoubted source of the Styx and entrance to the Infernal Regions from these parts. Others have gone down from the village with a “fifty-six” and a wagon load of inch rope, but yet have failed to find any bottom; for while the “fifty-six” was resting by the way, they we paying out the rope in the vain attempt to fathom their truly immeasurable capacity for marvellousness. But I can assure my readers that Walden has a reasonably tight bottom at a not unreasonable, though at an unusual, depth.

In his draft for this passage, the draft of 1853-1854, elaborating on the first sentence “As I was desirous ... chain and sounding line” (which is to be found in the first draft, which had been written while still living at the pond in 1846 and finished by the spring of 1847) Thoreau was more ready to pound home the moral, that “we see our own faces reflected — whose shallowness could easily be proved with the sounding line of reason” (next page):



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Clearly, here “the tradition of all the dead generations” was weighing “like a nightmare on the brain of the living”<sup>4</sup> Concordian, Henry David Thoreau. Clearly, here, to paraphrase [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s preface to , we have a case of the wrong-doing of one generation living into the successive ones, and divesting itself of every temporary advantage, becoming a pure and uncontrollable mischief. Yet the technique of invention which he was deploying was quite different from the technique of inversion which we have been investigating, a technique which is curiously intimate with the technique of projection. In **projection**, we create a self/other dichotomization and then,

**PROJECTION**

hanging our own failings and inadequacies around the neck of this other, we begin to improve ourselves and the world by belaboring this culprit other. In **inversion**, a slightly more refined technique,

**What is inversion?**

the other has already suffered as our victim, and we are guilty not only of inadequacies but also of misdeeds and of victimization, and so we legitimate kicking our victim again by pretending that it was us who had suffered this previous victimization rather than us who had inflicted it. Thus we are currently watching certain New Nazis as they declare that this entire thing about the “Holocaust” has been a lie made up by tricky Jews to insult and degrade good Aryans, and as they insist that the Jews must be punished for thus insolently rewriting the history of World War II.<sup>5</sup> The technique of inversion, clearly, is a technique we could only have learned from the father of lies, he who constantly tells us the greatest lie of all — that he exists.

4.I am mobilizing here some famous phrases from Karl Marx’s 1852 piece “The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,” although we have no reason to believe that anyone in Concord had read this by 1855.

5.The scenario is rather a familiar one –although its depths have never adequately been fathomed– at least we should be able to observe this legitimization-myth as it repeats itself over and over again: similar accusations were made, for instance, in Minnesota in 1862 during the race war between Dakota indigenes and European intrusives. Margaret Fuller, not one easy to deceive, described this scenario as “the aversion of the injurer for him he has degraded.” We saw an episode of it enacted in an interview on the steps of a Polish church near Auschwitz Camp, in Claude Lanzman’s film “Shoah.” In a recent essay in TIME Magazine about the moral mystery of Serbian self-pity, a pundit named Lance Morrow got it almost right:



Ethnic cleansing is merely injured virtue catching up. Nothing is more empowering, as they say, than being a victim. It is the Rolls-Royce of self-justifications, a plenary indulgence. W.H. Auden described it as if it were one of Newton’s laws:

Those to whom evil is done  
do evil in return.

But what Pundit Morrow fails to do, you notice, is theorize the **technique**. He talks about Newton’s laws and about poetic justice, but says nothing about inversion, the mode of tricky transition from world to story-world by which the people one has misused are magically translated into the people who misuse one. Thus TIME’s proposed magic bullet, to resolve issues in the Balkans over which people have been killing each other for thousands of years, with weapons: let’s not be “smug, fat-bottomed and morally useless,” lets “drive the beast out of Bosnia” by sending over some more weapons. Read it and weep: TIME, April 12, 1993, page 84.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

As I was desirous ~~of recovering~~ <sup>^to recover</sup> the long lost bottom of Walden Pond, ~~before the ice broke up~~ I surveyed it carefully, <sup>^before the ice broke up,</sup> ~~last winter~~ <sup>^early in '46,</sup> with compass and chain and sounding line, ~~and found it to contain a little over 51 <sup>+</sup>/<sub>2</sub> acres, and to be 102 feet deep in the middle.~~ There have been many stories told about the bottom, or rather no bottom, of this pond, which certainly had no foundation for themselves. It is remarkable how long men will believe in the bottomlessness of a pond without taking the trouble to sound it. ~~So is it with many imposing theories in whose dark waters concealing the~~ <sup>^muddy</sup> bottom, we see our own faces reflected—whose shallowness could easily be proved with the ~~sounding line of reason~~ I have visited two such Bottomless Ponds in one walk in Sudbury—~~Not to speak of the theories which I heard advanced~~ <sup>^this neighborhood</sup>. Many have believed that Walden reached quite through to the other side of the globe. Some who have lain flat on the ice for a long time, looking down through the illusive medium, perchance with watery eyes into the bargain, <sup>^and</sup> driven to hasty conclusions by the fear of catching cold in their breasts, have seen vast holes "into which a load of hay might be driven," if there were any body to drive <sup>^it,</sup> the undoubted source of the Styx and entrance to the Infernal Regions from these parts. ~~Most men do not see much more in a pond than a certain "natural" who lived~~ <sup>^lives</sup> in the skirts of the village, who accosted one of my visitors with—"You have been down to the pond. It looked pooty water didn't it?" Others have gone down from the village with a "fifty-six" and a wagon load of inch rope, but yet have failed to find any bottom; for while the "fifty-six" was resting by the way, they we paying out the rope, in the vain attempt to fathom their truly ~~measureless~~ <sup>^immeasurable</sup> capacity of <sup>^for</sup> marvellousness. <sup>^But</sup> I can assure my readers that Walden has a reasonably tight bottom



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Perhaps the silent father John Thoreau, descended in two branches of his family from religious refugees, who regularly read the gazettes of Middlesex County, clipped the above vicious article when it was printed in 1821 (the same year in which, at Torre Pellice in Europe, a Waldensian religious college was being interdicted as subversive to the state) and passed it on to his son Henry David in 1853 or 1854 while he was writing about the history of the pond. Perhaps he passed this clipping on with the suggestion that he be the one to realize the last sentence,

Some of your readers, it is hoped, will give a more particular description of this singular pond.

Henry, give us a description of this singular pond that will particularly and effectively remove it –forever– from the list of geographical landforms available for use by white people as legitimators of genocide! At any rate, Walden Pond’s deepness and clarity, used so nefariously in this newspaper account, are in fact re-appropriated in WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, across from the book’s illustration of the pond, where that utterly innocent statement of gratitude based upon a profound falsehood, “I am thankful that this pond was made deep and pure for a symbol,” appears, and then this re-appropriation is followed by the also apparently innocent observation that



While men believe in the infinite some ponds will be thought to be bottomless.

To decode such intense sarcasm, we have to bear in mind that Thoreau’s neighbors were not thinking about Walden Pond as bottomless because they were believing in the infinite. Not at all. Quite the contrary. They were thinking about Walden Pond as bottomless because in a primary-process manner they were processing the mountain of their guilt and shame, a mountain of guilt and shame which they inverted into the pond just as they projected their own guilty and shameful involvement in racial extermination — onto the race they had virtually exterminated. And I am asserting that at some level, either a conscious level or a deep level, Thoreau was well aware of this.

**King Philip’s War**

Let us review the events of the year 1676 in Concord MA. 1676 was the year in which the Reverend William Hubbard declared, in his THE HAPPINESS OF A PEOPLE, that the task before New England was to create an



Order established by divine appointment, betwixt superiors and inferiors.

I will not here attempt to provide full historical references for what transpired between these superiors and these inferiors, for a very good reason: although there is one type of person who, faced with unfamiliar and disturbing material, will run to the history books and make a detailed review of the names and facts recounted, there is also another type of person who, faced with these unpleasantries, will be incapable of retaining the names and facts I am recounting. Mere details cannot be allowed to interfere with one’s racial memory. When one is dealing with “primal” materials as I am here, for the one type of reader an elaborate scholarly apparatus is quite unnecessary, but for the other it furnishes an excuse to “get bored” and stop reading. In a psychology class, once in the 1950s,



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

the topic under consideration being “What Is Racism,” the instructor unexpectedly staged a demonstration in which a black man burst into class, closely followed after by a white man waving a knife. Down one aisle and up the other — and then the instructor calmly asked the students to write down what had just happened and pass their answer sheets forward. When the answer sheets were tabulated in the front of the classroom, in a significant number of cases it was discovered that the vivid memory of the white students was that of a black man waving a knife, chasing after a white man who was trying to get away. That result did not, of course, indicate that a number of the white students were lying, but it did indicate that when dealing with racial materials there really isn’t anything that one can do to avoid being misunderstood. If one has been raised in a racist society then one had better **begin** with the presumption that one is a racist, and work from there to deal with the systematic distortions of judgment, and even of perception, that arise from one’s being racist.





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

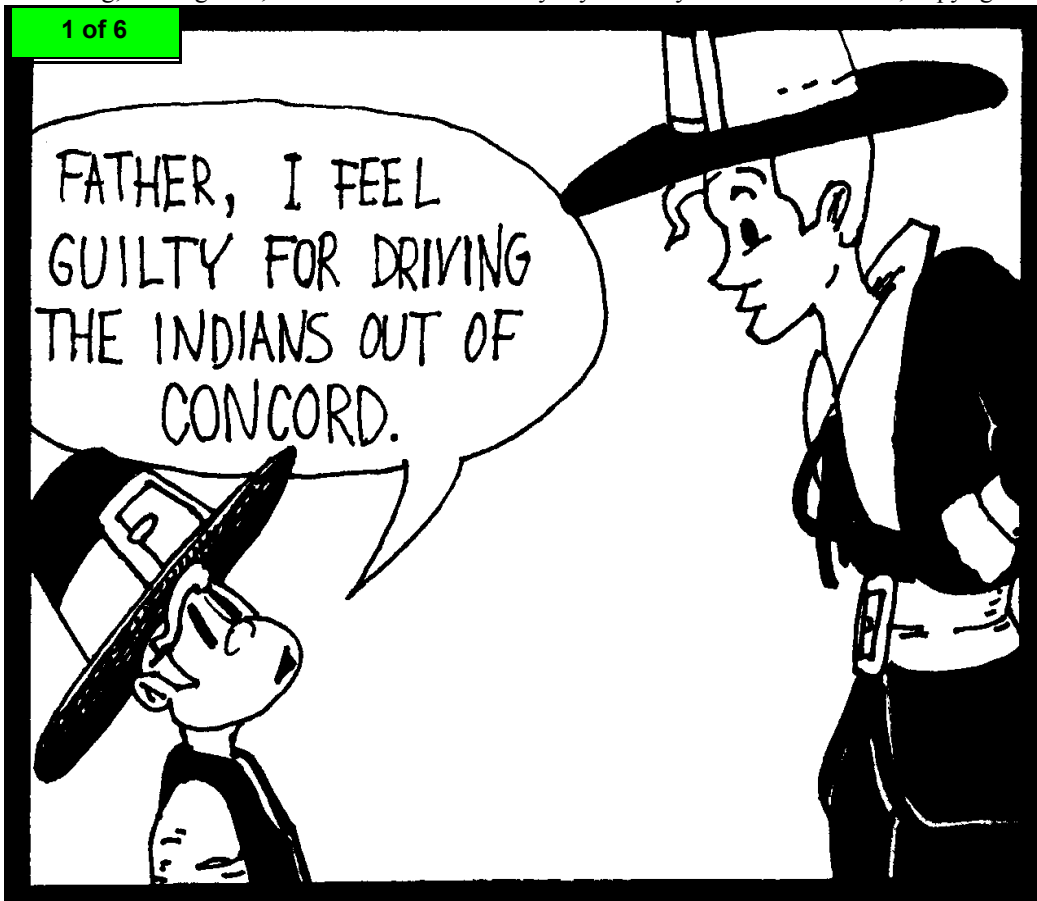
**INVENTED**

The connection between the murder of the indigenous women and children on the steep hill south of Walden Pond on August 7th in the year 1676 by white residents of Concord, ancestors of contemporary Concordians such as the “Concord Royals” (the Hoar family: lawyers and judges and founders of political parties and presidential candidates), and the news story about the torture of the intrusives on the former steep hill which at Walden Pond was then “inverted” into a hole in the earth, in Concord’s The Middlesex Gazette on August 11, 1821, is quite evident and quite evidently self-serving. It is not just that the Hoar family owned some land near Mount Misery (Gleason K7) which Thoreau would survey in his adult years, in 1860. In the news story, the descendants of the race murderers of Concord were rewriting history to make their ancestors right and their victims wrong. David Henry Thoreau was only four years old at this point, but his short, silent father John Thoreau was a reader of the gazettes. And, as a descendant of French Huguenot religious refugees, he could not have been utterly ignorant of the way things go down!<sup>6</sup>

Of course these Walden inverters knew not they were doing, and knew not that they would ever be detected. I would suggest, however, that we may honor the Thoreaus for reacting in the manner in which they reacted.

6. Especially since, in the categories of the day, being French was exceedingly, suspiciously close to being Indian, as in the Reverends Mathers’ blather about “Frenchified Indians” and “Indianized Frenchmen,” and in phrases like “French and Indian War.”

I am including, starting here, six frames of a cartoon by my son Guy Duramen Meredith, copyright 1992:



Thoreau was writing in a period before there was a geological theory of ice ages, and specifically before there was any understanding that a retreating glacier could occasionally leave behind it, covered over with gravel and therefore melting very slowly, a buried block of ice which as it liquefied would cause an enormous water-filled hole in the ground: Walden Pond. However limited the knowledge of his day as to how landforms had come about, Thoreau was most definitely intrigued by that topic:<sup>7</sup>



*I would give much to read that bright first page,  
 Wet from a virgin press, when Eurus — Boreas —  
 And the host of airy quill-drivers  
 First dipped their pens in mist.*

7.The quotation is from a poem titled “Walden” on page 109 of a coffee-table book, THE POET’S DELAY, published in 1992 by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and by Rizzoli Publications.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

We should note that information was not lacking, in Thoreau's day, as to the long-lasting nature of buried ice, for one year during Thoreau's lifetime a block of ice was discovered in a swamp on Cape Cod, and this block of covered ice was discovered on, of all days of the summer, the 4th of July. Also, while Thoreau was at his cabin on Walden Pond during the winter of 1846-1847, a hundred Irish laborers brought out from Boston made a vast stack of ice cakes near the Boston & Fitchburg RR tracks and protected this blue fortress with straw and boards, and Thoreau watched as that mound lasted through the next summer, and into the fall of the year after that:

They stacked up the cakes thus in the open air in a pile thirty-five feet high on one side and six or seven rods square, putting hay between the outside layers to exclude the air; for when the wind, though never so cold, finds a passage though, it will wear large cavities, leaving slight supports or studs only here and there, and finally topple it down. At first it looked like a vast blue fort or Valhalla; but when they began to tuck the coarse meadow hay into the crevices, and this became covered with rime and icicles, it looked like a venerable moss-grown and hoary ruin, built of azure-tinted marble, and abode of Winter, that old man we see in the almanac, -his shanty, as if he had a design to estivate with us. They calculated that not twenty-five per cent. of this would reach its destination, and that two or three per cent, would be wasted in the cars. However, a still greater part of this heap had a different destiny from what was intended; for, either because the ice was found not to keep so well as was expected, containing more air than usual, or for some other reason, it never got to market. This heap, made in the winter of '46-7 and estimated to contain ten thousand tons, was finally covered with hay and boards; and though it was unroofed the following July, and a part of it carried off, the rest remaining exposed to the sun, it stood over that summer and the next winter, and was not quite melted till September 1848. Thus the pond recovered the greater part.

What was lacking, then, was an appreciation of the large scale of the ice sheet during a glacial era and the ice's large-scale behavior at the melting front of the sheet.

2 of 6



The difference between Thoreau and his contemporaries, therefore, was not that they were intrigued by accounts of origins and he was not, but that he was intrigued by accounts of origins while what they were intrigued by, by and large, was self-legitimation myths, which is to say, myths which would empower them to be self-righteous masters of all they surveyed. Thoreau would later make a note to himself, that he had found this same fable about the inversion of a hill into a lake in the CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL COLLECTION, BEING A GENERAL COLLECTION OF INTERESTING FACTS, TRADITIONS, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, ANECDOTES, &C., RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF EVERY TOWN IN CONNECTICUT, WITH GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS, of John Warner Barber (1798-1885).<sup>8</sup> But in that historical collection the white people were recounting this racial memory not in regard to the origin of Walden Pond near Concord in Massachusetts but in regard to the origin of Alexander's Lake near Killingly in Connecticut. And yet here is what a scholar has very recently had to say about the fable

8. [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) had a copy of one or another edition of this popular 1836-1837-1838-1839 work, published in New Haven CT by Durrie & Peck, in his shanty in New Bedford MA, which Thoreau could have seen in 1857 after he had received his copy of the published WALDEN. The note he made to himself is in the margin of his copy of WALDEN.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

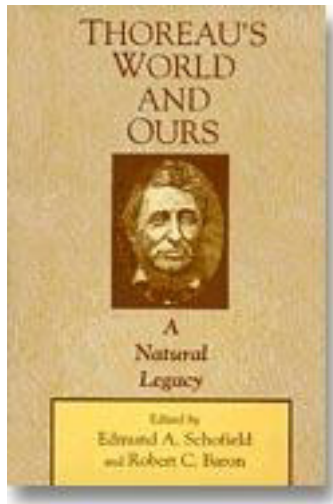
as found in WALDEN:<sup>9</sup>



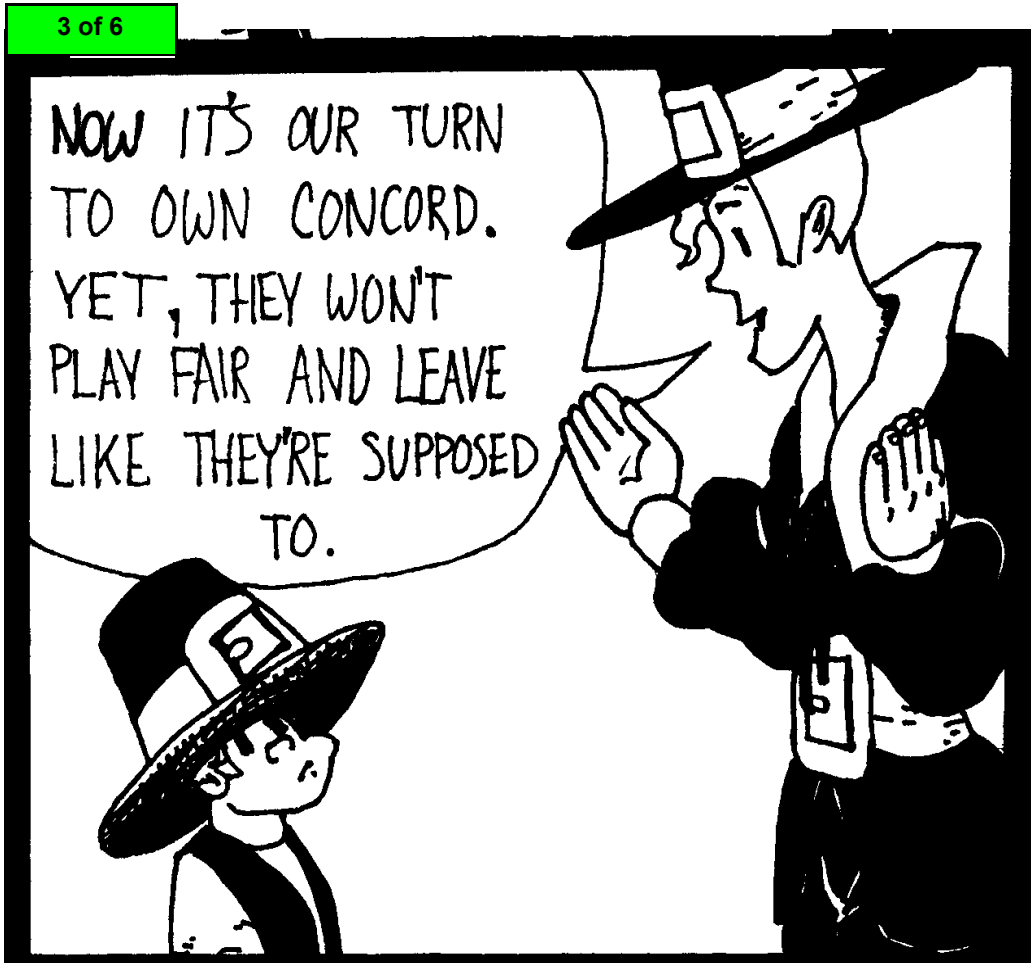
Thoreau cites the Indian legend [sic] which tells how a hill formerly occupied the present site of the pond. It is plausible that the Indians did actually see the gravel-covered "ice hill" melt and finally disappear.

This geologist, after inverting the white story about the barbarous rejoicing of non-white people into an "Indian legend," goes on to cite similar landforms known today in Alaska, where blocks of stagnant ice may be covered over with sediment and may actually support trees and other vegetation, and thus may have the outward appearance of ordinary hills. This published innocent then offers us a geologic field guide for the historic trails of Greater Boston, a guide entitled PUDDINGSTONE, DRUMLINS, AND ANCIENT VOLCANOS authored by himself, as his reference for all his stuff about human prehistory. We are left to imagine the imagination of this science gull, as he fantasizes about various migratory tribes moving into and out of the Musketaquid area over the course of not less than three hundred successive generations, and overhears as they pass on from migratory band to migratory band through all their various language barriers the one fact that is going to be retained after everything else has been forgotten, their racial memory that back over there in the pine woods where now that deep pond is located there used to be in the first times a hill. The one fact that is retained over the course of so many generations it would appear is a fact about the origin of a landform which is of no particular significance because it is located in an area of sandy overburden, a pine "barrens" near which there has never been any rich watered earth, a body of clear water which did not ever sustain any great quantity of game fish or waterfowl, near which there has never been discovered any archeological evidence of ritual use or symbolic significance.<sup>10</sup>

9. I found this on pages 223-4 of a collection of selected papers from the "Thoreau Jubilee" in Worcester and Concord of July 1991: Edmund A. Schofield and Robert C. Baron, eds. THOREAU'S WORLD AND OURS: A NATURAL LEGACY. Golden CO: Fulcrum Publishing, North American Press, 1993



10.No ritual use or symbolic significance that dates prior to the 1840s, that is.



Such psychological naivete, to buy into and mobilize geology to add credibility to a fable invented by the inheritors of racial genocide, the descendants of the murderers of Concord –of the Gobles who were [hanged](#) till they “beest dead,” perhaps, or more likely of Wilder and Hoar who were reprieved from being hanged till they “beest dead”– people who had **a particular motive** to invert the truth and then to be credulous toward their own creation! The murder of the three nameless Native American women residents of Concord and their three nameless defenseless children, gone huckleberrying on the slopes south of Walden Pond, is made to seem in this inversion of the pond almost as if it had been an act of self-defense. As Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney was to point out a few years later, what the hey, it isn’t as if these buckras have any rights that a USer is bound to respect.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

As Nathaniel Hawthorne was to say,



Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank him, not less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of the ages.

Also, it must be said, Thoreau would have put nothing about an ice age into his story of Walden Pond, even had he known of the 20th-Century theory of the behavior of large chunks of ice at the retreating edge of a continental glacier, unless putting this into his WALDEN would have served to illustrate the condition of his readers' souls. Dear reader, does a large chunk of glacier covered over with dirt say anything about the condition of your soul?



HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

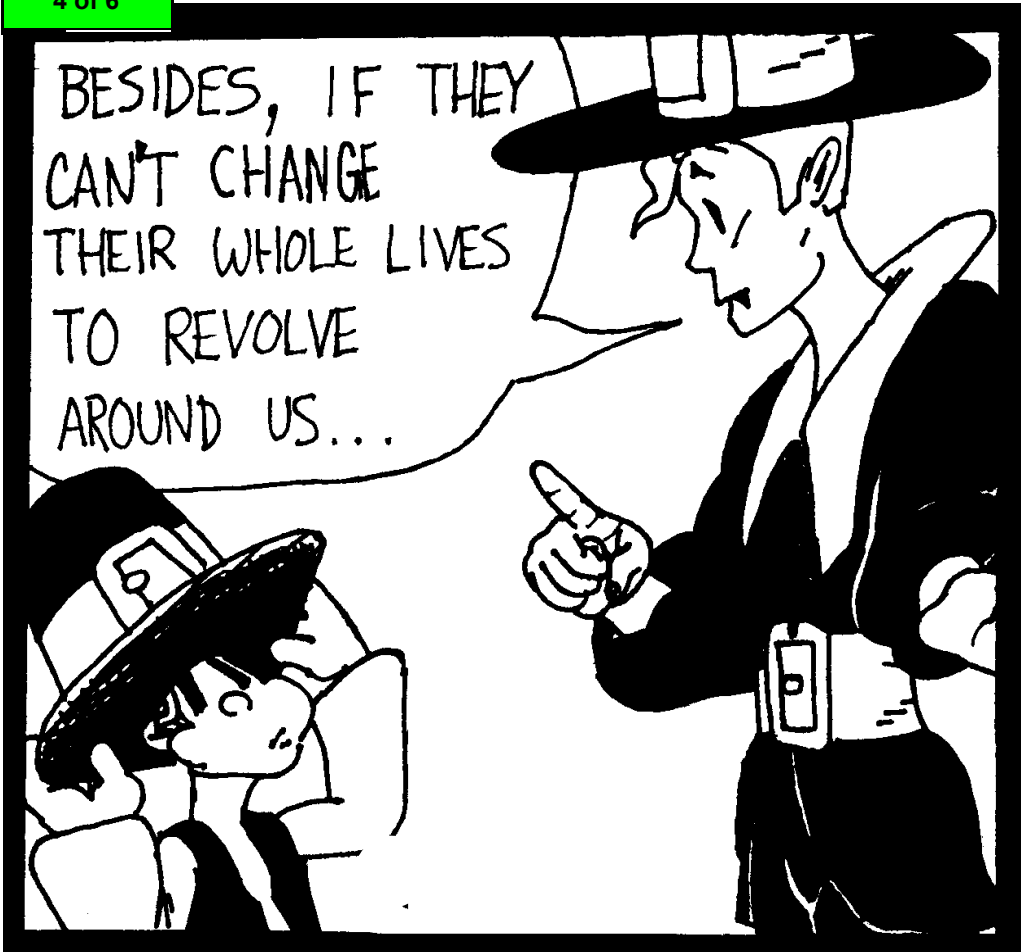
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Waldo Emerson had written a poem about the early years of Concord titled "Musketaquid" which might well be said to have been written from a narrow and unpleasant white-people-o-centric standpoint, and we may notice that when Thoreau made use of this poem in "Saturday" of WEEK, he carefully blotted out the portion of the Emersonian geist which might be compatible with the successful genocide which had occurred:



Here, in pine houses, built of new-fallen trees,  
Supplanters of the tribe, the farmers dwell.

4 of 6





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Then, on page 304 of A WEEK,<sup>11</sup> Thoreau explained what he was doing in regard to the white people’s history, and also explained to us in advance what he was to do in WALDEN in regard to the white people’s self-legitimizing fables about a local landform. He recommended that we attempt something else, something which I might characterize as **irony**, rather than resist the evil of this:

We do not avoid evil by falling before it,  
but by rising above or diving below its plane.

We don’t seem to be being that diligent today, in slinging our irony around. For instance, in the recent volume in which the re-legitimation of the above “Indian myth” occurred –making it out to be buttressed by the 20th-Century discoveries of science– there is also to be found on page 160 a remark about how Concord was “settled”<sup>12</sup> by “persons”<sup>13</sup> attracted in 1635 “by the abundance of meadow hay along the rivers, by the rich lowland soils derived from a glacial lake (Glacial Lake Concord), that has disappeared slowly, **and by its several untilled cornfields, recently abandoned by the sparse Indian population.**” And then we discover on page 193 of that volume an incautious remark about how Concord was “founded”<sup>14</sup> as one of the earliest inland “settlements”<sup>15</sup> in 1635 “primarily because of the abundant meadow hay along the rivers, the rich lowland soils derived from the former glacial lake bed, **and several fields of corn abandoned by the Indians.**” Such remarks get offered, even in scholarship, in the “everybody knows” mode. Those dumb Indians, dying off, walking away from their crops and their farms! Of course we have no reason to disbelieve the white people who started telling such stories after they had inherited those meadows. The people who were surrounded in their lodges, rounded up and roped together by their necks by Captain Samuel Mosely and his troops, and marched down to starvation at the racial concentration camps on Deer Island and Long Island and Clark’s Island<sup>16</sup> in Boston Harbor in 1676 — they also walked away from their crops and their fields. Well, to mobilize the Thoreauvian terminology, I would need to characterize all of the above talk about persons and settlement and abandoned fields and sparse Indians as “falling before evil,” and I would be suggesting that it is unworthy of us.

11. Page 304 of the 1980 Princeton edition.

12. We all know that people who settle are more significant than people who move around, and it is only a coincidence that we are talking about white people here.

13. Nobody notices when white persons are described as persons while non-white persons are described in some other way, or at least, nobody who matters notices.

14. Previous clusters of homesteads don’t count, obviously because they were the villages of non-white people rather than the towns of white people.

15. Same remark as above, about white people who settle being superior to non-white people who don’t.

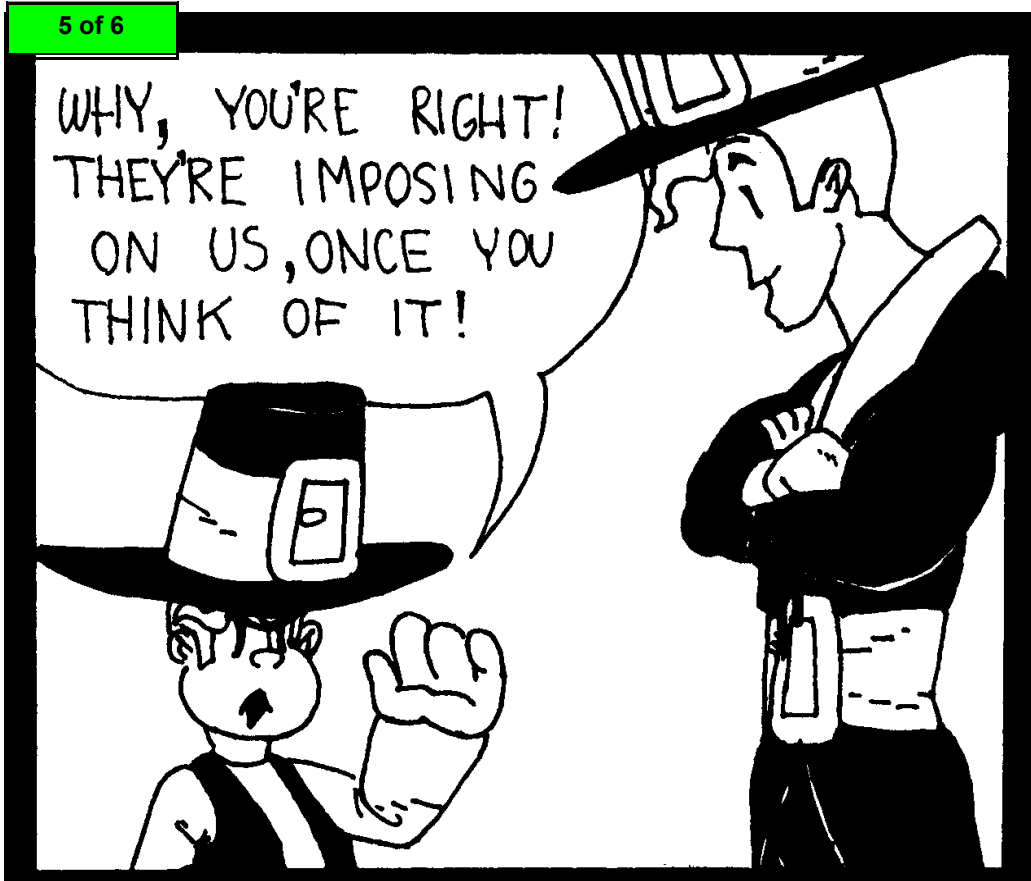
16. For the internment on Clark’s Island, refer to Shurtleff, Nathaniel B. and David Pulsifer, eds., RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF NEW PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, Volume V, page 187. I’d like to acknowledge that there has been one popular book about the Boston area which has not minced words: “The General Court ordered the praying Indians into what today would be called a concentration camp on Deer Island in Boston Harbor.” This is on page 85 of Carl Seaburg’s BOSTON OBSERVED, published by Beacon Press in 1971. I have been unable to discover any other instances of such forthrightness in nomenclature. — The Smithsonian Institution, for instance, has tended to refer to American concentration camps as “sequestration centers.”

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

INVERTED

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

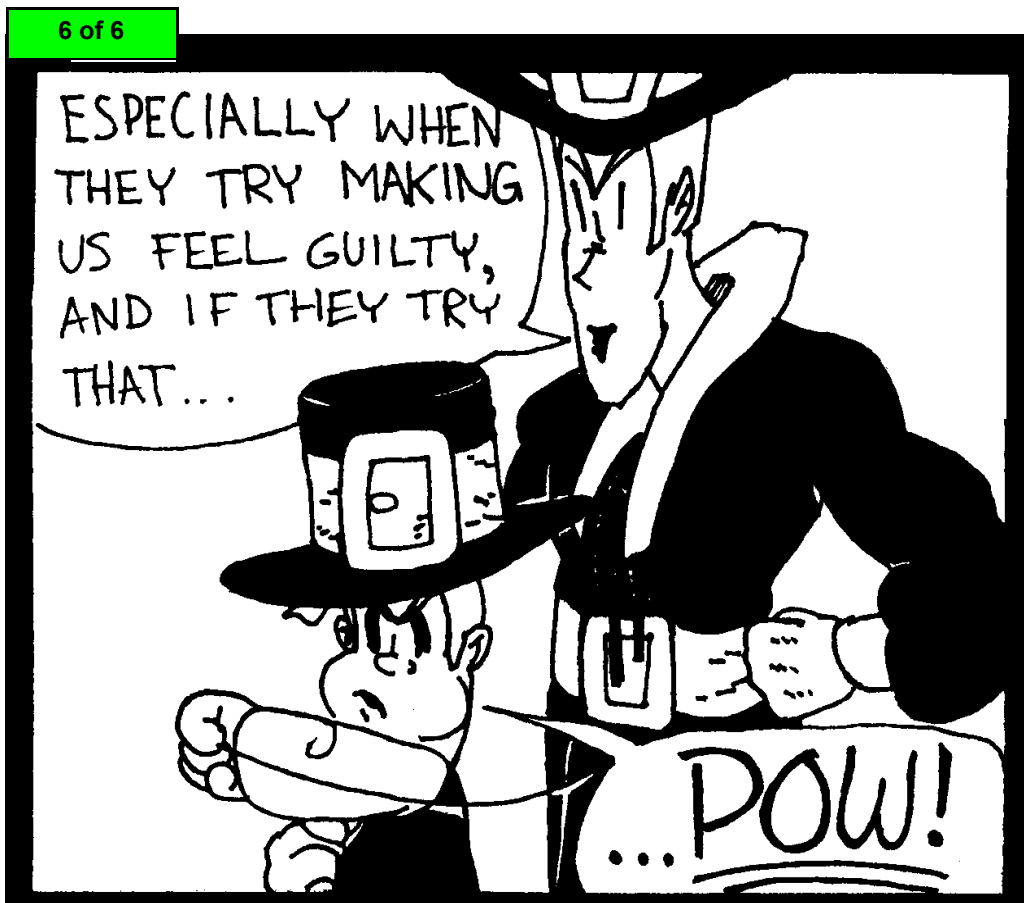
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I am reminded of an experience I had as a teenager, of meeting a white man from South Africa. He told me, with the greatest sincerity, and with a show of indignation that I should have supposed otherwise, that there had been virtually nobody on the horn of Africa when the white people arrived from Europe. "It's **us** who are the original inhabitants. The kaffirs came down from the north-east much later, to try to take advantage of the order and decency we had created."<sup>17</sup> Well, I was a teenager. Teenagers have a lot on their minds and they like things to be simple. Well, he was a white man, one wants to believe a white man. I remind myself now, how he made sense.

17. There was a proposal to attempt enslaving the indigenous "nonexistent" Khoikhoi and !Kung tribespeople in 1654, but the white tribes evidently decided it couldn't be accomplished, for instead we observe them importing their necessary slaves initially from West Africa, and then from the Malay peninsula and from Ceylon. We can see that the correct translation for this Afrikaner concept is "useless" or "recalcitrant" rather than "nonexistent."

Clearly, the white people's tales of Walden's inversion due to the barbarous rejoicing of non-white people—along with their “historical record” or Jungian archetype or “race memory” of the grass meadows and corn fields of the Musketaquid coincidentally having been abandoned and neglected by the non-white people in 1635, at the time at which the white people began to need to import their concord into the hinterlands of the continent—are short tales with small authority. But such tales do have the authority of tales told over and over by white people for white people — that is, they possess all the authority of being retailed without the need for any evidence other than the usual citations, citations which demonstrate only that these stories have been found credible over and over again, by the people who count. And clearly, also, Thoreau's agenda in making reference to such tales of burning and torturing, current even in Thoreau's day, was, to borrow a phrase from Richard Rorty, that of overcoming authority without claiming authority.<sup>18</sup> Thoreau was needing to use the master's tools to dismantle the master's home, it being a slightly more seemly and substantial structure than the Irish shanty Thoreau had disassembled in May 1845 for its boards and its nails in the Deep Cut alongside the new railroad tracks.



We can be so glad that Thoreau took the trouble to clean up Concord's act, and to invent Walden anew for us. Perhaps there are other landscape features which we have inverted, but have not noticed that we have inverted, which we can reinvent. Let us be on the *qui vive*.

Once we are on the *qui vive*, we Americans ought to be able to see inversion everywhere. We ought to be able to see it, for instance, in the movie that won four Academy Awards in 1978, *The Deer Hunter*.<sup>19</sup>

18. Rorty, Richard. CONTINGENCY, IRONY, AND SOLIDARITY. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989, page 105.

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

Perhaps the most influential and enduring single image from the Vietnam War -and certainly the most contested- is one that exploded into the consciousness of millions of Americans in February 1968 as they actually watched, in the comfort of their own homes, the chief of the Saigon national police execute a manacled NLF (National Liberation Front) prisoner. In a perfectly framed sequence, the notorious General Nguyen Ngoc Loan unholsters a snub-nosed revolver and places its muzzle to the prisoner's right temple. The prisoner's head jolts, a sudden spurt of blood gushes straight out of his right temple, and he collapses in death. The next morning, newspaper readers were confronted with AP photographer Eddie Adams's potent stills of the execution. The grim ironies of the scene were accentuated by the cultural significance of the weapon itself, a revolver, a somewhat archaic handgun symbolic of the American West.



Precisely one decade later this image, with its roles now reversed, was transformed into the dominant metaphor of a Hollywood production crucial to reimagining the history of the Vietnam War: *The Deer Hunter*. This lavishly financed movie, which the New York Film Critics' Circle designated the best English-language film of 1978 and which received four Academy Awards, including Best Picture of 1978, succeeded not only in radically reimagining the war but in transforming POWs into central symbols of U.S. manhood for the 1980s and 1990s. The reimagining was blatant, though most critics at the time seemed oblivious to it. The basic technique was to take images of the war that had become deeply embedded in America's consciousness and transform them into their opposite. For example, in the first scene in Vietnam, a uniformed soldier throws a grenade into an underground village shelter harboring women and children, and then with his automatic rifle he mows down a woman and her baby. Although the scene resembles the familiar TV sequence of GIs in Vietnamese villages as well as

19. Franklin, H. Bruce. "From Realism to Virtual Reality: Images of America's Wars" in Jeffords, Susan and Lauren Rabinovitz. SEEING THROUGH THE MEDIA: THE PERSIAN GULF WAR. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers UP, 1994, pages 25-44.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

Life's photographs of the My Lai massacre, he turns out not to be an American soldier but a North Vietnamese soldier. He is then killed by a lone guerrilla, who is not a Viet Cong but our Special Forces hero, played by Robert DeNiro. When two men plummet from a helicopter, the images replicate a familiar telephotographic sequence showing an NLF prisoner being pushed from a helicopter to make other prisoners talk; but the falling men in the movie are U.S. POWs attempting to escape from their murderous North Vietnamese captors.

The structuring metaphor of the film is the Russian roulette game that the sadistic Asian Communists force their prisoners to play. The crucial torture scene consists of sequence after sequence of images replicating and replacing the infamous historical sequence in which General Nguyen Ngoc Loan placed a revolver to the right temple of an NLF prisoner and killed him with a single shot. Prisoner after prisoner is hauled out of the tiger cages (which also serve as a substitute image for the tiger cages of the Saigon government) and then forced, by the demonic North Vietnamese officer in charge, who always stands to the prisoner's right and our left, to place a revolver to his own right temple. Then the image is framed to eliminate the connection between the prisoner's body and the arm holding the revolver, thus bringing the image closer to the famous execution image. One sequence even replicates the blood spurting out of the victim's right temple.

*The Deer Hunter's* manipulation of this particular image to reverse the roles of victim and victimizer was used over and over again by other vehicles of the militarization of U.S. culture in the 1980s. Take, for example, *P.O.W.: The Escape*, an overtly militaristic 1986 POW rescue movie inspired by *Rambo* and starring David Carradine as superhero. The bestiality of the Asian Communists is here embodied by a North Vietnamese prison camp commander who executes a U.S. prisoner with a revolver shot to the right temple in a tableau modeled even more precisely than *The Deer Hunter's* on that sequence of General Loan executing the NLF prisoner. Then, just in case viewers missed it, this scene is replayed later as the movie's only flashback. Toward the end of the 1980s, however, the militarism of U.S. culture went even further in manipulating this image, shifting the role of archenemy from the Vietnamese Communists to the photographers themselves. For example, the cover story of the November 1988 issue of the popular comic book *The 'Nam* portrays photojournalists, both still photographers and TV camera people, as the real villains because they put the original image on the "front page of every newspaper in the states!" The cover literally reverses the original image by showing the execution scene from a position behind the participants. This offers a frontal view of the photographer, whose deadly camera conceals his face and occupies the exact center of the picture. The prisoner appears merely as an arm, shoulder, and sliver of a body on the left. The only face shown belongs to the chief of



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

the security police: it displays the righteous -even heroic-indignation that has led him to carry out this justifiable revenge against the treacherous actions of the "Viet Cong" pictured in the story. The climactic image is a full page in which the execution scene appears as a reflection in the gigantic lens of the camera above the leering mouth of the photographer, from which comes a bubble with his greedy words, "Keep shooting! Just keep shooting!" "Shooting" a picture here has become synonymous with murder and treason. In the next panel, two GIs register their shock, not at the execution, but at a TV cameraman shooting the dead body.

"Front page of every newspaper in the states!"

"Geez ..."

One could not imagine a more complete reversal of the acclaim accorded to those Civil War photographers for bringing the reality of war and death home to the American people.

The logic of this comic-book militarism is inescapable: photographers must be allowed to image for the public only what the military deems suitable. It is the logic that has been put into practice by each of the United States' wars since the Vietnam War. Nonmilitary photographers and indeed all journalists were simply banished from the war zone during the 1983 invasion of Grenada. Partly because of this, the major media accepted a pool system for the 1989 invasion of Panama and meekly went along with the military's keeping even these selected journalists confined to a U.S. base throughout most of the conflict. A European reporter who attempted to report directly from the scene was actually shot to death when the military unit sent to arrest him became involved in friendly fire with another group of U.S. soldiers.

The almost complete absence of photographic images was quite convenient for the Grenada and Panama invasions, which were carried out so swiftly and with such minimal military risk that they required no congressional or public endorsement. And for the first several days after U.S. troops were dispatched to confront Iraq in August 1990, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney refused to allow journalists to accompany them. The Pentagon seemed to be operating under the belief that photographic and televised images had helped bring about the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. But for the Gulf War, with its long build-up, potential for significant casualties, and intended international and domestic political purposes, *some* effective images would be essential.

To control these images, the U.S. government set up pools of selected reporters and photographers, confined them to certain locations, required them to have military escorts when gathering news, set up stringent guidelines limiting what could be reported or photographed, and subjected all written copy, photographs, and videotape to strict censorship. Most of those admitted to the pools represented the very newspapers and TV networks that were simultaneously mounting a major campaign to build support for the war. Journalists were forced to depend on





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

military briefings, where they were often fed deliberately falsified information. Immediately after the ground offensive began, all press briefings and pool reports were indefinitely suspended. In a most revealing negation of the achievement of Civil War photography, with its shocking disclosure of the reality of death, the Pentagon banned the press entirely from Dover Air Force Base during the arrival of the bodies of those killed in the war.

I began this by referring to the experience we have all had as children, of “listening while a playmate who was detected in a lie began to accuse others of lying. Or, detected in a theft, began to accuse others of being thieves.” And I gave an example of the technique of inversion as employed by [William Shakespeare](#), showing how he makes a Jewish character bear responsibility for a taunt about extracting a pound of flesh from a Christian, when in the historical record it was a Christian who had thus taunted a Jew. Had I been more frank, I would have mentioned that there are two examples closer at hand. For one case, recently we have listened as a senior Thoreau scholar, Professor Walter Roy Harding, acknowledging that, for a good number of years, he had withheld certain information about [Henry Thoreau](#) from the community of scholars. He had, he said, his reasons for this paternalism. It was for our good. This same senior scholar has also recently accused me, [Austin Meredith](#), by letter on May 19, 1993, of preparing the “Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” textbase so that I would become, and I quote, “the exclusive consultant on Thoreau research.” Well, the facts are, I had been going around for some time with my hand extended, attempting to pass out free copies of the electronic textbase to scholars prepared to use it, and I had been laboriously incorporating into the textbase any materials supplied to the project by any of these scholars, regardless of any feelings I might have had about the worth of any of these materials. But I had been encountering a great deal of resistance from book people who are unwilling to learn to use computers. And I have noticed that, curiously, each time I mention a woman I am putting into my directory of thumbnail biographies, such as Abigail (May) Abba Alcott or Abby Kelley or Angelina Emily Grimké Weld, and each time I mention a non-white man I am putting into my directory of thumbnail biographies, such as the Reverend Anthony Burns or Charles Lenox Remond or (Freddy Bailey) Frederick Douglass, the scholar to whom I am speaking falls silent, makes no response, as if he were waiting for me to find a topic of interest to him.





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

It goes without saying that I have not been striving for exclusivity. Going around handing out complete verbatim copies of a textbase utterly without charge and utterly without restriction is not in any sense the way one behaves if one is striving for exclusivity, but is most definitely the way one does behave if one is trying to destroy exclusivity. And this may give us reason to wonder, from what wellspring this senior scholar's accusation of exclusivity sprang. One might with as great a rationality accuse the Gideon people of trying to position themselves between the occupants of motel rooms and the King James Bible! My suggestion is that this senior scholar has accused me of feeling that I "should be the exclusive consultant on Thoreau research" because he himself feels that there is a warrant for exclusivity, and that it is **he** who should be the exclusive consultant on Thoreau research. Quite frankly, these scholars have been experiencing the plan for an electronic textbase as a threat to their old-boy network (in an old-boy network, you see, one simply doesn't get access to the information one needs unless an old boy trusts you, so the old boys have extra insurance that you are going to be trustworthy and come to correct conclusions in your research, whereas an electronic textbase offers no such protection to the truth), and by inversion this scholar was accusing me of precisely the thing of which he himself had acknowledged that he had been guilty and for which he had not apologized! I think this is utterly transparent, so transparent as to be disingenuous: If you have another theory, besides inversion, that will account for his unfounded personal attack on me and also for this scholar's unwillingness to so much as glance at the electronic textbase, I would be prepared to hear it.

The other of the two cases of inversion is that, recently, a book titled *ILLUSTRATION*<sup>20</sup> has devoted four pages to trashing the textbase of the Stack of the Artist of Kouroo. I stand accused of "hierarchialism" and of "historicism." The author of this attack is a neighbor of mine, whom I have met at cocktail parties and invited to come over to our house and take a look at the textbase. I don't know where his charge of "historicism" came from, I'm not even sure what he means by that word, but I think I know where his charge of "hierarchialism" came from. I had confronted a colleague of his at Brown University because he was setting up a piece of academic computer courseware in a hierarchial manner. My accusation had a good foundation, for that Brown courseware, or brown coarseware, had been developed in the mode in which one presumes that one possesses the truth and that one needs to pour this possessed truth into a fresh generation of minds, so that they also will be possessed by this truth. In an utterly hierarchial manner, any material contributed by a junior person could be deleted by a senior person, without notice and without recourse. Well, is *ILLUSTRATION*'s charge that the textbase of the Stack of the Artist of Kouroo a "hierarchial" textbase a correct charge? I don't myself think so, I myself think it is an attempt to defeat such hierarchialism, but what I think doesn't count here. What does count is that, in defending his colleague at Brown by making this accusation of hierarchialism against me, the author of *ILLUSTRATION* (Professor J. Hillis Miller, my neighbor) has made an accusation for which he, in person, lacks any evidence. Because in fact he's never set eyes on the electronic textbase. He simply wrote about the textbase, denigrating it, without having had any contact with it. I suppose he thought he could get away with this because he's a high-placed academic and I'm not even in academia? Well, the only thing that is of importance here, is that the technique that was followed was the technique of inversion. The charge I had made against the courseware at Brown having been one of hierarchialism, by inversion the charge against me had to be the charge of hierarchialism. "Takes one to know one."

20. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

On page 40 of his book Miller introduces the term “hierarchical” in the middle of a list of characteristics of my “Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” project: “The key words here are ‘associative,’ ‘linked,’ ‘hierarchical,’ ‘dynamic,’ ‘visual,’ and ‘genetic’. ‘The system’s software’, say[s] ... Meredith, ‘will connect these materials the way scholars do, by association’.” Having inserted this **hierarchical** innuendo, on the next page Miller starts talking about my work being “iron-bound and determining, like the links of a chain,” and focusing in on this word “hierarchical” which he had inserted into his list on the previous page. He then offers four examples, ostensibly out of my textbase — which he has not seen. And yet in fact none of the four “examples” he offers can correctly be described as hierarchical:

- The first example he offers is of my “dynamic variorum” which he has not seen, in which I make it practically possible for the first time to superimpose and compare any one of the eight successive versions of WALDEN that Thoreau created and preserved over an eleven-year period, upon the previous one, so that one can observe Thoreau in the very act of creation and participate in that act of creation and see a great work of art in the very process of being shaped. If this new capability is to be described by use of such a term as hierarchy, why then I simply don’t grasp what hierarchy is. I don’t even see what relevance this derogatory word has to my creating for the first time this sort of new reading capability. —It’s like somebody going “I’ve found a new position for sex,” and the Pope going “Oh no you don’t, I’m not through critiquing the old one yet.”
- The second example Miller offers is my chronological account of all the primary materials, which, again, he has not even bothered to glance in the direction of. How he can characterize a chronology as a hierarchy is beyond my comprehension. I suppose one could get from chronology to hierarchy by way of some Herbert-Spencerish presumption that “later means more evolved” or some Jean-Jacquish presumption that “earlier means more natural,” but I certainly don’t know of any hidden value presumptions involved in my having date-stamping paragraphs with the date on which they were written, or, where that date is not a matter of consensus, the earliest date on which they could possibly have been written and the latest date on which they could possibly have been written. Or at least, I don’t know of any hidden value presumptions involved in such a cataloging scheme that are any more lethal than the ordering of the sections of the *QUR’AN*.<sup>21</sup> I would assert that my chronological sequence is, if anything, less dangerous even than the present alphabetical sequencing of the entries in an encyclopedia, since to make the encyclopædic scheme function an editor has to invent one or another topic word such as “Romanticism,” and since this process of invention of topic words can become so heavily ideological as to produce a “Synopticon” or “Propædia.” I would really be agreeing with Miller, and supporting him, if he were saying that Encyclopædia Britannica Corporation should not be allowed to publish in the pseudo-objective manner in which they actually do publish, and have been publishing for lo these many years, because their volumes “suggest a strong reinforcement of certain paths and a strong presumption of certain forms of explanation.” But Miller is not criticizing these people who produce this sort of shit out of Chicago, he is criticizing me for the shit I produce in my back bedroom four blocks from his mansion on Brain Hill in Irvine CA. These are words he is directing instead at me, and he is shouting these words at me over those four blocks by way of the Harvard University Press in Cambridge MA!
- The third example Miller offers is that I have gathered a large body of secondary materials, and am allowing the Thoreau scholar to retrieve these relevant passages by “clicking” on a passage. Again, he is providing a verbal description of something he has not himself experienced. For instance, if he were looking at the passage about Flying Childers in WALDEN, on the computer screen, and if he were to “click” on this passage anywhere between the space in front of the capital “F” and the space after the

21. The *QUR’AN* happens to be, quite arbitrarily, arranged for publication from the shortest recitation to the longest.



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVENTED

terminal “s” of the name “Flying Childers,” then and only then a little dialog box –which he has not seen– would pop up on my screen and would inform him that this Flying Childers thing was a racehorse. And if he isn’t interested in suchlike stuff, then obviously it doesn’t occur to him to “click” on that particular name, and so no reader like him who is uninterested and unimpressed would ever be in any way impeded by any visible stuff such as we now see in special editions like the Philip Van Doren Stern “variorum” edition, with its ton of comments obstructing each page. Now this idea of using technology to produce nondistractive elaboration may be a good idea or it may be a lousy idea, but the point here is, what’s **hierarchical** about it? Why is Miller offering this as an example of a danger he calls **hierarchy**? In a book such as the “variorum” edition of WALDEN, it is indeed hierarchy, because only the editors and the publishers of such a scheme are allowed to decide what comments to place on each page, and, something I abhor, all communication is one-way communication. But Miller is not criticizing these books, they are books. He is used to that sort of dreck and he is not about to critique it. Yet when my project comes along and does away with the editor and does away with the publisher, and puts text users in direct contact with one another, and makes communication truly a two-way street, and offers that through the use of new technology anyone can comment, by installing their own hypertext links leading to their own hypertext nodes, and that anyone can attempt to direct the other users of the shared textbase into a node of their own devising (“My name is Stanley Stepognywicz and the date is 1 April 1994 and what I want to add is that Thoreau at this point implies this in addition to that: ....”), when all these existing hierarchical schemes are **just** in the process of being defeated, just **then** is when Miller cries foul! Is that not somewhat disingenuous? Why is anyone willing to heed this obviously special kind of pleading?

- The fourth example Miller offers is my proposal that to defeat all the fine efforts of the catalogers to supply key words like “Romanticism,” keywords which of course fit into and reinforce their own ideological presuppositions which they are attempting to impose silently on others, it should be possible to use a “Boolean search engine” to retrieve all passages anywhere in the database that combine a given set of semantic features, specified words, or phrases. If a word were to be chosen, to describe these Boolean search technologies, it would have to be the word non-hierarchical. Yet Miller’s next sentence starts with the phrase “Each of ... Meredith’s hierarchies” and he is indeed trying to make out that this utterly anti-hierarchical search engine creates “connections” that “are not just associative, but iron-bound and determining.”



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

Pretty soon there is nothing more in the book about my hierarchialism, and, although we're not told how the topic arose, we find Miller mocking me instead about Thoreau's comments in regard to what Miller terms "prairie chickens."<sup>22</sup> –Perhaps, if you will consult ILLUSTRATION, you will be able to figure out how he got on to this topic, in regard to my handling of Thoreau's pioneer work as an amateur ornithologist or in regard to my analysis of the literary uses to which Thoreau turned his observations of bird behavior, and why Miller considered such comments to be relevant and worth his while. However, it is clear that he has brought up the topic of "prairie



chickens," which Thoreau most definitely did not study, only by way of mockery. And it becomes clear, in the course of his mockery, that this critic isn't writing for birders: he utterly elides the difference between the male of a Grassy-Plains greater prairie chicken *Tympanuchus cupido*, who is a social male who attempts to subdue other males by booming out of his obscenely distended throat during his lek dance, and the male of an Eastern-Woodlands [ruffed grouse](#) *Bonasa umbellus*, who is a solitary male who attempts to attract females with a drumming sound produced by flailing his wings in the air. Clearly, an inversion has been made in his critical text between the one sort of male (the homosocial male whose agenda it is to subdue other males) and the other sort of male (the solitary male whose agenda is to attract females). Is he constructing an inversion, in which I should be the sort of male whose agenda it is to subdue other males, perhaps a male like him, but instead of that manly role have embraced the ignoble task of attracting females? Lordy, lordy, I don't even **want** to figure this out.<sup>23</sup>

Again, if you have another theory, besides inversion, that will account for the author of an attack on hierarchialism being promptly attacked as a perpetuator of hierarchialism, and also for Professor Miller's unwillingness to so much as glance at the electronic textbase, I would be prepared to contemplate it.

22.He seems to think there is something humorous in the mere mention of a non-human species — else why would he mention prairie chickens? Reading his text, one wonders whether this attempt at humor comes from the standard speciesist presumption that a non-human species, because not human, is inferior and therefore to mention it constitutes hilarity. (As on Groucho Marx's old TV show "You Bet Your Life" in which the running joke was that, when a contestant said the secret word, a plucked duck would be dropped from the ceiling on a cord.) But we may note that, in Miller's talk of prairie chickens, he makes the male of the species stand for the total species, and we may note that this presumptuous deployment of maleness as the standard for females as well as males is what in the human sphere is considered to constitute sexism.

23.This guy's not a warrior either: both on the dust jacket—which might be considered to be his publisher's fault— and also inside the book—which is obviously at his own responsibility— he reproduces a grainy dull photo of a TV video still of the lit-up night sky over Baghdad under Security Council bombing—a topical irrelevance included for no detectable reason unless he means to agree with our President that the Gulf War would have been better without this TV coverage— and he says that those spots of lights in the night sky are "tracer bullets." Hey, bullets they're not unless he's making the case that there's no difference between being killed by a **bullet** or a **shell** and no difference between being killed by a **rifle** or a **cannon** just like there's no difference between being killed by a wild chicken or a wild grouse — because that's Iraqi AA fire, not "tracer bullets," he's pointing at! Or, maybe, it's Good Old George's "thousand points of light" for a "kinder gentler America" that he's pointing at?



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

In looking at these various cases of inversion, we may note that the motive which lies behind some of them in our US history may have been antisemitism or racism, or a belief in the idea that someone may need to sacrifice so we can all make progress, and what lies behind others of them is not nearly so serious, and may amount only to an understandable resistance to change in the techniques of scholarship in the age of computerization, old dogs not wanting to be bothered with new tricks. The motives for inversion, in other words, may be various. What is of considerably greater interest to me, however, is the blatant manner in which the technique of inversion has been employed, down through the centuries, and the blatant manner in which it continues to be employed even into this supposedly self-conscious and self-critical era. It is as if this trick of inversion has never been theorized.

It is of considerable significance, that when this August 11, 1821 article was turned up in old files of Concord's The Middlesex Gazette, quite recently, evidently by somebody turning the crank and reading forward word for word through a long coil of microfilm, the article was considered to be of interest only as a piece of background for a paragraph in the published WALDEN. We may notice that none of the Thoreau scholars theorized it, made anything in particular of it. One reason for this, I would propose, is that few of this generation of scholars know anything about "[King Phillip's War](#)"<sup>24</sup> or care anything about the criminal murders on the hillside near Concord that inevitably came along with that prolonged episode of mutual mass race murder. The Concord of their imagination must be a kinder gentler place in which few of the graves of non-white people are marked graves; it might even be suggested that a prime reason why such people find Concord attractive is that the Concord of their imagination is such a kinder gentler place, a retreat to which they can resort or a resort to which they can retreat when the hard and difficult real world about which they must read in today's newspapers is too much with them late and soon.

Let us make this situation transparent. Let us make it necessary, at the very least, for these inverters to cover their tracks and mask their traps.

24. *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather (the [Massasoit](#))'s two sons were called "Philip" and "Alexander" by the whites. [Metacom](#) was the son they called Phillip.





**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

## **A MODEST PROPOSAL**

In casting about for some way effectively to dramatize the situation of inversion I have described above, I have noted that in Boston there is a monument which commemorates the “Boston massacre.” I would suggest that if what happened outside a tavern in Boston in March 5, 1770 when people who had had too much to drink started pitching snowballs at soldiers on guard duty is deserving of a monument, and is deserving of being described as an atrocity, then at the very least we should erect a monument in Concord to the “Concord massacre” of August 7, 1676.

This monument in Boston is a really curious one. It depicts Liberty posturing in front of what appears to be a moon rocket, with a flag/spear in one hand, holding aloft a dangling, broken chain in the other hand. By Liberty’s feet there is what appears to be a cornucopia.

Therefore perhaps the monument to the Concord massacre could consist of a young farmer with a musket, standing in front of a burned-out snag of a pine tree with his foot on a pile of bodies of women and children. With his free hand he would be holding aloft a human scalp. By his feet there would be a spilled basket of hurtleberries.

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

– Remark by character “Garin Stevens”  
in William Faulkner’s INTRUDER IN THE DUST







**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVERTED**

Prepared: July 8, 2013



INVERTED

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

INVERTED

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT  
GENERATION HOTLINE



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



**INVERTED**

**GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE**

**INVENTED**

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

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.  
Arrgh.